

a public acknowledgement that the sun was the father of the first Inca, and of all his posterity.

The festival opened with sacrifices, and they said, it was not lawful to use any fire in those sacrifices, but that which was presented them by the sun's own hand; for this purpose they made use of a great bracelet, called Chipana, like those which the Incas wore on their left wrists, with this difference, that that which was worn by their chief priest was larger than the rest. They had instead of a medal, a concave vessel, about the bigness of half an orange, very smooth and glittering. This they placed directly opposite to the sun, and in a certain point where the rays which shot from the vessel were all collected: and applied to it, instead of a match, a little cotton lint, which immediately took fire from a natural effect. With this fire thus lighted, and given by the hand of the sun, they used to burn their victims, and roast all the flesh which they eat that day.

After that, they took some of the same fire, carried it to the temple of the sun, and the house of the virgins elect, and there it was preserved all the year; and its going out was considered as a very unlucky omen. In case the sun happened not to shine out the eve before the festival, on which day every thing was prepared for the sacrifice that was to be made on the morrow, and consequently if there were no possibility of getting fire that way, they then took two little sticks, about as thick as one's thumb, and half an ell in length, made of a wood called Vyaca, very like cinnamon, and these, by being rubbed together very hard, had several sparks of fire drawn out of them which set fire to the match. Notwithstanding that this was a very good way of striking fire, they nevertheless, when necessity forced them to use it in the sacrifices which were made on their festivals, discovered a deep affliction, and looked upon it as a very ill omen, saying, that the sun must necessarily be very angry with them, since he refused to give them fire with his hand.

The chief captains of the empire, and the Curacas, or Caciques, always assisted at this festival: These, when they were prevented from administering at it in person, either by very urgent affairs, or extreme old age, used always to send their sons or brothers, accompanied with the noblest of their relations, as their proxies. The Inca, in quality of son to the glorious planet of the day, always opened the festival; nor could he be prevented from so doing, unless war called him another way, or he was obliged to make a progress through his empire. All the nobility of the Empire went in procession to present their oblations to the sun, and the Curacas appeared in a most splendid, but very whimsical dress. Some of these had robes, adorned with gold and silver plates, and garlands of the same on their caps, and others were dressed in lions skins.

After these there advanced others, whom, with regard to their dress, we shall take the liberty of comparing to angels, they wearing the wings of a bird, to which they gave the name of Cuntur. These wings were speckled black and white, and sixteen foot long from end to end,

and those who adorned themselves with the feathers of these birds, did it purely to shew they were descended from them. The Yuncas used to disguise themselves with certain frightful masks, by which means they made the most hideous figures that fancy could possibly paint. To see the apish tricks and distortions they made in those assemblies, one would have taken them for mad men; and to make themselves appear more completely so, they used to make a confused noise of dissonant instruments, such as flutes and drums, holding torn skins in their hands, and with these they used to play a thousand silly tricks. After these Curacas there advanced others dressed in a different manner, and each nation carried the weapons used by them in war, such as bows, arrows, lances, javelins, long and short hatchets, to fight either with one or both hands.

There were others also who wore ornaments, on which were represented the glorious actions they had performed in honour of the sun, and of their Incas; and others again were attended by a great train of servants, who played on atables, and blew on the trumpet. In a word, every nation appeared there in as much pomp and splendor, and with as great a train of domestics as they could possibly procure; they all endeavouring to rival their neighbours in grandeur and magnificence. They always prepared themselves for the solemnity of this festival by a most strict fast, eating nothing every third day but a little white raw maize, with certain herbs called Chucam, nor ever drank any other liquor but water. During this time, they abstained from all commerce with their wives, nor were fires made in any part of the city.

After this fast, on the eve of the feast of the sun, the Inca priests, whose office it was to perform that sacrifice, spent the night in getting ready the sheep and lambs which were to be sacrificed; and they also prepared the victuals and drink that were to be presented as an oblation to the sun: These several affairs were settled, after they had first taken a pretty exact account of the number of the people who were assembled at the festival; for not only the Curacas, the ambassadors, their relations, their domestics and subjects, partook of these oblations, but likewise all the nations in general who were present at the solemnity. On the same night, the women of the sun were employed in kneading a kind of dough called Cancu; and this they made in little round loaves, about the bigness of an apple. We are to observe, that these Indians never made their corn into bread except at this solemn feast, and another called Citua, and then they never eat more than two or three pieces of it; for their common bread was called Gara, which was a kind of pulse; and the corn of which it was made was either baked or parched. None but such chosen virgins as had devoted themselves to the sun, in order to be his wives, were permitted to knead the dough of which that bread was made, particularly that which was eaten by the Incas and those of the royal blood, or to prepare the other viands which were to be eaten on that feast; because on that day, the sun's children did not eat their father, but rather the sun gave a banquet to his children. The common people were



were waited upon by a numberless multitude of other women, who prepared their victuals, and took a vast deal of care in working up the bread which was made for their use, and was always of the finest flour. They were not allowed to eat any of it except on this solemn day, which was the greatest of all their festivals, for they thought this bread to be of a very sacred nature.

On the most solemn day of the feast, the Inca appeared in public, accompanied with his relations, when he went with all his train to the great square in Cusco, and there waited bare-footed till such time as the sun should rise, during which he looked attentively towards the east. The moment he saw it appear upon the horizon, he fell prostrate on his knees, and opening his arms directly opposite to his face, kissed the air: The Curacas and other nobles of the empire stood at some distance, and worshipped the sun in imitation of the Inca, and the princes of the blood. Then the Inca rose up, the rest continuing still upon their knees, and took two great golden vases, filled with drink, and at the same time, he, in quality of chief of the house of the sun, lifted up one of those vases, and shewing it to the sun, invited him to drink. The Peruvians were persuaded that this planet pledged the Inca and all the princes of the blood.

After the Inca had invited the sun to drink in this manner, he poured all the liquor that was in the vessel dedicated to the sun, which he held in his right hand, into a golden tub with ears, whence the drink diffused itself as from a spring into a pipe that was curiously wrought, and which reached from the great square to the house of the sun. When that was done, he drank a little of it, as his portion, out of the vessel which he held in his left hand, and at the same time the rest was divided among the Incas, by a little gold or silver vessel which each of them had brought with him. In this manner they insensibly emptied the Inca's vessel, the liquor whereof, according to them, was sanctified by his hand, or that of the sun, whose virtue is communicated to them. All those of the royal blood took a draught of this liquor, but they gave the Curacas the drink which the sun's wives had made, and not that which they believed to be sanctified.

This ceremony ended, which was no more than a prelude to a quaffing-bout, they marched in order to the house of the sun, when all, the king excepted, pulled off their shoes and stockings at two hundred paces distance from the gates of the temple. Then the Inca and his relations entered it, as being the sun's legitimate offspring, and prostrated themselves before his image. In the mean time, the Curacas, who thought themselves unworthy of entering his temple, because they were not related to him, stood without in a great court which was before the gate; and the very moment the Inca had, with his own hand offered the golden vessel, with which he had performed the ceremony, the rest gave theirs to those Inca priests, who had been nominated and dedicated to the service of the sun; for they only were allowed to execute that office, and not even those who were related to the sun, unless they were of the priesthood. When the sacrificers had offered the vessels of the Inca,

they went all to the door, to receive those of the Curacas, who all walked according to their respective ranks, and in the order of time they had been reduced under the empire of Incas. Besides their vessels they also presented to the sun several gold and silver pieces, representing in miniature, but very naturally, various kinds of animals, as sheep, lambs, lizards, toads, adders, foxes, tygers, lions, birds of all kinds, and every thing that grew in their respective provinces.

The offering being ended, each of them returned in order to his place, and at the same time the Inca priests were seen advancing forward with a great number of lambs, barren ewes of all colours, for they are naturally speckled in this manner, like the Spanish horses. Out of all these beasts, which belonged to the sun, they took a black lamb; the Indians making choice of that colour preferably to any other, particularly in their sacrifices; because, according to them, it had something divine in it. To this they added, that a black beast was generally so all over the body, whereas a white one has generally a black spot upon its snout, which they looked upon as a blemish, and for this reason their kings were generally dressed in black, and their mourning habits were of a mouse-colour.

The first sacrifice which they made of a black lamb, was in order to obtain happy or unhappy presages of the solemnity of their feast; for these people in every important action, whether in peace or war, always sacrificed a lamb, when they took out its heart and lights, in order thereby to judge whether or no their oblation would be agreeable to the sun; if the war in which they were going to be engaged, would be happy or unsuccessful, and whether the earth would yield an abundance of fruits that year. But we are to observe, that they always sacrificed different animals, according to the nature of the presages which they were desirous of obtaining by that means, as lambs, sheep, barren ewes; for they never killed any but what were so, nor eat their flesh till such time as they were past bringing forth young. In these sacrifices, they took the lamb or sheep which they had marked out for slaughter, with his head turned eastward, without tying his feet together; but three or four men held him with all their strength, to prevent his stirring. They then ripped up its left side, the beast being still alive, and thrusting in their hands, took from thence the heart, the lights, and all the rest of the harlet, which they were obliged to pull out entire, without tearing the least part of it.

They were as superstitious at least as the Greeks and the Romans in inspecting the intrails of their victims, and this is manifest from that passage of the history of the Incas above cited. When the lights, after being just taken out, were found still panting, it was looked upon to be so happy an omen, that all other presages were considered as indifferent or of no consequence; because, said they, this alone sufficed to make them propitious, how unhappy soever they might be. After they had taken out the harlet, they blew up the bladder with their breath, then tied it up at the end, or squeezed it close with their hands, observing at the same time how the passages, through



through which the air enters into the lungs, and the small veins which are generally found there, were swelled; because the more they were inflated, the more the omen was propitious. They also observed several other particulars, which it would be a difficult matter for us to relate.

They looked upon it as an ill omen, if while they were ripping up the beast's side, it rose up and escaped out of the hands of those who held it down, and they also looked upon it as ill boding, if the bladder, which generally joins to the heart, happened to break, and had thereby prevented the taking it out entire; or if the lights were torn, or the heart putrified, and so on.

The sacrifices concluded with a feast of the sacrificed victim; this they distributed among all persons who were present at this solemnity, viz. to the Incas, and afterwards to the Curacas, and their train, according to their respective ranks. After they had been thus served up with meat, bread, which Garcilasso calls Cancu, was given them. They were then served in other kinds of victuals, all which they used to eat without drinking; the Peruvians not being allowed to drink at meals. They never drank till these were over, but then they would drink as copiously as any of the European nations.

They also had other festivals, and that to which Garcilasso gives the name of Citu, was very remarkable, and might be looked upon as a general lustration or purging by sacrifice. The design of this lustration was, to cleanse the soul from those pollutions which it contracts with the human body, and to preserve the latter from the diseases to which it is exposed. These people always prepared themselves for it by fasting, were obliged to abstain from all commerce with women, and fast for twenty-four hours. The Peruvians, the night after the feast, used to knead pieces, or balls of Cancu, in a very devout manner; laid them in earthen kettles, and parboiled them till such time as the Cancu was collected into one great lump. Of this they made two sorts, one was mixed with blood, which they drew from between the eye-brows and nostrils of young children. All those who had fasted, washed their bodies before day-break, and afterwards rubbed their heads, their faces, their stomachs, shoulders, arms, and thighs, with the above-mentioned dough, in order, said they, by this purification, to drive away diseases and all kinds of infirmities. The purification being ended, the oldest person of the highest quality in each family, took some of the above-mentioned dough, rubbed the door of his house with it, and left it sticking, to shew that his house was purified. The high-priest performed the same ceremony in the palace, and in the temple of the sun, whilst his subalterns or deputies purified the chapels and other sacred places. The moment the sun began to appear, they began worshipping it, and an Inca of the royal family presented himself in the great square at Cusco, magnificently robed, having a lance in his hand, adorned with feathers of various colours, and enriched with a great number of gold rings; which lance was also used for a standard in war time. This Inca went and joined himself to four others, who likewise were armed with lances, which he touched with his

own; and this was a kind of consecration. He then declared, that the sun had made choice of them to drive away diseases and infirmities; upon which these four ministers of the sun immediately set out to execute their orders: They then visited the several quarters or districts, upon which occasion every body came out of their houses, shook their garments, and rubbed their heads, faces, arms, and thighs. Such were the ceremonies which they thought purified them; and the whole was accompanied with great acclamations of joy. The ministers of the sun took away those evils which the people had just got rid of, and drove them to five or six leagues distance from the city.

The night following, the above-mentioned Incas ran up and down with straw torches, after which they came out of the city, and this nocturnal lustration was of service in driving out those evils to which the people are exposed in the night time, as that of the lances had been serviceable in repelling those of the day. They threw into the river in which the people had washed themselves, those half burnt torches, and whenever any pieces of them were found by the water-side, they would run away from them as if they had been infected with the plague. These feasts concluded with rejoicings, intermixed with prayers, thanks, and sacrifices to the sun.

But this account we have given of the Religion of these people, is only consistent with what state they were in when the Spaniards first invaded them. For before that time, there were many other religious sentiments embraced, and therefore in this article we shall only give a transient account of those nations whose idolatry the Incas destroyed in order to establish their own. Those of the valley of Rimac, afterwards called Lima, worshipped the idol Rimac under the figure of a man, who answered such questions as were made it, like the antient oracles of Greece. Rimac is as much as to say, He who speaks, and this idol was lodged in a very magnificent temple, which, however, was not so pompous as that of Pachacamac.

They also worshipped Pachacamac, but offered no victims to his honour; and so great was the veneration they bore him, that they did not dare to once cast their eyes up to him. Their kings and priests always walked backwards whenever they entered his temple, and came out of it in the same manner, without so much as once lifting up their eyes towards the idol.

The Antis, a people who inhabit towards the mountains of Peru, worshipped tygers and adders, and also the herb Coca. They put all their captives to death without the least mercy, but with this difference, that a prisoner of no distinction was immediately put to death, whereas a man who was thought worthy of that fatal honour, was sacrificed with great solemnity; for which purpose he was stripped naked, then they tied him to a great stake, and afterwards flayed his whole body with knives and razors, made of a flint stone, ground very sharp. They did not immediately tear him to pieces, but first cut the flesh from off the most brawny parts, such as the calves of the legs, the thighs and buttocks, after which, their men, women, and children



smear themselves with the blood of these unhappy wretches, and devoured them before they were dead. The women used to rub the tip of their breasts with their blood, and afterwards gave their children the blood of their enemies to suck, mixed with the milk which nature had given them for the sustenance of those little creatures. These inhuman wretches called this bloody execution a religious ceremony, and ranked all such as had suffered death with courage, or rather with a savage bravery, in the number of their gods, and lodged them under the huts on the tops of their mountains; but such as sunk under the violence of their tortures were thrown among the carrion.

The savages of the province of Manta worshipped the sea, fishes, tygers, lions, and several other wild beasts, as also an emerald of a prodigious size, which they used to expose to public view in their solemn festivals. They used to flay their prisoners of war, and after having stuffed their skins with earth and ashes, hung them up as trophies on the gates of the temples of their idols. We shall wave a farther description of these absurdities, since they would only tire the reader.

They relate, that a man of extraordinary shape, whose name was Choun, and whose body had neither bones nor muscles, came from the north into their country; that he levelled mountains, filled up vallies, and opened himself a passage through the most inaccessible places. This Choun created the first inhabitants of Peru, giving them the herbs and wild fruits of the field for their sustenance. They also relate, that this first founder of Peru, having been injured by some savages who inhabited the plains, changed part of the ground, which before had been very fruitful, into sand, forbid the rain to fall, and dried up the plants: But that being afterwards moved with compassion, he opened the springs, and suffered the rivers to flow; and this Choun was worshipped as a god, till such time as Pachacamac came from the south.

Choun disappeared after the arrival of Pachacamac, who was much mightier, and metamorphosed all the men whom Choun had created, into wild beasts. The Peruvians had some knowledge of the flood; but as it would be a difficult matter to draw any thing accurate from the account they given of it, we shall not take any notice here of the great veneration they paid to the rainbow; their superstitious opinions concerning comets; the predictions which they drew from dreams; nor of the opinion they had that the sun at his setting used to plunge himself into the ocean, where it lost its light and heat, both which it recovered after having passed under the earth, which they placed on the surface of the waters, and that it afterwards rose in the morning through the gates of the east. Hence we may judge of the nature of the human mind, when uninformed of certain things, and whether the people of all countries are not disposed to receive the same impressions of superstition.

Indeed, there is great difficulty in getting quit of superstition, after a person has arrived at years of maturity; for a long persuasion of the truth of any thing sinks deep into the mind; and

to use the old proverb, "Custom becomes second nature." In all addresses to people to induce them to leave superstition, and embrace the truth, we ought to be extremely cautious; for those who are too precipitate in attacking prejudices, generally run those whom they attempt to convert into a disbelief of every thing, which commonly lays the foundation of Deism.

We shall conclude this article of their religion with the notion they had of eclipses. Whenever the sun was eclipsed, they imagined he was angry with them, and looked on the disorder, which, said they, appeared in his countenance, as a manifest proof of it. When the moon was eclipsed, they fancied it was sick; and when total, that it would infallibly die; that then it would fall from the sky, that all would be destroyed, and the world be at an end. In order to prevent these misfortunes, they, the moment the eclipse began, made a prodigious noise with horns, trumpets, and drums. They tied dogs to trees, and whipped them unmercifully, in order to make them bark so very loud, that the moon, whom they thought was now fallen in a swoon through the violence of pain, and who loved those creatures, because of the signal services they had formerly done her, was forced to awaken at their cries.

None but the Incas, who were of the royal family, were admitted to be priests of the sun; but those who were Incas by a special grant, that is, had been raised to that honour for their merit, were allowed to officiate in the inferior services of religious worship. We have already mentioned the sacrifices which the priests made to the sun, to which we will now add, that they did not always sacrifice in the same place, but frequently in the court of the temple of the sun; but that the sacrifices of the chief feast of the sun were performed in the great square at Cusco: The priests were obliged to enter the temple of the sun bare-footed and bare-legged.

They always chose one of the king's uncles or brothers for the sovereign pontiff, in default of which they were obliged to elect a legitimate relation of his. The priests had no habit peculiar to their order, but in all those provinces where the sun had a great number of temples, none but the natives, and such as were related to the chief man of each province, were allowed to exercise that religious employment. The chief priest, who was something like a bishop among them, was obliged to be an Inca. And in order that they might conform themselves to their metropolitan in their sacrifices and ceremonies, their Incas were always elected as superiors in times of peace and war; but they did not remove the natives to prevent their having any room to say they were despised, or treated in an arbitrary manner. The chief priest told the people the things he had consulted the sun about, and what the latter had commanded him to declare to them, according to the doctrine of their religion. In a word, he declared those things to them which he had discovered by auguries, sacrifices, and such like superstitions as prevailed among them; and they give their priests a name which signifies to guess or divine.

There were several apartments in the house of the sun, appropriated to the priests and domestics, who



who were all, as we have before observed, Incas by special grant : For no Indian, though of ever so great quality, was allowed to enter into it, unless he was an Inca ; neither were the ladies suffered to go into it, not even the kings wives or daughters. The priests administered in the temple in their turns weekly, which they consulted by the quarters of the moon, during which they abstained from all commerce with their wives, and continued in the temple day and night. All the time that the priests and ministers of the religion of the Incas were performing their respective functions in the temples, in which they administered weekly, as was before observed, they were maintained out of the revenues of the sun. This was the name they gave to the produce of certain lands, which they gave to that planet as his demesnes or inheritance, which generally include about a third part of the lands of each province.

These people had also nuns among them, who devoted a perpetual virginity to the sun. They were so very scrupulous upon this head, that they always made choice of girls under eight years of age, to prevent their being imposed upon. They were particularly cautious with regard to those virgins of the religious house at Cusco, they being designed for the sun's wives ; for which reason none were admitted into that convent but the daughters of the Incas of the blood-royal, which was not mixed with that of strangers. The most antient among these were chosen as abbesses. These had the direction of the younger ; taught them all kind of needle-works, instructed them in divine service, and had an eye to their infirmities : Their confinement was so close, that they never had an opportunity of seeing either men or women ; nor had they either turning-box, or parlour in their convent.

We are assured that these injunctions were observed with the utmost exactness, and that the law by which those who broke the vow they had made to the sun their husband was punished, was inexpressibly rigorous. Garcilasso says as follows upon that head. If among so great a number of religious, any one of them should happen to violate her chastity, there was a law, by which it was enacted, that the nun so offending should be buried alive, and her gallant hanged. But because the putting to death of one man only, was thought vastly disproportionate to so great a crime as that of violating a maiden devoted to the sun their god, and the father of their kings, it was moreover enacted by the same law, that not only the person offending should be punished, but also his wife, his children, his servants, his relations, and all the inhabitants where he resided, not excepting the babes who sucked at the breast. For this purpose, they razed the city and paved it with stones, by which means every part of it remained desart, cursed, and excommunicated, as a testimony of that city's having given birth to so detestable a wretch : They likewise endeavoured to hinder any one from treading upon that ground, and even beasts, if possible. This law, however, was never put in execution, because no one ever happened to be guilty of this crime in that country.

They had convents like those of Cusco, in all

the chief provinces of the empire. In these they admitted maidens of all ranks or degrees, whether of the royal-blood and legitimate, or bastards and of foreign extraction. They sometimes admitted into them, which, however, was a very great favour, the daughters of such lords as had vassals under them, not excepting those of the meanest citizens, provided they were beautiful ; for upon that condition they were educated, in order to their becoming one day the daughters of the sun, or the Incas mistresses, and were superintended with as much care as the women dedicated to that planet. These, like the rest, had young women to wait upon them, and were maintained at the king's expence, in quality of his wives. Moreover, they, as well as the virgins of the sun, generally spent their time in spinning, and in making robes or gowns for the Inca, who always distributed part of them among his relations and the Curacas, as likewise among the most renowned generals, and all such as he was desirous of distinguishing by his favour ; which was both looked upon as just and seemly, since those habits were wrought by his own, and not by the sun's wives, and were made for himself, and not for his father.

The above-mentioned women had also their Mamacunas like those of Cusco, but with this difference, that these were always legitimate children of the royal family, and were obliged to spend their lives in those convents, to all which conditions the wives of the sun were obliged to submit ; whereas in the other convents of the empire, they received maidens of all ranks and conditions, provided they were beautiful, and virgins of unsullied chastity ; they being devoted to the Incas, to whom they were delivered up at first asking ; and these were allowed to keep them as their mistresses, in case they happened to be agreeable in their eyes ; and these convents were in reality so many seraglios, like those of the east. Such as attempted to violate the honour of the Inca's wives, were punished with as much severity as those who debauched the virgins devoted to the sun ; for the law had enacted in this manner, because the crime was equally enormous.

Such young women as had been once pitched upon for the king's mistresses, and had had any commerce with him, were not allowed to return home without his leave, but attended in the palace in quality of ladies of the bed-chamber to the queen, till such time as they were permitted to return back into their own countries, where they received the utmost civilities, and were waited upon with a religious respect, because the people of their country thought it a great honour to have one of the Inca's wives. As for such nuns as were not chosen by the king for his mistresses, they remained in the convent, till they grew in years ; and after the king's death, his mistresses had the title of Mamacuna bestowed upon them by his successor, because they were appointed governantes of his mistresses, whom they used to instruct, as a mother-in-law would teach her step-daughters. We should not have related these several particulars, which seem fitter for an episode in romance, than to embellish the religion of a people, had not the Peruvians considered every circumstance which relates to their



their sovereigns, as so many religious rites, or ceremonies.

There were several other ladies of the blood royal, who led a retired life in their own houses, and made a private vow of chastity without entering into any convent. If at any time they went abroad, it was only to visit their nearest female relations, when they were either indisposed, in labour, about cutting off the hair of their eldest children, or about giving them a name. These women were so conspicuous for their chastity, and the strictness of their lives, that they were honoured with the peculiar title of *Oello's*, a name which was sacred in their idolatrous religion. These ladies were obliged to be sincerely chaste, and not disguise it with a false varnish; for if ever the least trick or artifice was discovered in their conduct, they were either burnt alive, or thrown into the lion's den. A widow never stirred out of her house during the first year of her widowhood, and seldom married again if she had no children; and if she had any, she spent her life in perpetual continence, and never entered a second time into the married state. This virtue gained them so universal an esteem, that several very considerable privileges were granted in their favour; and there were many laws and statutes, by which it was expressly enacted, that the widows lands should be ploughed sooner than those of the Curacas, or even of the Incas.

Before we conclude this article, it will be proper to take some notice of their confessions and the penance that followed after it. Persuaded from reason and the convictions of conscience, that the sins of mankind do necessarily draw down evils, and the avenging arm of heaven, they imagined themselves bound to expiate their crimes by sacrifices and penances. There were confessors established in all parts of the empire, who always imposed a chastisement proportionable to the greatness of the sin, and there were also certain women who had a share in this religious function. In the province of Collasuiro they employed charms for the discovery of sins, and sometimes discovered them by inspecting the intrails of victims; for he who concealed his faults was beat with stones. They confessed themselves on all those occasions where the divine assistance is immediately necessary; but the great and solemn confession was made whenever the Inca was sick. The Inca confessed himself to the sun only, after which he washed himself in a running stream, addressing it in these words: "Receive the sins which I have confessed to the sun, and carry them into the sea." Their penances consisted in fastings, oblations, withdrawing into the most desert part of the mountains, scourgings, &c. And now we shall proceed to the marriage ceremonies.

We shall begin this part with the marriage of such as were either nearly or distantly related to the Incas, of which Garcilasso gives the following account. The king caused to assemble annually, or every two years, at a certain time, all the marriageable young men and maidens of his family, that were in Cusco. The stated age was eighteen or twenty for the maidens, and twenty-four for the men; for they were never allowed to marry younger, because, said they, it

was fitting the parties should be of an age requisite for the well governing their families, and affirmed that it was mere folly to dispose of them sooner in marriage.

When the marriage was agreed upon, the Inca set himself in the midst of them, they all standing one by the other: He then called them by their names, after which taking them by the hand, he made them promise a mutual faith, which being done, he gave them into the hands of their parents. Then the new-married couple went to the house of the bridegroom's father, and the wedding was solemnized for three or four days or more, according as the nearest relations judged proper. The young women who were married in this manner, were afterwards called the lawful wives, or the wives given by the hand of the Inca; a title which was bestowed purely to do them the greater honour. When the Inca had thus married his relations, the next day the ministers appointed for that purpose married the rest of the young men, sons to the inhabitants of Cusco, in the same order, according to the division of the several districts, called Higher and Lower Cusco.

The relations furnished the moveables or utensils of the house, every one bringing something; and this they performed very punctually among themselves, and never made any sacrifices or other ceremonies at the weddings. The governors and Curacas were, by their employments, obliged to marry the young men and maidens of their provinces in the same manner. They were bound to assist in person at those weddings, or solemnize them themselves, in quality of lords and fathers of their country.

The corporations of every city were obliged to provide houses for their new-married citizens, and the nearest relations to furnish them with moveables. They did not allow the inhabitants of one province or city to marry with those of another, but were all obliged to marry among themselves, and with their own relations, like the antient tribes of Israel; which was done to prevent their nations and families from being blended and confounded with one another. They nevertheless excepted sisters. All the inhabitants of the same city, or of the same province, called themselves relations, in case they were of the same nation, and spoke the same language. To which let us add, that they were forbid to quit their province or city, or to go from one district to another, because they could not confound the *Decuriae* which had been established by the citizens; besides, their corporations regulated the houses, which they were not permitted to do more than once, and that only in their own district, and with the consent of their relations.

The heir to the crown used to marry his own sister, in imitation of the sun and the first Inca. For, said they, since the sun took the moon his sister to wife, and had married their two first children together, it was but reasonable the same order should be observed with regard to the king's eldest children. They also added, that the blood of the sun must not be mixed with that of men; that the succession ought to devolve on the heir both of the father and mother's side, and that otherwise he lost his right; for they were very exact with regard to the succession



sion to the crown. The elder brother was lawful heir to the crown, and married his own sister; but in default of an own sister, he married that woman of the blood-royal who was nearest related to him, whether she was his half sister, his cousin, his niece, or his aunt; and this she-relation might inherit the crown in default of male issue, as in Spain. In case the king's eldest sister brought him no children, he married her second or third sister, till such time as some were born to him.

This wife was called Coya, that is, queen or empress, and these kings, besides their lawful wives, usually kept several mistresses, some of whom were aliens, and others related in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and even beyond. They looked upon those children which they had by their relations as legitimate, because they were of their own blood; but those whom the Incas had by the aliens, were considered as bastards; for notwithstanding the respect that was shewn them because of their royal extraction, they yet did not revere them as much as those of the royal-blood: These they worshipped as gods, but honoured the others as men.

Purchas relates, on the testimony of the Spanish writers, that the bridegroom used to go to the house of his bride, and put her on the Otoia, a kind of shoe. If the bride were a virgin, the shoe was made of wool; but if a widow, it was made of a kind of reed. The royal habit of the Incas requires a particular explication; for which purpose we shall borrow the description of it from the author of the history of the Incas. The Inca generally wore a kind of twist about his head, called Lauta, of about an inch wide, and made almost in a square form, which went five or six times round his head, with a coloured border that reached from one temple to the other.

His habit was a waistcoat that reached down to the knee, called by the natives Uncu, and by the Spaniards Cufina, which is not a word of the general language, but rather of some particular province. Instead of a cloke they wore a kind of furtout called Yacola. The nuns also made a kind of square purse for the Incas, which they wore as it were in a sling, tied to a twist very neatly wrought, and about the breadth of two fingers. These purses, called Chuspa, were used only to hold the herb Cuca or Cocoa, which the Indians generally chew. This Cuca was not then so common as in our days; for none but the Inca was allowed to eat of it, his relations and certain Curacas excepted, to whom the king used to send yearly several baskets full, by way of present, which was looked upon as a very great favour.

From their marriages, &c. we pass on to those customs which relate to their children, and the education they gave them. The Incas always made great feasts, and extraordinary rejoicings at the weaning of their eldest children; because the right of seniority, particularly of males, was had in great esteem by the Incas, and after their example, by all their subjects; but few rejoicings were made at the birth of their daughters or younger children.

They weaned their children at two years old, and cut off the hair which they had brought with them into the world; never touching them till that time, nor did they give them the name by

which they were to be called. When this ceremony was to be performed, all the relations met together, and he who was chose godfather first cut the child's hair with his scissars, if we may give that name to certain razors made of flint stone, which they employed for that purpose, the Indians being unacquainted with those scissars used among us. After the godfather, the rest cut off some of the child's hair in their turn, according to their age and quality; which done, they all agreed upon giving it a name, and then offered it their several gifts; some giving clothes, others cattle, others weapons of several kinds, and others gold and silver drinking vessels, which, however, were presented to none but those of the royal extraction, for the common sort of people were not allowed to use them, unless by a special grant.

The presents being made, they all drank copiously, otherwise the festival would have been good for nought, and danced and sung till night. This lasted for three or four days, according to the quality of the child's relations. They observed almost the same ceremony at the weaning of the heir to the crown, and also cut off his hair, if we except that this was a royal solemnity, and that the high priest of the sun was always chosen for his godfather. On this occasion all the Curacas of the kingdom assisted personally, or by their ambassadors, at the solemnity, which held for twenty days together, and made rich presents to the prince, such as gold, silver, precious stones, and the most valuable things of their respective provinces.

As subjects love to imitate their princes, the Curacas, and in general all those of Peru, made likewise great rejoicings on these occasions, according to their rank and quality; and this was one of their most solemn festivals. They were extremely careful not to bring up their children too tenderly, and this was generally observed from the king to the beggar. The moment the child was born, it was washed with cold water, and then wrapped up in swaddling clothes, which they repeated every morning, after having left the water in the dew the greatest part of the time. Moreover, when the mother was for fondling her child in an extraordinary manner, she took water in her mouth, and squirted it over all his body, the crown of the head excepted, which she never touched. When those people were asked why they did this, they answered, that they did it to innure their children to cold and toil, and strengthen their limbs. They never swathed their arms till they were upwards of three months old, saying, that it would weaken them: And, they generally kept them in a cradle, which was a kind of bench with four feet, one of which was made shorter than the rest, purposely that they might be rocked with greater ease. The bed in which the child lay, was a kind of coarse net, in which the babe was wrapped on both sides of the cradle, to prevent his falling out.

Mothers never took their children in their arms, not even when they gave them suck; for, said they, they would always be for staying in them, were they to be used to it, and then it would be a difficult matter to confine them to their cradles. However, whenever they



thought proper to take them out of it, they used to make a hole in the ground, and set the child upright in it breast-high; they then swathed them with old clouts or rags, in order to make them lie the softer, and at the same time gave them several play things to divert them with, but never once took them in their arms, though they were the children of the greatest lords in the empire. When a mother wanted to give her child suck, she used to lay herself down upon it, but never gave it suck above three times a day, viz. at morning, noon, and evening; nor would she ever give it the breast but at those times, and would let it squall rather than suffer it to get a habit of sucking all day long. All the women of that country did the same, and the reason they gave for it was, that it made them nasty and subject to vomiting, that they became gluttons when they grew up, and that the beasts themselves furnished them with an example, who never suckled their young but at certain times of the day, and not all night long. The greatest lady in the empire brought up her children herself, and never gave them to another to nurse, unless forced to it by some great indisposition; nor had she any commerce with her husband all the time she suckled it, for fear of spoiling her milk, which might throw the child into a consumption.

As the child grew up, they strengthened its body by labour and exercise, after which it was put under the direction of the Amautas, who were the Peruvian philosophers or doctors. These Amautas regulated the manners of their youth, instructed them in the ceremonies and precepts of religion, in the laws of the empire, and the duty which man owes to his fellow-creatures. The minds of children were cultivated almost from their tender infancy; at six or seven years of age they always had some employment assigned them, which was always suited to their years. In fine, the care they took to shun idleness and indolence, was such, as might justly put nations infinitely more knowing than themselves to the blush. Nor were they less careful of flying from luxury, still more dangerous than idleness, whose only aim is to flatter the senses, and administer fuel to vanity, to awake in us a sense for pleasure in proportion as it decays in us, and which keeps the spirits in a perpetual hurry, even to the last gasp, notwithstanding its inability to produce the least fruits from all its labours, or even to discover one single mark of it.

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*An Account of the Religion of those Savages who inhabit Canada, and its Neighbourhood.*

The Jesuits have related many things concerning these people, which might have passed for truth had it not happened that great part of that country was, in 1763, given up to the English, so that we have now the most uncontroverted accounts of every thing relating to them. That they are all idolators is not saying that they are any worse than the inhabitants of other Heathen nations, and it must be acknowledged, that in some things they are not so horribly gross and abominable as those in Africa. But then they are divided

into so many different clans, tribes, hordes, &c. that in some particulars they differ much from each other. Of all these we shall proceed to give an account from the best and most respectable authority.

In several of these nations, they worship the sun, and as soon as they perceive day-break, they waft the first cloud of smoke that comes from their calumets towards that object, at the same time mumbling over a few words, as their first morning prayers. They afterwards smook towards the four quarters of the world. Some of them paint their bodies over with the figures of wild beasts, to make them appear the more terrible to their enemies, which practice is of great antiquity, for we find it was practised by the Antient Britons.

In other parts of this vast extensive country, the savages believe the world to have been created by a woman, who, together with her son, presides over it. They say that man is the principle of every thing good, and woman the principle of every thing evil. They further believe, that the woman who created the earth, being big with child, fell down from heaven, and dropped on the back of a tortoise. It will appear evident to every unprejudiced person, that we have here the outlines of the mosaic history of the fall of man, and although blended by fable, yet not more so than what is related by the Greek and Roman poets.

Others of these savages are of opinion, that the world was created by a spirit, and that one Misson restored it after the flood. They tell us, that one day as Misson was hunting, his dogs lost themselves in a great lake, which happening to overflow, soon spread itself over all the earth. Those savages who inhabit near the source of the river St. Lawrence believe, that a woman hovered sometimes in the air, and at last fell down on the back of a tortoise, that mud gathered round the tortoise from the sea and formed the earth.

However, as this woman did not delight in solitude, a spirit descended from above, and finding her asleep, drew near to her, that the result of this was, she became with child, and was delivered of two sons who came out of her side. When those children were grown up, they exercised themselves in hunting, and as one of them was a much more skilful hunter than the other, jealousy soon occasioned discord, and the unskilful hunter, who was of a very savage temper, treated his brother with so much cruelty, that he left this world and ascended to heaven. This notion of theirs seems to relate to the two sons of Adam, Cain and Abel.

They have some idea of the flood, and they believe that the world began at that time. They say that Mischapous, whom they look upon as a Supreme Being, first created the heavens, and afterwards created all the animals that were on floating woods and groves. With these he made a bridge, but foreseeing that all these creatures could not live long in that state, and that his work would be imperfect, unless he took care to secure them from misfortunes, and from being starved; and having at that time command only over the heavens, he addressed himself to Michinisi, the god of waters, and would have borrowed some land



*Engraved for D. HURD's Religious Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.*



*Celebration of the*  
CANADIAN'S grand SACRIFICE to QUITCHI MANITOU,  
*whom they call their great Spirit.*



land of him in order to settle his creatures on it, but Michinisi was not willing to comply with his request.

Thus disappointed, Michapous sent the beaver, the otter, and the rat one after another, to search for land at the bottom of the sea, but none of them brought any thing except the rat, who had in her mouth a few particles of sand. Michapous kneaded this sand into a leaven, which swelled to a great mountain. The fox was ordered to walk round this mountain; but it was so large that he soon became weary, and the Michapous enlarged the mountain into a large terrestrial globe. Some of them are of opinion, that men sprung originally from the putrified carcases of beasts, and we find Virgil embracing the same notion concerning the origin of Bees.

A steer of two years old they take whose head,  
Now first with burnish'd horns begins to spread:  
They steep his nostrils, while he strives in vain  
To breathe free air, and struggles with his pain.  
Knock'd down, he dies; his bowels bruise'd within,  
Betray no wound in his unbroken skin.  
Extended thus, in his obscene abode,  
They leave the beast; but first sweet flowers are  
strew'd:

Beneath his body, broken boughs and thyme,  
And pleasing Cassia, just renew'd in prime.  
The tainted blood in this close prison pent,  
Begins to boil, and through the bones foment;  
Then, wond'rous to behold, new creatures rise,  
A moving mass at first, and short of thighs;  
Till shooting out with legs, and imp'd with wings,  
The grubs proceed the bees with pointed stings.

These savages tell us further, that some of the animals having quarrelled among themselves, Michapous killed them, and a man rose from the putrefaction; and this new man invented the bow and arrow, which he employed against the beasts. It happened one day, that one of them being separated from the rest, discovered a hut where he found Michapous, who gave him a wife, and prescribed the several duties to be observed between them. Man had hunting and fishing allotted him for his part, and all domestic affairs were committed to the wife. From these men proceeded, and they lived in felicity together, having power over the wildest and fiercest beasts; but as they began to multiply, so they were obliged to look out for new countries to hunt in. At length discord and jealousy began to arise among the hunters, and this they consider as the origin of wars.

We have been the more particular in our account of those different opinions concerning the creation of the world, because lord Kames has, from those differences inferred, that there is not, in the whole world, any certain accounts to be depended on. His lordship was of a very different opinion when he wrote his essays on religion, but alas! in his advanced years, he has changed his sentiments. Some of these savages have temples erected to the sun, one of which is described in the following manner.

It is surrounded by a high wall, and the area within the wall serves for a place for the people to walk in. Upon this wall a great number of spikes are set, on the sharp ends of which

they fix the heads of their enemies, and likewise those of the most notorious criminals. Over the front is laid a great log of wood, raised high, and surrounded with hair, and garnished with scalps as so many trophies. The inside of the temple is painted with a vast number of figures, and in the middle is a sort of fire, a place which serves them for an altar. Two priests dressed in white, burn these logs, while the congregation are offering up their prayers. There is a closet in the wall which they call the tabernacle of God, and two eagles with extended wings hang on it, looking towards the sun. Their prayers are three times a day, namely, at sun rising, noon and sun-setting.

The Canadians give the name of great spirit to that Supreme Being, whom they also call Quitichi Manitou, and to whom they celebrate grand sacrifices.

They not only believe in the Supreme Being, but likewise in the immortality of the soul; and they consider all souls as emanations from the universal father of spirits. This notion is the same as what we find embraced by the Greeks and Romans, and, indeed, by almost all nations in the world, except those who are called Materialists; but happy for mankind their numbers are but few. But although these savages adore but one Supreme Being, yet like other Heathens, they have their idols, that is, they have images by which they represent the Divine attributes and operations. This propensity to idolatry among them needs not to be wondered at, when we consider, that they are followed, in some measure, by some who call themselves Christians.

The subject matter of all their hymns, is the praise of the beauties of the works of nature; the goodness of the Supreme Being; their victories; and the defeat of their enemies. The women address speeches to the rising sun, and present their children to him at the same time. From all this it appears, that these people are far from being Atheists, and probably it may be a doubt whether there is an Atheist in the world. Seneca, a Heathen, says, that although men may in words deny the being of God, yet their hearts condemn the thought; and it is certain, that without a firm persuasion of the existence of an Almighty power, man would be more miserable than the beasts in the field. For man has hopes or fears of something hereafter, whereas the beasts have none.

We are assured, that it is a very difficult matter to convert these people to the Christian religion, which can only be ascribed to two causes; First, the superstition of the Roman Catholics, whose ceremonies are, in some measure, as ridiculous as their own; and, secondly, to the want of human learning. It is necessary, however, to observe, that in consequence of these people being now subject to Great-Britain, though still governed by the French laws, many improvements have been made; but of this we shall speak more largely afterwards.

In their marriage ceremonies they differ but little from the savages who inhabit Hudson's-Bay. When a young man falls in love with a girl, he makes a formal demand of her from her father, or the nearest relation then living. When they are come to an agreement, the young man's father  
assembles



assembles all his relations, and declares to them his intention of bestowing his son in marriage, and his relations bring as many things to the hut as they can offer, as presents for the young savage.

His mother carries part of the goods to the young woman's hut, and, at the same time, the bride's mother declares to her daughter, that she has married her to such a person, meaning the young man already mentioned. The maiden must not make any objection, for that would be dishonourable. Every one gives something towards the bride's portion, but one of her relations always lays with her before her husband goes to bed. There are several other particulars that might be mentioned concerning their marriages, but being of a civil nature, they have no connection with this work. We shall only observe, that the husband has a right to put his wife away if she is barren; but then they are obliged to give her proper notice, that she may provide herself with a new husband.

In Canada, when a husband and wife are determined to part, they bring into the hut where the marriage ceremony was performed, all the little pieces of a wand used on that occasion; and these they burn, without hesitation, which completes the divorce without any manner of dispute. When they imagine a woman to be past child bearing, they never pay their addresses to her; for they look upon the grand end and design of marriage to be that of propagating the human species, and certainly this was its original design. Thus we find that the Jewish women were considered as objects of reproach, when they had no children; and something of that nature is to be found in all nations in the world.

In all nations where those people whom we call savages live in a state of nature, they are not much afflicted with disorders, except such as are rather the effect of the climate than the effect of gluttony. And as they have but few diseases, so we should naturally imagine they could have but little occasion for physicians; for it may be said in the words of the poet,

The first physicians by debauch were made;  
Excess begun, and sloth sustain'd the trade.  
By toil our first forefathers earn'd their food,  
Toil strung their nerves and purified their blood:  
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,  
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.  
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,  
Than see the doctor for a nauseous draught.  
The wife for health on exercise depend;  
God never made his works for man to mend.

But notwithstanding these salutary rules, yet we find, that even those savages who live in a state of nature, have their physicians, or rather impostors, for they deserve no better name; their jugglers or mountebanks pretending to cure all manner of diseases, by charms, spells and enchantments; but then we may consider that few of these diseases are inveterate. Sweating is one of the methods they make use of; and another of the methods used by them is too curious to be passed over in silence.

They make a hot bath, into which the patient goes stark naked, along with others as naked as himself, whose business it is to rub him.

This bath they cover with the heads of wild bulls, flint stones and pieces of rock made quite hot. The patient thus shut up in the bath, is obliged to keep in his breath, every now and then, and while the juggler is singing as loud as he can bawl, those who are along with him in the bath also sing in concert. They cure diseases of the legs and thighs, by lancing the parts infected, with a knife made of stone or iron. These incisions are afterwards rubbed with bear's grease, or the fat of some other wild beast; and to expel the poison of serpents, they have a variety of charms. All those who act as physicians are also the priests, and they undergo a long probation, the manner of which is as follows: They shut themselves up in a hut during nine days; and are allowed no other substance than water. The novice holding a kind of bottle in his hand, full of pebble stones, with which he makes a continual noise, invokes the spirit, intreats him to speak, and to admit him into the number of spirits. The whole is accompanied with the most terrible howlings, cries and agitations both of body and mind, and he foams at the mouth like a madman.

As soon as this ridiculous part of the ceremony is over, he comes out of his hut, and boasts of his having conversed with the spirit; and having received from him the power of healing all sorts of diseases. Father Hennepin adds, that nothing can be more dreadful than the cries and distortions of those jugglers, at the time of their practising their pretended enchantments. It is certain, that they carry on the deception with great skill and cunning, but in general the tricks they perform are too ridiculous to gain the esteem of any man of common sense. And to this may be added, that most of their pretended cures are rather the effect of chance, than any way owing to their knowledge of the human frame. However, they are acquainted with the virtues of several physical herbs, which undoubtedly was the first way in which all diseases were cured.

When the juggler visits the patient, he asks him a great number of questions, promising, at the same time, to root out the evil spirit. He immediately withdraws to a little tent for that purpose. Here he sings, howls and dances like a madman. He then sucks the patient's wounds and drawing some little bones out of his mouth tells him that he has taken them out of his body. He then tells him to be thankful under his sufferings, as it will be in his power to cure him. The juggler then demands his fees, and when he is paid, he sends several young men to hunt the elks and other deer. And here it may be necessary to observe, that many of the tricks practised by our quacks in Europe are as ridiculous as any of those we have now mentioned. It frequently happens, that when the juggler finds he cannot cure the patient, he gives him something to dispatch him, and then tells his relations that the spirit has revealed to him that he is incurable. This supports the credit of the impostor, and ensures to him his fee, which is all he has in view. And is this not like the conduct of many of our European doctors, who amuse the relations of the patient while they are killing him according to the rules of art.

The



The juggler sometimes endeavours to persuade the patient that he is bewitched, and on such occasions stretches his body upon a floor covered with beaver skins, or of the skins of some other beasts. The juggler then feels every part of the patient's body, till he comes to the place affected, and then he pronounces his charm, which has the desired effect, because the disease instead of being real was only imaginary.

Although these savages believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet they have but confused notions concerning it; for they believe that souls transmigrate from one body to another; and as we have had frequently occasion to mention these notions we may here once for all observe, that because they could not account for the apparent unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, and not having proper notions of a future state, they believed that the souls of the wicked went into other bodies to be tormented.

They bury their dead with great pomp and ceremony, for they dress them, and paint their faces and bodies with different colours, after which they lay them in coffins made of the bark of trees, the outside of which they make extraordinary smooth, with light pumice stones. They then set up a palisade round the tomb, which is always raised seven or eight feet from the ground. Their women wear a mourning habit for eight years together, during which time they are not permitted to marry; but in this there is nothing extraordinary, because among these savages a widow seldom obtains a husband. Several of these people solemnize festivals in honour of the dead, and on such occasions they take the bones out of the graves, and put them into new ones lined with beaver skins.

Hunting is considered by these people as a religious exercise; and a few days before they set out to hunt the bull, there old men send out some young ones to view the place where the chase is to be. When the hunters are got there, they dance and sing according to the custom of the country, and at their return they expose for three days successively, several great kettles filled with feathers. During these three days, a woman of distinction walks in procession with a cauldron on her back, before a great number of hunters. The company is headed by an old man, who with great gravity carries a piece of cloth by way of standard or ensign. Before a young hunter goes to the chase for the first time, he is obliged to keep a religious fast, to which he prepares himself with the utmost care and attention that is generally observed by those who go through a state of probation in any order whatever. This fast continues three days, during which time the novice is obliged to daub his face over with black, and this he imagines to be an homage he owes to the great spirit.

When they swear in their courts of judicature, they dip their heads in the blood of the victim that is to be offered up in sacrifice, and rub part of it over their foreheads. This they do as an appeal to the Supreme Being, that they tell the truth; and consequently were they to tell a falsehood, they would look upon themselves as condemned to eternal perdition; and this may serve to shew, that Divine wisdom has impressed on

the minds of the most unlightened Heathens, an obligation of telling the truth.

Such was the state of those savages when the French first settled among them; and those who were not converted to Popery, embrace the same sentiments even to this day. It is certain, that it was the design of the legislative power of Britain to convert these savages to Christianity; but unfurmountable difficulties presented themselves. First, when Canada was ceded to the English, the civilized part was inhabited by bigotted Roman Catholics, and the priests of that religion are always assiduous in making converts; on the other hand, the missionaries sent from Britain, were obliged to be extremely cautious, because by the treaty of capitulation, the civilized part of the Canadians were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

Missionaries from Britain could not therefore expect much success, and an act passed in this country, confirming all the privileges which these people formerly enjoyed, whether of a civil or religious nature. But still our society for the propagation of the Christian religion did not stop at these difficulties. Four missionaries were sent over to Canada, and are maintained there to this day, at the rate of two hundred pounds a year each. When we consider the troubles that have been in that part of the world, we need not be surprised, that the labours of the missionaries have not yet been attended with the desired effect.

Secondly, another object the society had in view, was to convert the savages, but here many difficulties lay in their way. They were ignorant of the language spoken by these people, consequently they could not communicate their sentiments to them. Probably these difficulties would have been got over, had not the war broken out; and it may be naturally supposed, that the Romish priests in Canada, would rather wish to see the savages continue in a state of Heathenism, than be made acquainted with the Protestant religion. All those who are members of false religion, are inveterate enemies to those who practice Christian duties. From the whole we may draw this conclusion, that nothing will ever, under the dispensation of the British government, bring about the conversion of these savages, but the pious lives of our missionaries. Let them only consider that they are accountable beings; let them consider that they were not born for themselves, and then they will go cheerfully on with the work committed to their care; they will enlighten the Heathen nations, and join in immortality with those souls of whose conversion they were the instruments.

### *The Religion of California.*

It is much to be lamented, that notwithstanding the many discoveries lately made in commerce, in the extension of trade, and the knowledge of navigation, yet we are still left in ignorance concerning the religion, or even the civil customs and manners of the people of California. This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider that many of our naviga-



tors have visited that country. One thing, indeed, must be observed, that seamen are bad historians, and therefore we must take our accounts of them from such authors as are of the highest reputation for their integrity. The form of their government is such as discovers that they are not totally ignorant of those circumstances that conduce to the maintaining of order and regularity. But nevertheless, the little religion they seem to have, is vastly odd and fantastic, but still they are not, so far as we can learn, very superstitious. Great adoration is paid to water, because say they, it contributes towards promoting the growth of corn and other food, as the proof of its being the only support of life.

Their dress consists mostly of figures, made of rabbit skins, whimsically daubed over. In this manner, the king of the country consents to be daubed likewise; but then it will possibly be asked, what has all this to do with religion? The answer is obvious. These people know nothing of religion, for they observe so many ridiculous ceremonies, that all sentiments of an intellectual nature are alienated from their minds. As they worship idols, so they have temples erected to their memories, where they perform what they call their sacred devotions. They imagine that it is here that the devil comes to divert himself whenever he is forced to ramble from one place to another. But here we must not be too precipitate in our judgements, because travellers are apt to relate things from bare hearsay, without knowing any thing of the nature of them. The Jesuits, who visited this country, imagined that the only way to ingratiate themselves into the affection of these people, was to make them believe they came from the sun; for by an evasion, they thought they might easily substitute the son of righteousness in place of that luminary which gives light to the world. Some Indians who suspected the truth of this mission, asked why these messengers had not been sent from the sun before? To which it was answered, he was too young. This answer was suitable enough to a savage, and the conclusion of the conference was that they acknowledged him to be the son of that planet. This pretended son, in order to increase the number of the faithful, raised a wooden cross, and commanded his companions the Spaniards to adore it, as an example for the imitation of the infidels. To these he prescribed the time and manner of adoration, and as we may take it for granted, that he worshipped the rising sun in the morning, they were to worship the cross at the same time.

In their marriage ceremonies they have very little remarkable, any farther than that they are of a very mercenary nature. The young man gives a certain sum of money for the bride, who is considered as an article of commerce. When the parties are agreed, the relation of the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride's parents, and makes a formal demand of her. He mentions what money, or other things he has advanced as purchase-money, and they give their approbation in consequence of their being satisfied.

These preliminaries being settled, the bride is conducted home in triumph, and there is a feast

prepared for her and for all the family relations. Polygamy is permitted among these people, for they are allowed to marry as many wives as they can support, but they are not to discard them on every frivolous pretence. Indeed, the nature of conjugal duty is not considered as very sacred in this country, because there are some crimes committed that ought not to be named. However, thus much we may take notice of, that the men in this country, if they are rich, keep a great number of boys dressed in womens cloaths; what use they make of these boys needs not be mentioned, but we are only surprised to find that savages should commit the same unnatural crimes as those who live in what are commonly called civilized nations.

Is not this shocking! Shall those who are called polite, be more addicted to unnatural crimes than savages? Yes: and to the dishonour of mankind, and the disgrace of human nature; where learning is cultivated, vice generally increases. And is this owing to learning? No: It is owing to the abuse of it. The corruption of human nature is such, that men seldom make great progress in learning, without, at the same time, dishonouring themselves by an attachment to all those vices which are a dishonour to their characters, and make them even more contemptible than the beasts that perish.

When we consider the antiquity of this horrid crime, its extension among the Heathen nations, the encouragement it still meets with in Italy, and the progress it has made in Great Britain, we are lost as it were in astonishment to discover that passion which gives rise to it. Indeed it is a just and very pertinent observation of archbishop Fenelon, "That notwithstanding all the pretended politeness of the Greeks and Romans, yet as to moral virtue and religious obligations, they were no better than savages in America." But to proceed with our narrative.

When any of these people die, the whole village is in an uproar, for the women meet together and scream out in the most hideous manner. They tear their hair, and throw ashes over their upper garments, to make the people believe they are sincerely in earnest. The body of the deceased is washed and laid out, after which they carry it out to a funeral pile erected in the neighbourhood. Here a great many hymns are sung in honour of the deceased, reciting all the heroic actions of his life, and these songs are attended with a great number of gestures.

This part of the ceremony being over, a great number of aromatic herbs and flowers are brought to the funeral pile, and when the priests have mumbled over a certain number of prayers, fire is set to the pile and all the materials are consumed along with the body of the deceased. They do not burn the bodies of the women along with their husbands as is done in the East-Indies, from which circumstance we may learn, that all Heathens are not equally barbarous. There is one circumstance which must not be omitted relating to these people, and that is, adoption. Men who have no children of their own, in order to perpetuate their names and keep up their family distinctions, make choice of the son of a slave, whom they educate as their own, give him their



Engraved for J. Ward's Religious

Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.



NUMBO JUMBO an INDIAN IDOL

*of a monstrous size and appearance, before whom the King  
of the Country is summoned by the people to pay homage.*



their name, and at their death, leave him in possession of their whole fortune. This piece of mean, vulgar pride, was much attended to by the antient Romans, and it was common among them to have as many adopted sons as real ones. Perhaps it was owing to this, that the Romans have been so frequently accounted as destitute of natural affections. A parent may be a man of humanity, he may do many things to relieve the wants of his fellow creatures, but still notwithstanding all that, he cannot consider the child of another as his own. It is certain, however, that this prevailed in antient times in Asia, and it is easily to be accounted for.

Polygamy, as it makes wives cool and regardless towards their husbands, so it makes fathers forget the duty they owe to their children. The man who has more wives than one, has not a sincere friend in the world, and the parent who has children by different wives, is in general partial to those descended from favourites.

Mr. Gray says,

— A favourite has no friend.

Had the poet reversed the words, and said, that favourites are generally spoiled in their education, perhaps he would have acted more consistent with his character as an able writer; but this we may venture to affirm, that wherever polygamy exists, the parent can never do his duty to all his children. His affections are as it were divided; he loves his offspring, but he is obliged to offend his favourite wife, if he is not partial to her children instead of the others.

We shall conclude this account of the religion of California, by observing, that if our modern navigators had been as assiduous in promoting the interests of these savages, as they have been in giving us a description of the country, they might have procured immortal honour, and brought everlasting glory to their country. But why should we look for that in some men, who deny a particular providence? Bold and intrepid they go out on voyages, paying no regard to death or eternity. They laugh at every thing that is serious in religion, and boldly assert, that Divine Providence has no concern with the affairs of this lower world. Such is the effect of abused talents, such is the use that is too commonly made of human learning. But still let it never be forgotten, that those who love religion, will at all times endeavour to make every one as happy as themselves; for the exercise of real knowledge is to do good to all those who want our assistance.

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*An Account of the Religion of the Virginians.*

In treating of the Religion of the Virginians, we do not mean those British subjects now settled in that part of America, but the antient savages, and particularly those who still inhabit the back settlements. These Indians are so tenacious of every secret relating to their religion, that it is considered as sacrilege in any one to reveal a single secret of it.

When the English first settled here in the reign of queen Elizabeth, they found a temple about thirty feet long and eighteen broad, and there was a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. The gate of the temple was at one end, and at some distance on the outside, stakes were set up quite round it, the tops of which were painted, representing mens faces. They did not find one window in all the temple, nor any place for the light to enter in at, except the door, and the hole in the chimney. At the end, over against the door, there was a separation made of matting, worked very close together, which enclosed a place about ten feet in length, and which did not let in one single ray of light.

The English adventurers were at first afraid to prevail upon themselves to enter into this place, but at last they did, and found in the middle of the inclosure, a place surrounded with stakes, at the top of which were great shelves, from whence they drew these mats that were rolled up and sewed together, on one of which some bones were laid, and on another the Indian weapon of destruction called a tomahawk. They had tied to one of these tomahawks, the waddles of a turkey-cock painted red, and the two longest feathers of his wing hung at the end, tied with a string of about five or six inches in length, having a notch at the top for the setting in of the head. In the third mat was some inlaid work, which they took for the idol of the Indians. Underneath was another board, not half so long as the former, and which they fastened with pieces of wood, that, being set in on every side, stood out about fourteen or fifteen inches from his body, and which are round the knees of the image to bend.

The Virginians have several names for this image, but he is in general represented with a pipe of tobacco in his mouth, and what is more surprising he really smokes, but then there is a priest artfully placed behind him, who, unseen by the worshippers, lights the pipe. The darkness with which this idol is surrounded, prevents the ignorant worshipper from seeing the priest who carries on the deception; for were they once to look in, they would no longer pay any worship to inanimate beings conducted by knaves. And here we have a beautiful allusion to many passages in the sacred scriptures, where idolatry is always compared to darkness, and the truth or true religion to light. Lord King justly observes, that by darkness is not only meant the ignorance of the Heathen nations concerning divine things, but likewise those numerous abominations which were transacted under the covert of real darkness, and some of these are such as ought not to be described.

These Virginians, like many other Heathens, worship the sun; and at day break the devotees of both sexes go out fasting to their idol temples, and wash themselves in a running stream. The ablution continues till the sun appears, nor do they suffer their children of ten years of age to omit this religious duty. As soon as the sun is above the horizon, they offer him tobacco. They consider all nature as entirely under the direction of their idol, which is much more to their honour, although idolators, than to the reputation



reputation of those who call themselves Christians, yet blasphemously deny a particular providence.

Whenever they go on a journey, they then burn tobacco to the sun, in order to obtain his assistance. When they cross a lake or river, they throw tobacco into it, in order that the spirit who presides in such place may grant them a safe passage. And when they return home from hunting, from war, or from any dangerous employment, or enterprize, they offer up the best part of their spoils to their idols. Many of the antients observed the same customs, and even at present, not only among the Roman Catholics, but even among Protestants, the colours and standards taken in war, are put up as trophies of victory in the most celebrated churches. And why all this formality? And why should the sentiment so universally prevail? The answer is obvious. There is a principle implanted in the human mind, that leads men to consider themselves as dependent on some superior being. They hereby acknowledge that it was to him they were indebted for the victory obtained; and as a grateful return, they dedicate to him the most valuable of the spoil taken from the enemy.

These savages have but a confused notion of the creation of the world, but they all acknowledge that there is a Divine Being, to whom all their gods, or idols are subject. They say, that this Being leaves men entirely to the freedom of their own wills, while he himself continues in a state of indolence, out of which all the worship they offer him is not able to recover him. This system being entirely that which was embraced by the followers of Epicurus amongst the Heathens, and the Sadduces among the Jews, we shall not say any thing concerning it, because it is a bold attempt to set aside the utility of public and private worship; for if God does not take notice of the actions of men in this life, then the whole bounds of religion are removed; there is no motive to duty; there is nothing to restrain us as mortals from committing the most horrid, the most unnatural crimes.

But that the reader may have a just notion of the sentiments of these people, which are the same with those of Epicurus, we shall here present him with what Lucretius has written on the subject.

How the vast mass of matter, nature, free  
From the proud care of th' med'ling deity,  
Doth work by her own private strength, and move,  
Without the trouble of the gods above;  
For how, good Gods, can those that live in peace,  
In undisturb'd and everlasting ease,  
Rule this vast all, their labouring thoughts divide,  
'Twixt heaven and earth, and all their motions guide;  
Send heat to us, the various orbs controul,  
Or be immense, and spread o'er all the whole?  
Or hide the heavens in clouds, whence thunder thrown,  
Does beat their own aspiring temples down.  
Or through vast deserts breaks th' innocent wood,  
Mother to the bad, but strikes the just and good.

All we shall here add is, that those who have been the most irreligious in this world, formed their notions upon the inequality of rewards and punishments. Were all the wicked to suffer just punishments in this life, and all the virtuous to be rewarded, what occasion would there be for a future judgment? In many cases God has shewn himself to be at the head of divine providence, but not in all; to convince men, that however hardened they may be in wickedness while in this world, yet there may be a time, or a period, when the mask of hypocrisy will be laid aside; nay, it will be stripped off, and the daring sinner will stand as a culprit at the bar of infinite justice. On the other hand, the oppressed virtuous man should rest satisfied in this that God will be his friend at the last day, notwithstanding all the sufferings he may have been subjected to in this world; for it is an established maxim both in natural and revealed religion, that the upright judge of the universe, will not deceive his creatures.

Peter Williamson, who published the account of his captivity among these Virginian savages in 1758, has given us a particular description of their priests, who are, at the same time, a sort of vagabond quack doctors. They use a vast number of spells and charms; and although they are no stranger to the efficacy of herbs in curing many diseases, yet they are such amazing impostors, that they make their patients believe, that they cannot be cured till they have invoked the assistance of one of their idols. This is a mystery of iniquity indeed, but not more than is to be met with in other Heathen nations.

When they have been successful in war, they come home loaded with spoils, and having collected the whole tribe together, they light a fire and dance in a confused manner round it. Their priests partake of this solemnity, dressed in their sacerdotal habits, and these priests begin the song. Nothing can be more terrible than to behold their solemnities; for they roar out and make such a hideous noise, that even wild beasts would be afraid of them. When they go out to war, every one carries a hatchet or tomahawk in his hand, and when peace is concluded the hatchet is buried; probably it is owing to this custom that so many hatchets have been dug up in Virginia, some of which are now to be seen in the British Museum.

We are assured, that the Indians in Virginia look upon marriage as a very solemn act; and that the vows they then make are solemn and inviolable. The husband and wife may live separately if they cannot agree; but divorces are looked upon as scandalous. As for their children, they plunge them into cold water the moment they are born, and they educate them much after the same manner as the Canaries and other savages of North America, from their earliest infancy, till they arrive at years of manhood.

These savages believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, but still they seem to have very odd notions concerning it. They look upon the separate state of departed souls as an habitation beyond the mountains, and into those unfrequented mansions, they imagine the soul retires after death. This may serve to shew, that



that although these people are barbarians and savages in their manners, yet they retain the first principles of natural religion. This will for ever remain as an eternal scandal to those who have denied this leading sentiment. Whether their notions concerning the immortality of the soul are of a corporeal nature or not, is not easily known. This probably was the reason why the Heathens have run into so many gross notions, concerning things of the utmost importance.

The last thing we shall take notice of, is, what should always come last, namely, an account of their preparations for death, and their funeral solemnities. When a person is taken sick, he sends for the priest, who comes and mumbles over him a great number of words which no person understands but himself. They beat drums so as to stupify the patient, and when he expires, they say that he would have lived longer had he not been guilty of some unpardonable crimes. This is undoubtedly a very good juggling trick, and the character of the priest is supported although the patient dies.

In their funeral rites and ceremonies they differ but little from the other savages in America. When a person dies, they wrap up his body for one day in linen cloth, or in the skins of beasts. Next day they cut the flesh off from his bones, and burn it in the fire. They then prepare for the funeral, and the women make a dreadful howl around the corpse. They make a wooden coffin in which they put the body, and then it is carried to the place of interment. The body is laid in the grave, which is generally in one of the woods, and there another howling begins, which continues for several days without intermission. They sacrifice some sheep and goats in honour of the deceased, and what will perhaps seem very surprising, they rejoice that they have been delivered from all the afflictions of a tumultuous world. The women dress themselves in white, and the men are dressed in the most sumptuous manner, according to the custom of their country. When they have deposited the body, they sing several mournful elegies, and they have an entertainment provided for them. This is just what the Greeks call a *Dirge*, and what we commonly call a funeral solemnity. They remember annually the deaths of their friends; all which may serve to shew, that these Heathens are not such strangers to natural religion as we are too fondly apt to imagine.

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*An Account of the Religion of the Natives of Hispaniola.*

With respect to this part of South-America, we are well acquainted with it, our connections with the people have been great, and therefore we can, with the greater clearness, give an account of their religious sentiments. That their religious sentiments are much the same with those we have already mentioned in our account of Peru, will appear from comparing them together. The Peruvians adored the sun, and so did the inha-

bitants of Hispaniola. The grand object of worship among the Heathens was the sun, and therefore we need not be surprised that so many persons were addicted to it. From what motives the Heathens were led to adore the sun, is not our business to enquire, but we shall now proceed to give an account of the religious sentiments of these people at present. Indeed, we may naturally imagine, that the worship of the sun was in such honour and respect among idolators, that they looked upon every person who found fault with it as no better than a blasphemer. This, however, is a dangerous notion; for nothing can be considered as an object of worship but what is recorded as such in Divine Revelation.

These people were actually guilty of offering up human sacrifices, and their merciless hearts were deaf to the cries of the innocent children. We are sorry to say, that in the course of this work, we have had occasion to point out these crimes. Let them be ever so horrid in themselves, yet they are of great antiquity; they were practised among the antient Canaanites, and if any regard is to be paid to history, they were common even among the Antient Britons. However, not to enlarge upon things remote from the subject, we shall only take notice, that as these people offer sacrifices to the sun, so they naturally expect some favours from him. Not that they have any reason for doing so, but only because superstition having laid hold of their minds, they do not chuse to quit the favourite object. It is true, that they have temples to the sun, but they are poor mean structures; for what they were in former times is entirely out of the question at present, which, however, we shall have occasion to take some notice of afterwards, and in the mean time shall proceed to consider their mode of worship, duties, articles of marriage ceremonies, vows, solemn engagements, treaties of war and peace, their priests, religious obligations, attending upon their festivals, the manner in which the sick are healed on a death bed, their funeral rites, and what they observe in honour of the deceased, which encreases according to the nature of his quality.

The religious worship they paid their idols or demons, had something remarkable in it; for the Caquies always caused the solemnity of it to be proclaimed by heralds, and used on the day appointed for the ceremony, to walk in procession by beat of drums, at the head of their subjects of both sexes, who were dressed in their best clothes, but (strange to imagine) the maidens went naked. The whole company went afterwards to the temples of those false gods, who were there represented in a very grotesque manner, and much in the same manner as our painters represents the devil.

The priests used also to worship these idols, and pray to them with so much zeal, or rather with so many cries and howlings, as must necessarily terrify a company of poor wretches, who had not cunning enough to find out the tricks which those insidious priests concealed under their pretended devotion. It was then they presented the oblations of the devotees to their gods, which were partly cakes brought by women in baskets, adorned with flowers; after



which, as soon as the priest had given the signal, they danced, and sung the praises of the Zemes, whom we have already mentioned under the name of Chemens, and offered their cakes. The whole concluded with the praises of their antient kings, and with prayers for the prosperity of the nation. The priests used to divide these cakes into several pieces, and distribute them among the men, and they were obliged to keep them a whole year in their houses, because they were considered as sacred, and antidotes against several sorts of disorders as well as common accidents.

When the procession was got to the door of the temple, the Guagua, who was at the head of it, set himself down at the entrance, and all the people went in singing, and passed as it were in review before him. When they were got to the idol, they thrust a little stick down their throats, in order to make them vomit, for they were obliged to present themselves pure and unfulled before their god, and with their hearts as it were on their lips.

Their Zemes revealed themselves to the priests, and these priests acted their parts so well as to make the people believe that the idols spoke to them, which was, in all respects, consistent with the tricks practised by the priests among the Greeks and Romans of old. If the idol danced and sung, it was a good omen, but if he discovered a sorrowful air, the people were sad and dejected, gave themselves up to grief and tears, and fasted till there were some hopes of their being reconciled to their gods.

The account they give of the origin of mankind, is whimsical enough, and such as does hardly deserve a place in this work, were we not under the necessity of relating all their religious sentiments. Men (say they) came out of two caverns of a certain mountain, and out of one of them came those whom we may call the good, that is to say, the flower and choicest part of human kind; and from the other, the most vile and worthless part of them. The sun, greatly enraged at this, turned him into a stone, who keeps the opening of the mountain, to prevent the birth of mankind, and metamorphosed those new created beings into frogs, toads, &c.

This notion is as ridiculous as some of those of the antients, who believed that men sprung from oaks. Nay, what was still more ridiculous among these people in Hispaniola, they believed that the sun and moon both came out of caves. These caves were in such high reputation, that the people went annually in procession to them; for who would not visit the place where the object of their worship was born. These caves were embellished with pictures in the Indian taste, but before they entered, they always paid their devotions to two devils, who stood centinels at the gates; or rather to the figures of two devils, for we must not believe they were spirits, as all devils naturally are.

Polygamy, or a plurality of wives was allowed by the laws of this country, for men were permitted to marry as many women as they could support. As this custom was in every respect inconsistent with natural and revealed religion, so it must have led to the commission of unnatural crimes. There are some passions that no human

laws can restrain nor bring into proper subjection; for shut nature out at the door, and she will come in at the window. The Spaniards were sensible of this, and therefore they made a pretext of it to put many of those poor idolators to death, under the most excruciating torments. This was not the way to convert these poor people to Christianity, as will appear from the following plain, artless anecdote.

An old Cacique, of the province of Nicaragua, discoursing with a Spaniard, who attended upon one of these first conquerors, spoke thus to him.

“ Tell me, Christian, what you understand by Christianity? The Christians feed upon our provisions, lie with our wives, are idle, gamesters, and blasphemers; are mischievous, continually craving gold and silver; are abusive, and irreligious at mass; quarrel and fight with one another; on the whole, I take them to be a set of wicked wretches.”

There is perhaps more good sense and real truth in the words of this Heathen, than can be found in thousands of volumes, written in defence of Christianity; for how can a Heathen believe any doctrine to be true, while he, at the same time, beholds with the utmost detestation, the person who teaches it, acting inconsistent with what he recommends to others. The Spaniards had no other object in view, when they invaded those countries, than that of acquiring riches, and those riches have actually been, in some measure, the ruin of their dominions in Europe. The importation of gold and silver from South America into Spain, has thrown the people of that country into a languid state of lazy indolence.

Instead of employing the people in the useful arts of peace, by promoting arts and manufactures, they have actually sent their millions of gold to other European nations to obtain in return the necessaries of life. This has brought dishonour upon them, and we may venture to affirm, that if ever the Spaniards become equally brave as their ancestors once were, they must relinquish their conquests in South-America, and be content with the enjoyment of those possessions they have in Europe, which are indeed very extensive.

It is in a manner needless to mention that these people believe the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. This sentiment being universal among the Heathens, we shall therefore only add, that the manner in which they inter their dead, shews their firm belief of it, and they look upon it as the most comfortable notion that can be embraced.

As they believed that the sun was the Supreme Being, so they interred their dead at that moment of time when that glorious luminary first made its appearance above the horizon, and the face was always towards it. If this does not point out a feint notion of the general resurrection, we know not what can. As the faces of the deceased were laid so as to front the rising sun, so it must have been in consequence of a fixed belief, that the sun would one day raise their bodies. It is in a manner impossible to account for it on any other principle, for why all this care concerning the dead, if they were to perish for ever. The more we look into the practices of the



the Heathen nations, the more we are in love with the gospel, which has removed the clouds of darkness from before our eyes, and laid open a path leading to everlasting happiness.

*An Account of the Religion of the Mexicans.*

We have already taken notice of the first population of America, so that it is needless to enlarge further on that subject. We have no doubt, but the inhabitants of Mexico offered human sacrifices, for although the Spaniards have related many things against them, which perhaps may not be true, yet this seems to be indisputable. But let their practices be ever so barbarous (and barbarous undoubtedly they were) yet this will in no manner whatever vindicate the Spaniards for committing such horrid acts of cruelty as they confessedly did. The Heathens harboured only false notions of religion, or rather idolatry, offered human sacrifices to their idols, and the Spaniards, guided by a false zeal, extirpated thousands of people because they were idolators. The case before us is not what had these Indians done, but merely how they ought to have been treated by Christian adventurers. It was the duty of the Spaniards to have convinced them of their errors, but not to have let loose the fury of a coercive power upon men, who were rather objects of pity than of punishment. Indeed, the Spaniards had no right to punish them; for although Joshua did so to the Canaanites of old, yet that has no application to the present argument. Joshua had a divine commission, and that was what the Spaniards could not pretend to, unless they give that name to the commission they had received from the pope. The truth is, the Spaniards only wanted their money, and therefore they did not pay any regard to the highest duties of moral obligation, but like some English adventurers in the present age, they murdered their thousands and ten thousands, that they might have an opportunity of aggrandizing themselves.

In the capital city of Mexico were eight temples, equally magnificent, and built pretty near alike; but there was one which excelled all the rest in bigness and its prodigious extent, so that a city containing five hundred houses might have been built in the court of it. This edifice was a long time the centre of Mexican idolatry, and therefore we shall give a particular description of it.

The worshippers first entered into a large quadrangle, surrounded with a great stone wall, where the figures of several serpents struck terror into the beholders, particularly at the front of the first door, which was filled with these figures, under which some very mysterious signification was concealed. Before their arrival at this gate, there stood a kind of a chapel, which was full as terrible. It was built of stone, raised thirty steps, having a terrace at the top, on which several trunks of great trees, all lopped of an equal height, were planted on a level at equal distances, on which poles were laid from tree to tree. On each of these poles hung the skulls of several unhappy wretches, who had been sacri-

ficed, whose number could not be related without terror.

The four sides of the quadrangle had each a gate, exactly facing one another and looked to the four cardinal points. Four stone statues were placed over each gate, which seemed to point out the way, and to command those to return back who were for going thither with an irreligious heart. These were considered as porter gods, upon which account they were saluted at going in. The apartments of the sacrificing priests and masters were built in the inside of the wall of the quadrangle, together with some shops that went round the whole, which however took up but little room, its extent being so vast, that eight or ten thousand persons used to dance in it at ease, on their most solemn days.

In the centre of this quadrangle, a great stone edifice was erected, which in fair weather was seen to the tops of the highest buildings in the city. It always lessened in bigness upwards, till it formed a half pyramid, three sides of which were shelving, and the fourth supported by a staircase. It was a most sumptuous pile of building, according to the rules of architecture used in that country. It was four hundred feet high, and built so strong, that its top which was flat, was a square, forty feet on each side, and was finely paved with squares of jasper stones of all kinds of colours. The pillars which surrounded it in the form of rails, winded like the shell of a snail, and both sides of it were faced with black marble. On the two sides of the rail or balustrade where the staircase ended, two statues supported two antient candlesticks. At some distance from this was a stone of green colour, five feet in height, sharp bottomed; and here the unhappy wretch who was to be sacrificed, was laid on his back, when they ripped up his bosom and took out his heart. Above this stone, and opposite to the stair-case, was a large strong chapel, the roof of which was of curious wood, under which their idol was seated on a very high altar, with curtains around it.

We have hitherto touched on the sacrifices offered up by these people in a general cursory manner, and therefore it is necessary that we should now be a little more explicit, wishing sincerely that what we are going to relate had never happened, though the regard we have for truth obliges us to mention it. These bloody sacrifices among the Mexicans, were performed in the following manner.

The victims were led to the altars, which might have been justly compared to so many charnel houses, or burying grounds. There they were closely guarded by some Mexican soldiers, who waited till such time as the poor victims should be put to death. To heighten their agitated misery, they were presented with the sight of many thousands of their fellow creatures, who had been sacrificed before them. A priest holding an image in his hand, approached towards them, crying out, at the same time, there is your god. This done, they withdrew, going off from the other side of the terrace, when the victims were immediately brought upon it, this being the place appointed for the sacrifice. Here it was that the six servants of the priests slaughtered the victims, two of these took the victims by



by the feet, two others held his arms, a fifth held his head, and the sixth ripped open his stomach, whence they tore out his heart and held it up still smoking to the sun, after which turning himself towards the idol, he threw the heart in his face.

The victim being thus dispatched, they threw the body down from the terrace to the bottom, and we are assured, that they not only sacrificed all the captives they took in war, but actually feasted on them. They never sacrificed less than forty or fifty of these poor wretches at a time, and those nations who bordered on them, or were subject to them, imitated this bloody mode of worship. On solemn occasions it was the duty, or rather the office of the high-priest of the temple to rip up the victim's stomach, and this he did in such a dexterous manner, that it surprised all those who saw him, except his own pupils, who were very expert butchers.

It was a custom among them on certain festivals, to dress a man in the bloody skin just reeking from the body of one of their victims; and we are assured, that some of their greatest princes and governors thought it no dishonour to have the skin wrapped about them, so as the person sacrificed was a gentleman, or a person of rank. However, when a poor person was wrapped in the skin, he ran up and down the streets like a madman, demanding charity from all he met with, and those who refused to comply with his request, he was sure to knock down. This bloody masquerade continued till such time as the skin began to corrupt, and then the vagrant returned home to his own house, in order to indulge himself in all sorts of voluptuousness.

It was always their custom before they sat down to eat or drink, to offer the sun some part of the victuals of which they were to partake; and they had many other ceremonies, which although as ridiculous as any we have mentioned, yet were not more so than many of those practised by the learned Greeks, and by the political Romans.

Like all other barbarians who embraced false religions, their penances were extremely severe. The priests were considered as they are in some Christian communities, as mediators between God and men, so that here was an absolute power lodged in the priest, and when this solemn penance was to be performed, it was the custom of the people to meet at midnight in the temple of the idol, when one of them used to call the rest together for their devotion, with a kind of horn, of which there is now one in the British Museum, and while the horn was sounded, another was employed in moving the idol.

Then one of the priests let a little blood out of the ankle of the penitent, by pricking it with a thorn or a stone lancet. After this, he rubbed his temples and ears with this blood, then went out and washed himself in a certain fountain or running stream, which from all these circumstances put together, was called, "The water of blood."

These Mexican priests observed a very rigorous fast, extending sometimes to seven days together, and this was always previous to their solemn festivals. During these fasts, those who

were married, abstained from all commerce with their wives, and possibly there might have been some sort of nominal merit in this, had it been built on a rational foundation, but this was laying such a restraint on human nature, as was inconsistent with the order of God. To this may be added, that during these fasts, they were guilty of crimes too odious to be mentioned, so that we shall pass them over in silence.

All these Mexican priests were possessed of great revenues, and by their knavish tricks they made the people believe they were entitled to them. Happy, had this principle never diffused itself among Christians, who profess to be the followers of a poor despised carpenter, and whose disciples even procured a subsistence by their labour, but priests and gospel ministers are two different sorts of people, and with respect to the former it may be justly said,

The priests of all religions are,  
And will be still the same;  
And all, though in a different way,  
Are playing the same game.

But besides these priests, the people of Mexico had their vestals or nuns. All these were dressed in white as an emblem of innocence; but alas! experience has shewn that no robes with which the human body is clothed, can alter the state of corrupt nature, or give innocence to the soul. Here nuns were forlorn, they are among the Roman Catholics, admitted into their convents so early in life, that they do not know how far the power of human nature will operate upon them. These were under the direction of a governess or abbess, whose office was to keep the temple clean, and the young nuns dressed the sacred meats that were presented to the idols. They were at midnight to administer to the gods, and to examine certain articles, which the rules of their order obliged them to observe. Above all, they were bound to preserve their chastity unsullied, the violation of which was punished with death.

This contrivance was not, indeed; to be perpetual, since as they were sent to the convent only to fulfil some vow, which their parents had made to their gods, they were allowed to marry after a certain term of years. It is even probable, that this abbess, or matron, might superintend a kind of nunnery, where young women were brought up in the same manner as they are at our boarding schools; for those young ones were taken from under their care as soon as their parents thought proper.

They had also a seminary for the education of boys, who were admitted into it when they were about seven or eight years of age. During the time these boys were living in the convents, they were confined down to a certain number of rules, much like the novices in the popish convents. These youth used to have the tops of their heads shaved, and the rest of the hair cut so short, that it scarce covered their ears, but it fell as low as their shoulders behind, except when they used to tie it upon a kind of tuft behind. They wore a linen vestment, and lived in the most exemplary manner. Under them were several sorts of novices,



novices, whose business it was to cleanse all the vessels belonging to the temple; but these, in consequence of their merit, often rose to the highest dignities.

These natives of Mexico had many festivals, but all of them were attended with the most horrid bloody sacrifices. Indeed, it seems to have been a maxim among these people, that the god whom they worshipped, or rather the idol, should be just such a one as themselves. Barbarous, cruel, and unfeeling, their own corruptions pointed this out, and so far were they from forming benevolent notions of the Divine Being, that they actually became so corrupt as to imagine he would take pleasure in human sacrifices.

On all their festival days, the priests, like a parcel of abandoned villains, employed some wretches to submit to be flogged, in order to make the deluded populace believe they were sincere penitents. In this there is nothing at all strange, for the author of this actually saw at Antwerp, in Flanders, June 1756, several wretches, hired by the Roman Catholic priests to whip themselves, under the stale pretence that they were real penitents. Thus we find, that popery and roguishness go hand in hand together, and we can plainly see that the former was borrowed from the latter.

There was one god or idol the Mexicans paid much regard to, whose name has not been transmitted to us, but he is represented as a great hunter. There is nothing at all surprising in this, because the savages of all nations were hunters; so that they ascribed qualities to those who made the most distinguished figure. Hunting was, indeed, partly a religious exercise in former times, for as the subsistence of individuals depended on the chase, consequently it was natural for the Heathens to thank their idols for what success they had obtained. There is no such thing as acknowledging a Supreme Being, without ascribing to him qualities suitable to his nature, and in every respect consistent with his attributes in the moral government of this world.

In their marriage ceremonies, the priests have great influence; for they settle every thing even of a civil nature. The marriage contract is searched into, and the husband has a right to turn away his wife if she has no children. In such cases, she is obliged to have her marriage portion returned. There is something in this altogether consistent with natural equity, for the man who parts with the object of his desires, ought to give up all things connected with her.

When their children are born and purged from their natural impurities, they are brought to the temple of their idols, and a name given them by the priest. The priests then wash the children all over, and deliver them to their parents. They have several other ceremonies, but these are of such a similar nature with what we have already mentioned in our description of the different religions in the other parts of America, that we shall not take any further notice of them.

In their funeral ceremonies, they have nothing at all remarkable, any farther than those in Hispaniola; for indeed there is such a similarity,

that one would naturally imagine all these people were of one and the same original. As they believe in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, so they pay great respect to their deceased relations. The women dress themselves in white, which seems to point out, that the deceased has been purged from all his impurities, and that all his sins have been forgiven. The body is carried out to a piece of ground, set apart for that purpose, and it is there deposited in the midst of all the friends and relations. Mournings and lamentations are made for the deceased several days together, but these are rather artificial than real.

The face of the deceased is laid so as to be opposite to the sun, which shews that their notions were the same with those who inhabited Hispaniola. They set up stones at each end of the grave, testifying their respect for the deceased, and it was common for them to strew the grave frequently over with flowers. This ceremony was generally performed once in the month, during one year, but after that time, the mourning ceased. Upon the whole, thus much is certain, that these Mexicans were a most barbarous people, who had no human feelings, otherwise they would never have seen their fellow-creatures butchered in such a manner; but this may serve to shew, that where divine revelation is not known, men are the most miserable objects in the world. Left to struggle with the corruption of their own nature, they sink under it, and die martyrs to those passions, which, if properly cultivated, would have promoted their everlasting happiness.

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*The Religion of the Savages who inhabit near the Isthmus of Darian.*

In giving an account of these savages, we are under the necessity of taking notice of one of the most important events that ever happened in Britain. In 1603, on the death of queen Elizabeth, James VI. king of Scotland ascended the throne of England, so that the two crowns were united; but to the great misfortune of both countries, a proper union did not take place, for each nation had its separate parliament, and as they had opposite views and interests, so there were continual wranglings between them. The Scotch, naturally brave, but proud, haughty, and poor, followed their sovereign into England, and as the event of an union had been long wished for, so forged prophecies were invented, some of which were taken notice of by lord Hales. Among these, the following knavish one may be mentioned.

When Hempe is come, and also gone,  
England and Scotland shall both be one.

This Hempe was considered as some great person, whom no one could give any account of, and yet the meaning was neither less nor more than the following:

H. Henry VIII. E. Edward VI. M. Mary I.  
6 A P. Philip



P. Philip her husband, and E. Elizabeth, so that that the whole mystery is developed, and the knavish prophecy understood, as having been written after the events took place.

From that time forward, at different periods many proposals were made for bringing about an union, and although locality pointed out the propriety of such a scheme, yet national pride on both sides prevented its taking place. At last, in the reign of king William, the merchants of Scotland obtained a charter, to establish a settlement on the Isthmus of Darian, and it is amazing to think what hopes the people in that part of the country formed to themselves of the advantages that would arise from this scheme. All ranks of people contributed towards promoting it, and a large fleet was fitted out. Here, however, national jealousy took place. The English merchants did not wish to see the commerce of Scotland extended so far, and therefore they used all the means they could think of to obstruct it. It is not our business to enter into national disputes, but thus much is certain, that almost all the Scottish adventurers were ruined, and the factory they had established was reduced to nothing. This created much murmuring in Scotland, and had it not been that we were then engaged in a war with France, which united all parties at home, the effects might have proved fatal. The people of Scotland, in revenge for the injuries they imagined the English had done them, refused to wear English manufactures, and in this unhappy condition both nations continued till the accession of queen Anne, 1702.

Each country had a particular object in view; the English parliament wanted the parliament of Scotland to ratify the act of settlement, which appeared the more necessary, for two reasons, first, because it would prevent disputes for the future between them; and secondly, because it was not probable queen Anne would ever have any more children. On the other hand, the people of Scotland objected, first, that were they to acknowledge the act of settlement, they ought to have proper security for the establishment of their religion; and secondly, that their losses at Darian should be made up to them out of the English treasury.

Here was a large field for the politicians to display their skill, and although ministers of state are not always virtuous men, yet divine goodness can, and often does, bring good out of their contentions. It was after much dispute, agreed upon by concessions on both sides, that an equivalent should be paid by England, to recompence the Scots for their loss at Darian, and to secure their religion, the sovereign was to take an oath the moment he succeeded to the crown, and actually before he was proclaimed. Upon these principles, the union of the two nations was brought about, which, if properly improved, must be for the mutual advantage of both. We thought it the more necessary to take notice of these particulars, because many of the people of Scotland, even in this age, think their ancestors at Darian were grossly injured, whereas, when we come to consider the whole, it will be found, that if errors were committed, both parties were guilty. And this will likewise serve to clear up some things we shall have occasion to mention, concerning the

church of Scotland. In the mean time to go on with our narrative,

These people inhabit a large tract of land, which is situated between North and South America. They are all idolators, but their temples are poor mean huts, and their idols are only coarse stones set up within them. Like many other savages in America, they believe the sun and moon are husband and wife, and they adore them as objects of divine worship. However, they acknowledge a Supreme Being, superior to them. They believe there is an evil principle that torments the children of men, and for that reason they have temples erected for it, where they offer sacrifices of flowers, fruits, perfumes, and all other things that they think will procure its favour. Every extraordinary phenomenon in nature is considered by them as an apparition and the voice of God.

Their priests are all pretended magicians, and the greatest impostors in the world. They perform all their tricks in secret, and the ignorant people are easily persuaded to believe them. The priests make dreadful cries and howlings, with distortions of their faces, under which some pretended mystery is concealed; for as true religion has its mysteries, so every false one pretends to the same, and so it is in many other things.

Their manner of healing the sick is very extraordinary. They seat the patient on a stone, which being done, the medico-priest takes a little bow and some small arrows, and shoots them as quick as possible at his patient, who is stark naked. They are so dexterous at this exercise, that they never miss their mark, but then there is a stop put to the arrow, which prevents it from going beyond a certain mark or depth. If the arrow happens to open a vein, and the wind gushes out with the blood, the physician and those who are present leap for joy, and discover by their gestures, that they believe the operation to have been successful.

All these hypocritical priests, who are at the same time pretended physicians, make a vow of chastity, and if ever they violate it, they are either stoned, or burnt to death. The devotees are obliged, during their fastings, to abstain from all commerce with their wives, but they can find other ways to gratify their passions. Before they go to war, they sacrifice hares and pheasants to the sun, and smear the bodies of their idols all over with the blood. They never go on any enterprize without asking advice from their idol, which is an image of the sun; for which purpose they undergo a penance of two months together, during which time they abstain from salt and commerce with women.

They advise with their priests in all affairs relating to peace or war, and consult their gods in groves and solitudes. They purposely make choice of the night for performing their magical ceremonies, and the darker it is the better. They conjure the devil by their cries, by a great noise, and their magical songs in the presence of several young people. The person whom they order to consult the oracle of the idol is seated, and the rest are standing. The magicians are silent when they expect the approach of the devil, their master, and the moment he appears, the conjuror presents himself before him, and gives the signal for the homage that ought to be paid. The Span-  
nish



nish authors tell us a story diverting enough, concerning these priests and devils.

They say, that one day some friars undertook to exorcise the priest who was raising the devil, and that by the power of the signs of the cross and holy water, which was wonderfully assisted by a stole that was put about the neck of the conjuror, he answered very penitently to all the questions the friar put to the devil. Among other things, they asked him where the souls of the Indians would go after their deaths? The answer he made was, to hell. Those whom they design for priests, are brought up in their sacred mysteries from their infancies. Such children are obliged to retire for two years to the most remote parts of the woods, where they are not permitted to feed upon any thing that has blood in it, nor see any woman, but must forget their kindred, and are not allowed to stir out of their caverns. The old priests visit and instruct them in the night, and when the probation time of these young candidates is expired, they receive a certificate, upon which they are looked upon as sacred priests, and doctors in physic and magic.

These savages burn all the prisoners of war, but pull out one of their teeth before they execute them. Something in this may appear extremely barbarous, and certainly it is so, but when we consider the state of Heathen nations, it will not appear strange, especially as we read in many parts of the Old Testament, that all prisoners of war were put to death under the most excruciating tortures. The Greeks and Romans either butchered their prisoners, or sold them as slaves, and the antient Heathen Britons used to burn a thousand to death at a time.

They allow polygamy here, but it is under several restrictions, for they are not permitted to part with their wives, unless they have been unfaithful to the conjugal vow. As soon as the young women are considered as fit for marriage, they are locked up from the society of men, and no person is permitted to visit them without the consent of their parents. They do not use much ceremony in their marriages, for as soon as the parents have settled the previous agreement, every thing is concluded. Every one of the relations brings a present according to the nature of their circumstances, and these presents enable the new married couple to begin house-keeping. The bridegroom's father makes a speech to the people, concerning the duties of the marriage state, and after that he dances like a madman. The dance being over, he kneels down, and presents his son to the bride, whose father being in the same posture, holds also his daughter by the hand; but the bride's father dances likewise in his turn, and makes the same antique gestures before he kneels down.

In their funeral ceremonies, they are like most of the other savages in America. They believe in the immortality of the soul, but they have almost as many carnal notions concerning it, as our British materialists. They believe, that when the soul is dislodged from the body, it enters upon a life of pleasure, and feasts in the most sumptuous manner. For this reason, they bury provisions along with their dead, to be of service to them in the other world.

From what is here related of these people, we are to lament that the settlement attempted by the Scotch did not succeed. The Scottish adventurers took along with them several ministers, among whom was Mr. Spalding, who had been settled at Dundee. Had the factory met with proper encouragement, there is reason to believe, that before this time there would not have been a Heathen in the place. Protestants alone are the men who should be sent to convert Heathens, and therefore every encouragement ought to have been given to these enterprisers. However, as we are not to call in question the purposes of Divine Providence, so we shall rest satisfied with this single consideration, that if that salutary end was not completed, yet one equally beneficial took place, namely, the union of the two kingdoms. *God's ways are not as men's.*

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#### *The Religion of the Savages of New Andalusia.*

The only particulars we know of the religion of these people are, that they, like most of the other antient Americans, adore the sun and moon; but above all, an evil spirit, which we may call the devil. Some of them worship the dried skeletons of their ancestors; and they believe that the sun goes round the world, drawn in a chariot by tigers; for which reason, they treat those ferocious animals with great respect, and give them the dead bodies of their relations to feed on. They have a tradition among them, that their country was once burnt up by the sun, because they did not shew proper respect to his servants the tigers. This fire, they say, was extremely violent, and consumed a vast number of the inhabitants; but really such ridiculous stories scarce deserve our notice.

They observed a certain ceremony which they called, The giving away the spirit of courage. This gift is bestowed by the priests, who open the ceremony with songs and dances, in which every one foams at the mouth like a dog, and tumbles about like a madman. All such as desire to have the spirit communicated to them by the mediation of the priest, join hands and continue dancing incessantly. When three or four priests enter the circle, they rush upon the demons, some with a gourd bottle tied to the end of a stick, and others with a long reed or cane, filled with lighted tobacco, with which they whiff the dancers, crying out, at the same time, "Receive all ye the spirit of strength, by which you will be enabled to overcome your enemies."

From this form of invitation one would imagine there was something very solemn couched under the expression, but there is nothing of that nature in it; for, like most other savages, they acknowledge two beings, one good and the other bad. To the good being they never address themselves, but in the way of praise or thanksgiving; but to the evil one they always pray, in order to avert his displeasure.

When any person among them is taken sick, they plunge him into a river, and afterwards whip him running till he is almost out of breath. This whipping bout is round a great fire, and when



when it is over, they put him into his hammock. When they despair of a sick man's life, they take him out in his hammock to a wood, and hang him up in it between two trees, dancing round it for a whole day. As soon as night is come, they give him provisions for four days, and then leave him to his fate. If he happens to recover, so much the better; but in case he dies, there are very few who lament the loss.

It would be needless to repeat that polygamy is as much in vogue among these people, as in any other nations among the Americans, or even in Asia or Africa. The priests set the example; for they have always a great number of wives; nay, such slaves are they to the most sensual of all passions, that when they go on journeys, they order women to be ready for them at every stage where they are to put up. All this voluptuousness arises from that indolence to which these people are so much subject; and this, in some measure, is occasioned by the climate, which being hot and sultry, throws a languor over their spirits, and renders them in a manner unfit for action.

When a young man fixes his affections on a girl, or, in other words, when he wants a woman under that character; he addresses himself to her relations; for he never sees her after till he is married. When all the terms are settled, the bride's relations meet in company at the house of the bride's father, where a grand entertainment is provided; and the relations of the bridegroom come there at the same time to partake of the feast. After two or three hours spent in the utmost state of merriment, the whole of the relations set out to conduct the bride home to her husband's house. Musicians march before, playing upon their rustic instruments. After them come the priests, repeating aloud a variety of unintelligible jargon of prayers to their idols; then come the relations, who are followed by the bridegroom, who walks on foot; and behind him comes the bride in a litter carried by four men, and so closed up that no person can see her. The procession is closed by the servants and attendants; and as soon as they approach the house of the bridegroom, the young women in the village come out to meet them.

As this is at midnight, the young women have lamps in their hands trimmed with oil, and this, from what we are going to relate, may serve to shew, what a vast conformity there was between the ancient Heathen nations, and likewise that some of these customs were retained by the Jews.

The parable of the ten virgins, (see Math. xxv.) is well known, and in the account of these people of whom we are now treating, we have a proof of the origin of idolatry. Nay, it may serve farther to point out, that all that was bad among the Heathens, was reprobated by the Jews, but the innocent ceremonies were retained.

When they arrived at the place where the bridegroom resided, and where the nuptials were to be celebrated, the bride was conducted into an apartment along with the women, and the night was spent in all manner of diversions, according to the custom of the country. In the same manner the bridegroom was led into his apartment, accompanied by the men, and with them he spent his time in the same manner. When the morning approached, the company retired, and the husband was permitted to go to bed to his wife.

This is, perhaps, a little different from European practices; but we have had occasion to mention something of a similar nature, in our account of the Turkish religion. Seven days fasting are observed afterwards, and that period of time being expired, the new married couple forsake their relations, and attend to their respective duties as husband and wife.

In their funeral ceremonies they are extremely ridiculous, but not more so than has been related in our historical accounts of other Heathens. When a person is taken sick, the priest is sent for, and he dances as if insane, two or three times round his bed. This is done in order to raise the spirit, and we may venture to affirm, that it has a strong connection with the practices of some of those people who are called Protestants. A few years ago a poor man died in London, and on his death-bed he declared, that he was bewitched, by imagining a mouse jumped over his stomach, and this mouse he considered as the devil.

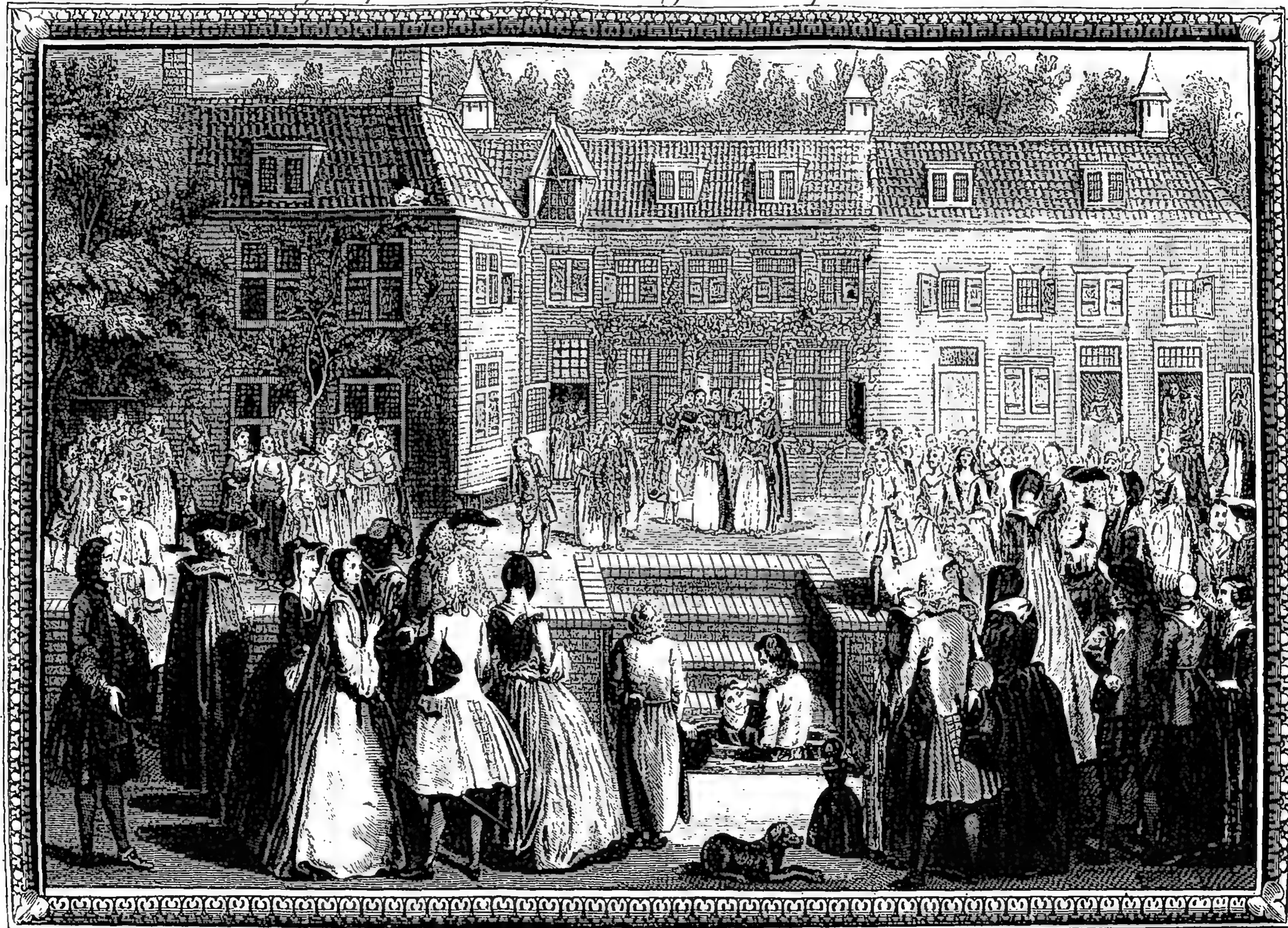
Some religions require arts to wind-up the human passions to a state of enthusiasm, and innocent weakness falls a sacrifice to interested priests, or rather to designing villains. The man who is really and virtuously religious, has no occasion to make an ostentatious display of it; but it is the interest of the hypocrite to do so. The first knows he has none to do with but God; the second pays no regard to God, but looks for the praise of men.

In their funeral ceremonies, these people are equally ridiculous, and indeed some of them are more so than any we have yet mentioned, only they are not so barbarous as those in Asia and Africa. When a man dies, the body is washed clean and wrapped up in a goat's skin, and then put into a wooden coffin, where it remains seven days, from the time of the death till the interment. During that time, the people meet together and get drunk in the most riotous manner, knocking each other down, just like what took place among the Greeks during their solemn dirges. When the seven days fasting is over, they proceed to the place of entertainment in the following manner. The priests walk before, singing their hymns, and are followed by all those who are called their students. Then come the relations of the deceased, walking in mournful procession. The corpse is carried behind the relations, and the procession is closed by the servants and other attendants. When they come to the grave, the priests mumble over some prayers, and then the body is laid in the grave. This, however, does not finish the ceremony, for all those who attend the funeral, throw flowers into the grave. The earth being laid upon the body, they all return home to the house of the deceased, and spend the whole night in such extravagancy, that sometimes before morning they get so drunk that they break each others limbs, and many of those who come out sound in the morning, return home no better than cripples.

The regard these people have for their deceased relations, does not end with their interment; for notwithstanding all the nocturnal revels that take place after the funeral, yet they meet again, and erect a monument to perpetuate their respect to the person who was beloved by them in life. This is a natural and just sentiment, and nothing in the common or rather the vicious practices of this world



*Engraved for D. HURD'S Religious Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.*



( Mode of BAPTISM, practised at RHINEBURG in GERMANY. )



world can set it aside. Those who treat the ashes of their deceased relations with indignity, will never pay much regard to the living. The image of God is stamped upon man, and he who brutally abuses an human body, abuses the image of God. But we shall now take leave of the subject relating to the Heathen nations by suggesting the following reflections.

Are the Heathens left in a state of ignorance, are they without God in the world? Let us learn that our ancestors were once Heathens, and that we should have been the same now, had not the Divine goodness extended to us the blessings of the everlasting gospel.

Is Heathenism become a term of reproach? And are Heathens looked upon with contempt? Let Christians consider, that nothing can more endear them to the Divine Being, or exonerate them from the consciousness of guilt, as that of extending the blessings of redemption to their fellow creatures. Are unnatural crimes committed by the Heathens? Let Christians remember, that it is their duty to set them a fair exam-

ple. Precepts are useful, but examples give a sanction to them. Is religion the grand monument of mercy? Then let us, who enjoy it endeavour to disseminate the beneficial consequences to the most distant nations. Is there a possibility of doing good? Let it be shewn in the care we take to enlighten the Heathen nations. And now having said so much of these people, we shall take our leave by wishing earnestly that the son of righteousness may arise with healing under his wings. That the desire of all nations may trample upon his enemies, that men may be blessed in him, and that all nations may call him blessed. High is the command of the Almighty, enlarged are his orders with respect to his moral government of this world, vindictive is his justice, but his mercy is in a manner unbounded. These considerations should reconcile us to all the works of an Omnipotent Being. God conducts the affairs of this lower world unknown to us, but we behold with admiration, when we consider the execution of every part of the beautiful design.

## INTRODUCTION to the HISTORY of the PROTESTANT RELIGION.

**T**HE consideration of events as flowing from causes apparently weak and insignificant, will at all times serve to prove, that there is a divine power by which this lower world is governed. The voluptuous and the ignorant suffer all these things to pass unnoticed, but the wise consider them, and draw such reflections from all the occurrences as make a lasting impression on their minds. History without reflection is nothing; but history properly improved becomes the grand ornament of human life. The historian who makes a real use of that science, goes on from one degree to another, till he is lost in admiration. The wonders of Providence appear to him as so many stupendous edifices, raised by hands unseen, and when he cannot comprehend the whole, he sits down in silence, acknowledging his ignorance, but at the same time desirous of knowledge.

The knowledge of history does not consist in the recital of facts, for that may be done by a fool, and a school boy can tell what had happened before he was born. This, however, is not history, but a bare recital of facts in the order of time in which they happened. History is an account of such events as have taken place on the theatre of this lower world; but in our endeavours to transmit them to the public in a proper manner, we must at all times remember that we are to blend instruction with entertainment; that is, we are to point out the causes

which produced the events, and the consequences that followed. We are to consider the particular states of those countries of which we have been writing, we are to take in all the concomitant circumstances, and with modesty deliver our own opinions. We are to consider the difference of times and circumstances, and we are to compare the past with the present. By attending to these rules, we may become real historians, but if they are slighted we shall be left in a state of Egyptian darkness. This naturally leads us to say something concerning the reformation, and it shall be delivered with impartiality.

We have already treated the gradual progress of corruptions in the Christian church, from the reign of Constantine the Great, down to the age of Martin Luther. But having been obliged to shift the subject, we shall here proceed to give the reader an account of the reformation, and then describe the particular professions that have sprung from it.

Bishop Hall has a pretty observation in his account of Zechariah's vision in the temple, and it is, "When things are at the worst, God usually works a remarkable deliverance, or brings about an important change." Indeed, all violence leads to changes, for such is the state of human nature; such is the government of this world, that whatever is carried to a more than ordinary extreme, must soon have an end. Pagan darkness was such, when Christ came in the flesh, that the minds of men were totally clouded with



it, and then the sun of righteousness broke forth in an illustrious manner to enlighten the nations.

But to pursue the idea; let us consider the state of the European nations previous to the times of Martin Luther, who, in the hands of Divine providence, was the happy instrument, assisted by some of the German princes, of opposing the whole power of the house of Austria, and all the machinations of the court of Rome. It is true, as Dr. Newton the present bishop of Bristol has observed, there never was an age, since the death of Christ, in which some witnesses could not be found for the truth of the gospel. The doctrines taught by the famous Wickliff spread far and wide; and thirty years after his death, we find John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, condemned by the council of Constance, for teaching his opinions. Paul Craw, a Bohemian, having come over to Scotland for his personal safety, found himself exposed to the same dangers as at home; for he was burnt alive at St. Andrews. Learning was then beginning to revive, and the clergy began to be afraid of the downfall of their kingdom. They found the pillars beginning to shake, and they knew that their doctrines could not stand before the light of a rational enquiry. This filled them with so much resentment against all those who spoke their sentiments freely, that they were immediately put to death.

But it was not learning alone that brought about the reformation; there were many political circumstances concurring in this great event, and some princes became the happy instruments of promoting true religion, although they themselves were men of no virtuous principles, but scandalous debauchees and arbitrary tyrants. The scandalous lives of the clergy were another means to bring about the reformation, and while they were as it were asleep in the arms of carnal security; while they thought themselves beyond the power of being disturbed in their mansions; and, in a word, when they found they had domineered over the consciences of the people, and almost engrossed the civil power to themselves, they began to consider that the whole orders of priesthood were established on the most permanent basis, they found themselves roused a little from their stupidity, and they found that they had to do with very important adversaries, whom before they looked upon as contemptible.

Pope Leo X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhausted, by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. and being in his own temper naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of that severe œconomy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary, his schemes for aggrandizing the family of the Medicis, his love of splendor, his taste for pleasure, and his munificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in a long train of expences; in order to provide a fund for which, every device that the fertile genius of priests could invent was tried.

Among others, he had recourse to the sale of indulgencies; a practice common enough in the church of Rome, but never before this time carried to such an extravagant height. But here we

must explain this mystery of iniquity to our readers.

According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary for their own justification, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, are deposited in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this super-abundant merit to any particular person for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one with whom he is interested, from the pains of purgatory.

These indulgencies were first invented in the eleventh century by pope Urban II. as a recompence for those who went in person on the wild enterprize of conquering the holy land. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and, in process of time, were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the pope. Julius II. had bestowed indulgencies on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter's at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretension.

The promulgation of these indulgencies in Germany, together with a share arising from the profits in the sale of them, was assigned to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburgh, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed one Tetzl, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and very remarkable for that sort of eloquence which serves to inflame the passions without leading the mind to truth, or guarding it against error. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though by magnifying excessively the benefits of these indulgencies, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time a lucrative and extensive traffic among the credulous multitude, the extravagance of their assertions, and the irregularity in their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much money, in order to fill the treasury of a profuse pope. Men of piety regretted the delusions of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the indulgencies which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them, either to abound in faith or practice holiness. Even the most unthinking were shocked at the more than scandalous behaviour of Tetzl and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were bestowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happiness; and all began to wish that some check could be given to this scandalous commerce, no less injurious to society than destructive of true religion.

As the form of these indulgencies, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are in general unknown in protestant countries, and but little understood at present in several places where the Roman Catholic religion is established,

we



we have here, for the information of our readers, inserted the form of the absolution used by Tetzel.

“ May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of life shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

From perusing this, which is faithfully transcribed from Sechendorf, a popish writer, it will appear, that the terms which Tetzel and his associates made use of were so extravagant, that unless they had been well authenticated, we might have doubted of the truth of them. If any man purchased one of these indulgencies, his soul was to rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory were, as soon as the money was paid, set at liberty, and ascended into heaven. The efficacy of the indulgencies was to be so great, that the most heinous sins were pretended to be forgiven, and the person was to be freed from all manner of punishment, and even from the guilt which incurs it. This was, indeed, the carrying priestcraft to an unbounded height; but it led to the fall of its own greatness. Almost every man looked upon them with silent contempt, or with an honest indignation; they saw natural religion as it were trampled under foot, and the glorious fabric of the church made to appear worse than Heathenism was of old. They beheld an order of designing men, who had long trampled on the rights of private judgement, now attempting to deprive others of their natural faculties, and to make the very name of Christianity odious in the world, by attempting to raise money in consequence of practices which the most unenlightened Heathens would have been ashamed of.

Such was the favourable juncture, and so disposed were the minds of his countrymen to listen to his discourses, when Martin Luther first began to call in question the efficacy of indulgencies, and declaim against the vicious lives, and false doctrines of those who promulgated them. He was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, where he was born in 1483, and though of poor parents, had received a learned education, according to the state of knowledge in that age, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. As his mind was naturally susceptible of serious im-

pressions, and tinged with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastic life, he retired into a convent of Augustine friars, and without suffering the entreaties of his parents to divert him from what he considered as his duty to God, he assumed the habit of that order.

There he acquired great reputation, not only for his piety, but for his love of knowledge and unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology, which were then in vogue, by very able masters; and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the merits and distinctions with which they abound; but his own understanding, naturally sound and superior to any thing frivolous, soon became disgusted with these subtle and unproductive sciences, and he sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the sacred scriptures. Having found a copy of the bible which had long laid neglected in the library of his monastery, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of it with so much eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress he made in this uncommon course of study, augmented so much both the fame of his sanctity and his learning, that Frederick, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen, first to teach philosophy, and then theology in the schools; and he was considered as the chief ornament of that society.

While Luther was in the height of his reputation, Tetzel began to publish indulgencies in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg; and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues, which in other places had been imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than other provinces, so Tetzel met with great success there. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought the indulgencies. The opinions of many of the most ancient and subtle schoolmen, who had established the doctrines of indulgencies, were now falling into disrepute, and the scriptures, which Luther began to consider as the unerring standard of faith, afforded no countenance to a system that was destructive of natural reason, and calculated to render the most important things in the Christian system, no better than a farce.

His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator while he saw his countrymen deluded. From the pulpit in the great church at Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities of those who published indulgencies. He went so far as to examine the nature of the doctrines they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation on any other means than those prescribed in the word of God. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made



made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburgh, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, and wicked lives of the preachers of the indulgencies; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to do any thing to hinder their progress.

His next attempt was to gain the approbation of men of learning, and for this purpose he published no less than ninety-five different propositions concerning the principles of theology. These he proposed not as points fully established of undoubted authority, but as subjects of doubt, inquiry, and disputation. He appointed a day on which the learned were invited to impugn them either in person, or in writing, and subjoined to the whole, solemn protestations of his respect for the apostolic see, of his submission to its authority, if the objections he had stated could be answered to his satisfaction. No opponent appeared at the time fixed, but the account of the propositions spread over Germany with the utmost rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness, and all admired the boldness of the man who had ventured to call in question the plenitude of papal power, and to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the powers of inquisitorial authority.

The friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no less obsequiousness than the other monastic fanatics, to the papal power, gave no check to the publications of these uncommon opinions. Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired uncommon authority among his brethren. He professed, from motives unknown to us, the highest regard for the authority of the pope, and probably his professions were, at that time, sincere; and as a secret enmity, excited by interest and emulation, subsists among all the monastic orders in the Romish church, the Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. Nor was his sovereign the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, dissatisfied with that obstruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of indulgencies. He secretly favoured the attempt, and flattered himself that this dispute among the clergy might give some check to the exertions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Many zealous champions immediately rose to defend opinions on which the wealth, power, and grandeur of the church were founded, against the propositions advanced by Luther. Amongst these was Tetzels, a man whose character we have already described. He published an equal number of propositions with those of Luther, and they were defended by all the sophistry of false logic by Eckius, a divine belonging to the cathedral church of Augsburg; and Prianius, a Dominican friar, wrote against Luther with all the virulence of a scholastic disputant. But the manner in which they conducted the cause, did little honour to their argument.

Luther attempted to condemn the doctrine as well as the practice of granting indulgencies, from arguments drawn from reason, or derived from scripture; but they produced nothing in support of them, except the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of the popes. The decisions of judges, so partial and degenerated, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question even the authority of these venerable guides, when they found them standing in open opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the Divine law.

Mean while the novelties which appeared in Luther's doctrine, and seemed so much to engage all the attention of the people, did not alarm the court of Rome. Pope Leo X. fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to the clerical controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded, with the utmost indifference, the operations of an obscure Friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himself dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be fatal to the papal see. Leo imputed the whole to monastic enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the controversy, but to allow the Augustinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

The solicitations, however, of Luther's adversaries, exasperated to an high degree, by the boldness and severity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the church, against an attack that appeared now too serious to be despised. For this reason he summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, before the auditor of his chamber, and Prianius was summoned to appear at the same time, to make good his allegations.

He wrote, at the same time, to the elector of Saxony, begging he would not protect a man whose heretical and professed tenets were so shocking to pious ears, and enjoined the provincial of the Augustinians to check, by his authority, the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole church.

From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial as Prianius, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The university of Wittemberg, anxious for the safety of a man who did so much honour to their society, wrote to the pope, and after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, entreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrine to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The elector of Saxony, his sovereign, requested the same favour of the pope's legate at the diet at Augsburg; and as Luther himself, who, at that time, was so far from having any



any intention to disclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a most submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will; the pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

Luther, although he had good reason to decline a judge chosen among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan; and having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, immediately repaired to Augsburg. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment; but thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolical powers with which he was invested, to retract the errors he had uttered with regard to indulgencies, and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions.

Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them, by the approbation they had met with among persons conspicuous both for their learning and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken.

He had flattered himself, that in a conference concerning the points in dispute, with a prelate of such distinguished abilities, he would be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his enemies had branded him. But the high tone of authority the cardinal assumed, extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared, with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God.

At the same time, he continued to express no less reverence for the papal authority than he had formerly done, and signified his earnest desire to have the whole decided by the opinion of different universities; promising, at the same time, never to write or preach against indulgencies, so as his opponents would be silent in preaching in favour of them. It will, perhaps, appear rather strange to those who consider the age in which Luther first made his public appearance, his strenuous defence of the truths of the gospel, and his strong opposition to papal encroachment, that he should submit his cause to be tried by doctors in universities, who were no better than idol drones, accustomed to live in cloisters, and at all times obedient to the Roman Catholic power. To this it is answered, that although the dawn of learning was then beginning to diffuse its refreshing and cheering beams over a benighted world, lost in darkness and ignorance, yet it was not come to such a state of perfection as to dispel prejudices. It was the wretched notion of the people in the dark ages,

that there was an infallibility lodged somewhere among men, for the preservation of the Christian religion. It was not sufficient for them to trust in the Divine promise, but they were to look for infallibility among themselves. Some placed it in popes, some in general councils, and others in universities, without considering that God never delegated a power of that nature to any men, nor to any body of men whatever. It was the fault of the times, not the fault of any particular man.

But to go on with the narrative. Although, according to the extent of human understanding in that age, Luther's proposals were every way reasonable, yet Cajetan rejected them, and insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, unless he instantly complied with what he had enjoined. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, joined to many other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect that even the imperial safe conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country. However, before his departure, according to a form long used at all diets held for the German empire, and general councils, he prepared a solemn appeal from the conduct of this pope to his successor, whom he believed would be better informed, and more attentive to his cause.

Cajetan, who was a real bigot, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and the publication of his appeal, wrote to the elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church, and the authority of the pope, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories.

It was not from theological motives that Frederick, the Saxon elector, had hitherto protected Luther; he seems to have been a stranger to these controversies, and little interested in them. His protection flowed from political motives, and was afforded with secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books; and although all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence. But upon this demand made by the cardinal, it became necessary for the elector to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at much expence, and had bestowed great attention in founding a new university, and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be from that seat of learning, he refused to comply with the cardinal's request. He interested himself in Luther's safety, and began to declare himself a favourer of his opinions.

The inflexible rigour with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and has since been censured as imprudent by several popish writers; but it was impossible for the legate, according to the nature of his commission, to act otherwise. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that without waiting the expiration of the sixty days al-



lowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as an Heretick. Pope Leo X. had, in several of his letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man of a reprobate mind. Nothing less, therefore, than a simple recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is never to abandon the smallest point it has established, and which is even professed by its pretensions to infallibility; for if a church cannot do any thing wrong, then to annul one of its own decrees would be to acknowledge its fallibility by giving up one of the whole.

In the mean time, Luther's situation was such as would have filled any other person with the utmost apprehensions. He saw no reason to expect that a prince so cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power which had often crushed some of the bravest German princes. He knew what veneration was at that time paid to ecclesiastical decrees, what terror ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might influence a prince who was rather his protector from policy, than his disciple from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no prospect of any part of the habitable world where he could procure an asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Tho' sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with greater strength of argument than before.

So far Luther shewed himself to be a real hero indeed, and one who knew that truth ought always to be supported, should the most reputed characters for sanctity join in opposing it. But as every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had been so precipitately declared a heretic, convinced Luther that Leo X. would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the Catholic church, and superior in power to the pope, who being a fallible man, might err as St. Peter had before. This appeal made by Luther, gives us a melancholy notion of the sentiments embraced by the people in that age. Were general councils infallible? The answer is, no more than the popes themselves. Had all general councils, concurred in the same opinion, then this sentiment respecting their infallibility might have been embraced; but as it is well known that one general council has excommunicated another of the same rank, where was the infallibility to be found? Nay, it is well known that the council of Trent, which met sometime after the death of Luther, not only condemned all those doctrines embraced by the Protestants, but actually gave sanction to new ones, which before that time had been dubious and disputable.

It soon appeared, that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intention of the Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope, in which were inserted the virtues and benefits of indulgencies, in terms

as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use, even in the earliest ages, and without applying such palliations, or granting such concessions as the juncture might seem to call for, he required all Christians to assent to what he had delivered, as the doctrine of the Catholic church, and declared that those who held any other opinions, should be punished with the severest ecclesiastical censures. This bull had but little effect among Luther's followers, who conceived it in its true light, namely, as an engine to raise money to support papal extravagancies.

At this time, a circumstance took place which was very favourable to Luther, and that was the death of the emperor Maximilian, whose interests and principles both corresponded to enable him to support the grandeur of the Romish church. In consequence of this event, the elector of Saxony, by virtue of his offices, had his powers greatly enlarged, and under his protection, Luther not only lived in peace, but his opinions were taught almost every where throughout the empire.

During this inter-regnum, before an emperor was chosen, the court of Rome began to consider that the growing Heresy of Luther would be the ruin of their church. Leo X. the then pope, was a man of pleasure, he loved expence and gaiety, but he knew nothing of religion. He was a profligate and a debauchee in the truest sense of the words; and if we may believe Voltaire, he died of the venereal disease. Leo did not know at this juncture how to act. He had given offence to the Germans, and to several other Christian nations, by the publication of his indulgencies in the most scandalous manner; a poor private monk had boldly stood forth in defiance of religious liberty, and a vast number of people whose eyes seemed now to be opened, had declared, that unless the publication of indulgencies was revoked, they would declare for Luther. Encouraged by the support he met with from his brave countrymen, Luther began to proceed farther, and even called in question the divine authority of the papal see. A public disputation was held on this subject at Lipsick, and the result was, that a breach with the court of Rome was found necessary.

Nor did this spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the church of Rome stop here, for it broke out in several other parts of Germany at the same time. An attack, no less severe, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being intrusted with the sale of indulgencies in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuingulis, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them, and being animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince imposed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was at first matter of



of great joy to Luther, though on the other hand, the decrees of the university of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cause of triumph for his adversaries.

But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired fresh vigour from every species of opposition, and pushing on his enquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to shake the firmest foundations, on which the wealth or power of the church of Rome had been founded. Leo the pope came at last to be convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, and several prelates exclaimed against the pope's lenity without considering that he could not do any thing against Luther without the concurrence of the German princes, and to some of these the court of Rome had rendered itself obnoxious. The pope was roused as it were from his slumber, and he began to place some confidence in the new emperor Charles, believing, at the same time, that the elector of Saxony would not be so deaf to his own interest as to protect an incorrigible Heretick, who for three years together had disturbed the peace of the church in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons, the decrees of the general councils, the letters or precepts sent by the popes, and the opinions of the doctors in the most celebrated universities.

The college of cardinals were often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the most able canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with the most unexceptionable formality. At last, on the fifteenth day of June (we must be formal) one thousand five hundred and twenty, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works were therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears. All persons were forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication, and such as had any of them in their custody were commanded to commit them to the flames. Nay, he himself, if he did not within sixty days recant all his heresies, was to be excommunicated, and delivered unto satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes were required, under penalty of the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished in the manner his crimes deserved.

The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted, as if his party and opinions had been crushed at once by such a decisive blow. His followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily diminished, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, those who attempted to publish it were treated with contempt, and the bull itself was torn in pieces and trodden under-foot.

Luther had looked for this sentence some time, but it did not in the least intimidate him; superior to ecclesiastical menaces, his mind triumphed, and he rose in grandeur, in consequence of his enemies attempting to depress him. Consistent with the foolery of the age, he again re-

newed his appeal to a general council, and published some remarks on the pope's bull. It is certain, that in these remarks there is a great deal of scholastic jargon, taken mostly from the writings of St. Augustine; but still, as we have already observed, this was the fault of the age more than that of the author's, learning was then in leading strings, and the abominable jargon of school divinity had in a manner hardly left common sense in the world.

Luther in this case shewed himself to be a man of spirit, and without shewing that mean, scrupulous pride so peculiar to the baseness of hypocrites, he maintained a dignity of sentiment that will ever do honour to his memory. He had the whole papal power to engage with, and he was no stranger to the ignorance and prejudices of his own countrymen.

As the pope had ordered Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, so this intrepid hero assembled the members of the university of Wittemberg together, and in solemn procession they burnt the pope's bull, and this example was followed by the inhabitants of several of the cities of Germany. The manner in which he justified this action, was more provoking than the action itself. He collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with respect to the plenitude of power and unlimited authority of the popes, and the subordination of all inferior to him in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To these he added some remarks, which struck deep at the power of the church of Rome, because they tended to subvert civil government.

Such was the progress Luther had made, and such was the state of his party when Charles V. came to take possession, by election, of the German empire. No secular prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions, no change in the established religion had been introduced, and no encroachments were made on the revenues or foundations of the clergy. Neither party had yet proceeded to action; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on in the way of argumentation. A deep impression, however, was made on the minds of the people; their reverence for antient doctrines and institutions was shaken, and the materials were already scattered which produced the combustion that soon spread itself all over Germany. Students crowded from every province of the empire to Wittemberg, and there some of the greatest men who have done honour to the Protestant religion, received the first rudiments of their education. The field for religious controversies was now opened, a sort of restraint was laid upon the papal power, men began to see, and what was still more to their honour, they began to speak their sentiments with freedom, which their ancestors had not been permitted to do for a thousand years before.

During the course of these transactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to all the rest of Europe. When Luther began to declare against indulgencies, two dif-

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ferent methods of treating him lay before the pope, by adopting one of which, the attempt, it is probable, might have been crushed, and by the other it might have been rendered innocent.

If Luther's first departure from the doctrines of the church had instantly drawn upon him the weight of its censures, the dread of these might have restrained the elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from listening to his discourses, or even might have overawed Luther himself, and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have only been known to the world by his honest but ill-timed effort to convert the corruptions of the Romish church; or on the other hand, if the pope had early testified some displeasure with the vices and excesses of those who had been employed to publish indulgencies, if he had forbidden the mentioning of controverted points in private discourse, if he had enjoined the disputants on both sides to be silent, if he had been careful not to risque the credit of the church by defining what had hitherto been left undetermined, Luther would probably have stopped short at his first discoveries. He would not have been forward to put himself upon his own defence, and the whole controversy might probably have dried away insensibly; or being confined entirely to the schools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity of the Romish church as that which the Franciscans maintain with the Dominicans concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Jansenists and Jesuits; concerning the operation of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between these opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exasperated but not restrained. By a mistaken exercise of lenity, time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress made towards reconciling him to the church, and even the sentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been decisive, was delayed so long that it became at last scarce an object of terror.

Such a series of errors in the measures of a court, seldom chargeable with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of human prudence, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. At the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzels, he was far from intending that reformation, which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any special revelation; he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual.

The doctrines of popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the

parts of that artificial fabric were so linked together, that the pulling down of one loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgencies, he was obliged to enquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, discovered to him by degrees the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of auricular confession; and the imaginary existence of purgatory. The detection of so many errors, led him of course to consider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the severe injunction of celibacy and the intolerable rigour of monastic vows appeared to him the great sources of their corruption. From thence, it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the papal power, which authorized and supported such a system of errors.

As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the decisions of schoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted insensibly from one doctrine to another. Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing the inattention, and even difference, with which Leo viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would have drawn upon him at once the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect for the pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decisions, there seemed to be no reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt; and he was suffered to proceed step by step, in undermining the constitution of the church, till the remedy applied at last came too late to produce any effect.

But whatever advantages Luther's cause derived either from the mistakes of his adversaries, or from his own good conduct, the sudden progress and firm establishment of his doctrines, must not be ascribed to these alone. The same corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance, and the same opinions which he now propagated, had been published in different places, and were supported by the same arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth already mentioned, and Huss in the fifteenth, had inveighed against the errors of popery with great boldness, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in those illiterate ages in which they flourished. But all these premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of dispelling the darkness which then covered the church, were soon extinguished: and though the doctrines of these pious men produced some effects, and left some traces in the country where they taught, they



they were neither extensive nor considerable. Many powerful causes contributed to facilitate Luther's progress, which either did not exist, or did not operate with full force in their days; and at the critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumstances of every kind concurred in rendering each step he took successful.

The long and scandalous schism which divided the church, during the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time, fawning on the princes whom they wanted to gain, squeezing the countries which acknowledged their authority, excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them, discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgement belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far as to chuse, among these infallible guides, whom they would please to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil, spread still wider this disrespect for the Romish see and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing popes, taught the world that there was in the church a jurisdiction superior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be supreme.

The wound given on that occasion to the papal authority was scarce healed up, when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastics, raised new scandal in Christendom. The profligate morals of the former in private life; the fraud, the injustice and cruelty of his publick administration, place him on a level with those tyrants, whose deeds are the greatest reproach to human nature. The latter, though a stranger to these odious passions which prompted his predecessor to commit so many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a restless and ungovernable ambition, which scorned all considerations of gratitude, of decency, or of justice, when they obstructed the execution of his schemes. It was scarce possible to be firmly persuaded, that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whose chief precepts are purity and humility, was deposited in the breasts of the impious Alexander, or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of those who exalted the authority of a council above that of the pope spread wonderfully under their pontificates: And as the Emperor and French king, who were actually engaged in hostilities with these active pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their subjects to expose their vices with all the violence of invective, and all the petulance of ridicule, and men's ears becoming accustomed as it were to these, were not shocked to hear Luther treat the papal power in the most ludicrous terms.

Nor did satire operate against the pope only. Many of the dignified secular clergy, being the younger sons of noble families, who had assumed the ecclesiastical function for no other reason but that they found in the church people accustomed to idleness, neglected the duties of their office, and indulged themselves without reserve or fear,

in all those vices which generally spring from an immoderate degree of wealth.

Though the preachers were prevented by their poverty from imitating the expensive luxury of their superiors, yet gross ignorance and low debauchery rendered them as contemptible as the others were odious. The severe and unnatural case of celibacy, to which both were equally subject, occasioned such irregularities, that in several parts of Europe, the priests were permitted to keep concubines. Nor was this to be found only in the warmer climates, where the passions are supposed to be more violent than in the northern regions. It even extended to the north of Scotland, where some of the old bishops had three or four natural children; and lord Hales has mentioned an instance, and produced the record of one Hepburn, bishop of Murray, having five natural children legitimated by patent in one day.

The degeneracy of men among the ecclesiastics might, perhaps, have been tolerated with more indulgence if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them at the same time to oppress all the other orders of men. It is the genius of superstition, fond of every thing pompous or grand, to set no bounds to its liberality towards persons whom it esteemed sacred, and to think its expressions of regard defective, unless it hath raised them to the height of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extensive revenues and jurisdiction possessed by the church in every country in Europe, and which were become intolerable to the laity, from whose undecerning bounty they were at first derived.

The burden, however, had fallen very heavy on Germany; for although the people of that extensive empire are naturally brave, and not much addicted to levity, tenacious of their ancient customs, and strenuous supporters of their liberties, yet they had fallen into the prevailing error, and were ruled by the court of Rome, not as children under paternal jurisdiction, but as wretched slaves, who were to be fleeced of all their wealth, in order to maintain a great number of indolent priests in luxury, idleness, sensuality, and all sorts of debauchery.

While the clergy asserted their own pretensions with so much zeal, they daily encroached on those of the laity. All causes relative to matrimony, to wills, usury, legitimacy, and even to their own revenues, were to be decided in their own courts. Nay, they were not satisfied with this amazing power, they actually attempted to bring before themselves the cognizance of all civil causes, and to become judges between men in disputes concerning civil property. They had engrossed to themselves almost the whole system of human learning; for the laity were more intent on martial achievements, than on cultivating their rational faculties, which was one of the means by which they were kept in a state of ignorance.

The penalties inflicted by the ecclesiastical courts, added great dignity to the judges, and filled the minds of the people with terror. The censure of excommunication was originally designed to preserve the purity of the church, that obstinate offenders, whose impious tenets, or profane lives, were a reproach to Christianity,

might



might be cut off from the society of the faithful: This the corrupt churchmen took care to improve to their own advantage, and inflicted their censures on the most frivolous pretensions. Whoever incurred their displeasure were excluded from all the privileges of Christians, and deprived of their rights as men and citizens, and the dread of this rendered even the most fierce and turbulent spirits obsequious to the authority of the church.

Grievous, however, as these encroachments of the clergy might have been, yet they could have been borne with much longer by the Germans, had the revenues been bestowed upon their own countrymen, but quite the reverse took place. The popes had, for several ages, pretended a title to fill up all vacant bishoprics, and for that purpose they seized on the rights of the secular princes in Germany by sending some of their Italian creatures to take possession of the most opulent church livings. Here these Italians received vast sums of money without doing any duty to entitle them to such a reward, and they exercised such an unlimited authority as none but slaves could endure. The pope's favourite mistresses sold the benefices to those who bid the most money for them, for the holy head of the church loved women as much as the grand seignor. These scandalous practices were not carried on in secret, they were done publicly, and the avarice of the church of Rome triumphing over its former prejudices, pious men beheld with silent regret these simonial practices, so unworthy the character of those who pretended to be the ministers of a Christian church, while politicians complained of the exportation of so much money to support idle priests, whose scandalous lives had totally made them odious to all ranks of people, by degrading their character even below the meanest of the human creation.

Such were the dissolute manners, the exorbitant wealth, power and privileges of the clergy before the reformation; such the oppressive rigour of that dominion which the popes had established over the Christian world; and such the sentiments that prevailed concerning them in Germany, and in the rest of Europe about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nor has this sketch been taken from the parties concerned in that age, who might possibly have been led into prejudices in consequence of their violent opposition of each other; it is formed upon more authentic evidence, upon the memorials and remonstrances of the imperial diets, coolly enumerating the grievances under which the empire groaned, begging earnestly for redress. Dissatisfaction must have risen to a great height, when these grave and solemn assemblies exposed the crimes with so much acrimony, and if they demanded the abolition of these enormities with so much vehemence, we may be assured, they uttered their sentiments and decrees in more bold and virulent expressions.

To men thus prepared for shaking off the arbitrary papal yoke, Luther addressed himself with almost certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight and borne it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first proposal for their

deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany. Even the impetuosity and fierceness of Luther's spirit, his confidence in asserting his own opinions, and the contempt with which he treated all who differed from him, which in ages of more moderation have been reckoned defects in the character of that reformer, did not appear excessive to his contemporaries, whose minds were strongly agitated by those interesting controversies which he carried on, and who themselves had endured the rigour of papal tyranny, and seen the corruptions of that church against which he exclaimed.

But besides all the means already mentioned, which contributed towards facilitating Luther's undertakings in bringing about the reformation, there were some others not hitherto mentioned. Among these one of the chief was the art of printing, which took its rise about half a century before his time. By this fortunate discovery, the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge, was wonderfully increased, and Luther's books, which must otherwise have made their progress very slowly and with uncertainty, in distant countries spread at once over all Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had access to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people, who upon their appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and reject many doctrines which they had been enjoined to believe under the severest penalty. The eyes of the people began to open gradually, they saw the impositions that had been put upon them by designing priests, and they were glad to patronize a man who bid fair to restore them to their natural liberty.

But Luther was not alone in opposition to the measures of the court of Rome. The great Erasmus, who was his contemporary, without being a Protestant in possession, let loose the whole force of his satire on the errors and superstitions of popery. His acute judgement and vast erudition enabled him to discover many errors, both in the doctrine and worship of the church of Rome. Some of these he confuted with great solidity of reason and force of eloquence; others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned against them the inestimable torrents of popular and satirical wit, of which he had a great command. There was scarce any opinion or practice in the Romish church which Luther sought to reform, but had been previously animadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him either matter for censure or raillery.

Various circumstances, however, concurred in hindering Erasmus from pursuing the same course as that which Luther embarked in. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that force of mind which alone can prompt a man to assume the character of a reformer; his excessive deference for persons in high station; his dread of losing the pensions and other emoluments which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuses gradually, and by gentle methods; all concurred to induce him to repress that zeal which he had



had once manifested against the errors of the church, and to assume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents.

The diet of the German empire was summoned to meet at Worms, an imperial city, to consider of Luther's opinions, and thither this great and illustrious reformer was summoned to make his personal appearance. In vain did his friends persuade him that he was in danger, he went in conscious innocence, and smiled at the menaces of his enemies. The reception he met with at Worms, was such as might have filled his mind with pride, had he acted from any other motives than such as were purely evangelical. Greater crowds assembled to see him than had been there when the emperor made his public entry, and in this there was nothing at all remarkable; for here was a poor monk who had boldly stood up against the whole thunders of the vatican, had braved the imperial power so far as it related to matters of religion, and had ridiculed the superstitions of the church and court of Rome with all the acrimony of the severest satire.

It is true, the emperor had interest sufficient in the diet to get a severe decree passed against him, but his sovereign, the elector of Saxony, who had been his friend at the beginning, stood by him to the last. His opinions were gladly embraced by many great persons in Germany, they spread far and wide among the populace; learned ecclesiastics joined him, and princes, to their everlasting honour, stood up in the defence of what they sincerely believed to be the doctrines of divine revelation.

In this manner, and from circumstances that no human wisdom could have foreseen, the papal power received a fatal blow in Germany, and the eyes of other European nations were so far opened, that the love of knowledge spread itself into many other countries. Princes, indeed, from the worst of motives, did all that lay in their power to check its progress; but neither civil tyranny, nor ecclesiastical anathemas could answer the end. It is true, the Germans set the example, and all those who lived in the more southerly climate had neither zeal nor courage to copy after them, yet the rising plant was nourished by the hand of Divine Providence; it bore down before it every sort of opposition, and even the smaller states of Switzerland opposed the papal power, and took the sacred scriptures for their guide in all matters of a religious nature. Sweden and Denmark soon followed their example; England and Scotland, from motives

that will be mentioned afterwards, did the same.

Whatever progress Luther made in the work of reformation, seemed only to point out the way to something more complete, and the divines in other nations improved on the plan he had laid down. But without entering into a discussion of these things, we shall lay down the plan of that most arduous part of the work that lies before us. First, we are to treat of such religions as are established under the name of Protestantism in different nations, and then of those who are commonly called Dissenters. In the first, we shall find some few variations in discipline, though little in doctrines; but in the second a great number in both. And here we shall adhere so strictly to the truth, that none will desire to condemn us without first acknowledging their own ignorance or guilt.

The Papists have reproached us with being divided into a great number of sects and parties, and by this they have laid hold of the ignorance of those whom they intended to make proselytes, without acquainting them, at the same time, that Protestants never persecuted each other with so much severity as the Dominicans have the Franciscans in the Romish church. We are willing to acknowledge, that we do not all agree in every trifling circumstance; but in those points upon which salvation depends, there has not till lately been any matter of dispute; and even where such matter of dispute took place, it was carried on by men who did not so much enquire after the truth as they sought an opportunity to gratify their pride and establish their importance.

We are ready to grant, that consistent with our accounts of the primitive church, there may be some variations among us; but none of these, wherever an ecclesiastical establishment of religion has taken place, can affect the salvation of mankind. As for those who have dissented from civil establishments, we shall treat of their sentiments with candour, and leave the reader to judge purely for himself.

As Lutherianism takes place in respect of antiquity before all the other civil establishments of the Protestant religion in Europe, and as it has been more generally embraced with respect to locality, so it is necessary that we should begin with it, confining ourselves to its doctrines, discipline, worship, and government as a Christian church, and point out how far the several establishments of Protestantism may differ, whether in kingdoms at large, or in more contracted provinces.



## *The* RITES *and* CEREMONIES *of the* LUTHERANS.

**T**HE account we have given of the reformation in general, will lead every intelligent person to make a proper enquiry into particulars; and here we shall first take notice of the times when, and the places where, the Protestant religion, according to the plan laid down by Luther, was established; for at the time of the reformation, the prophet's words were verified, "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and "queens thy nursing mothers."

Saxony, and the county of Mansfeld, revived Lutheranism 1521, and the same year the elector of Saxony, who had all along favoured Luther, desired him to appoint preachers, to reform the people in every part of his dominions. The same year it was received at Kreichsaw, Goslar, Rostock, Riga, in Livonia, Rentling, and at Hall, in Swabia. In 1522, it was established at Augsburg, Hamburg, Treptow, Pomerania and Prussia. In 1523, it was established in the Duchy of Lunenburg, Nuremberg and Breslaw. In 1525, throughout the whole Landgravate of Hesse. In 1528, at Gottingen, Limbou and Eimbeck. In 1530, at Munster and Paderborn, in Westphalia. In 1532, at Ulm and Ethlingen. In 1533, at Grubenhagen and Hanover. In 1534, in the Duchy of Wittemberg. In 1535, at Cothus, in the lower Lusatia. In 1536, in the County of Lippe. In 1538, in the Electorate of Brandenburg, in Bremen, Hall in Saxony, Lipsick, in Misnia and Quedlenburg. In 1539, at Embden, in East Friesland, Hailbron, Halberstade and Magdeburgh. In 1540, in the Palatinate of the Duchy of Nemburg, Regensburg and Wismar. In 1542, at Buxton de Hildershem, and at Osnaburgh. In 1543, in the lower Palatinate. In 1546, in Mecklenburgh. In 1552, in the Marquisate of Durlach and Hockburg. In 1556, in the County of Bentheim. In 1564, at Haguenaw, and in the lower Marquisate of Baden. In 1568, in the whole Duchy of Magdeburg.

Here was a rapidity of progress which no human wisdom could have foreseen; for besides all the places already mentioned, Lutheranism was established in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. It was not like Mahometanism propagated by the sword, nor like popery, supported by the gibbet and the stake. It consisted of a rational address to the understandings of men, and Divine Providence prepared them to receive it.

The system of faith, embraced by the Lutherans, was drawn up by Melancthon, a dear friend of Luther's, 1530, and presented to the emperor Charles V. It was designed to support all the points of the reformation, and oppose the leading principles, and corrupt practices of Popery. This is called the Augsburg confession, because Melancthon presented it to the emperor in that city, and it was divided into two parts, the first of which contained the following articles.

The 1st acknowledged, and agreed to the

decisions of the first four general councils, concerning the trinity. The 2d admitted of original sin, defined it differently from the church of Rome, making it to consist only in concupiscence. The 3d contained the substance of the apostles creed. The 4th maintained, against the Pelagians, that a man cannot be justified by the meer strength and capacity of nature; and, against the Roman Catholics, that justification is the effect of faith, exclusive of good works. The 5th agreed with the church of Rome, that the word of God, and the sacraments, are the means of conveying the holy spirit, but differed from that communion, by asserting, that this divine operation is never present without faith. The 6th affirmed, that our faith ought to produce good works, purely in obedience to God, and not in order to our own justification. The 7th made the true church to consist of none but the righteous. The 8th acknowledged the validity of the sacraments, though administered by hypocrites or wicked persons. The 9th asserted, against the Anabaptists, the necessity of Infant baptism. The 10th acknowledged the body and blood of Christ under the consecrated elements; adding, that this mysterious presence in the holy sacrament continued with the elements only during the time of receiving, and that the Eucharist ought to be given in both kinds. The 11th granted the necessity of absolution to penitents, but denied their being obliged to make a particular confession of their sins. The 12th condemned the Anabaptists, who affirm, that whoever is once justified cannot fall from grace; as also the Novations, who refused absolution to sins committed after baptism; asserting withal, against the church of Rome, that a repenting sinner is not made capable of forgiveness by any acts of penance whatever. The 13th required actual faith from those, who participate of the sacraments. The 14th forbade those, who were not lawfully called, to teach in the church, or administer the sacraments. The 15th appointed the observation of the festivals, and prescribed the ceremonies of the church. The 16th acknowledged the obligation of civil laws, and approved the magistracy, propriety of estates, and marriage. The 17th acknowledged the resurrection, heaven, and hell, and condemned the two following errors of the Anabaptists, and fifth monarchy men; viz. That the punishment of the devils and the damned will have an end, and that the saints will reign with Christ a thousand years upon earth. The 18th declared, that our wills are not sufficiently free, in actions relating to the promoting of our salvation. The 19th maintained, that notwithstanding God created man, and still continues to preserve him, he neither is, nor can be, the author of sin. The 20th affirmed, that good works are not altogether unprofitable; and the 21st forbade the invocation of saints.

The second part of the Augsburg confession is altogether



altogether in opposition to the church of Rome, containing the seven principle abuses, on which the Lutherans founded the necessity of separating from the communion of that church. The 1st head enjoined communion in both kinds, and forbad the profection of the holy sacrament. The 2d condemned the celibacy of priests. By the 3d private masses were abolished, and some part at least of the congregation were obliged to communicate with the priest. The 4th declared against the necessity of making a particular confession of sins to the priest. The 5th rejected tradition. The 6th disallowed monastic vows: And the 7th asserted, that the power of the church consisted only in preaching the gospel, and administering the sacraments.

This confession of faith was signed by the elector of Saxony, and his eldest son, by the marquis of Brandenburg, by the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Hainault, and the republics of Nuremberg and Rutlingena. It was argued before the emperor Charles V. but rejected; the Roman Catholics having a majority of votes in the council. This was followed by a conference between seven deputies of each party; in which, Luther being absent, Melancthon, by his mollifying explanations, brought both sides to an agreement in relation to fifteen of the first twenty-one articles. But the conference broke up without adjusting all the differences between them.

In considering these articles, it appears, that in most of the capital doctrines of religion upon which salvation depends, there were but few differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists. Consubstantiation was one, absolution another, and an official priority in the clergy a third. The truth is, most of the reformers throughout every part of Europe, were of the same sentiments with St. Austin, who so strongly supported the doctrine of absolute predestination, and efficacious grace against the Pelagians.

But be these things as they will, it is certain that although Luther, in his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, wrote in defence of free grace, yet his followers did not remain long in that opinion; for we find that before the middle of the last century, their preachers began to assert the doctrine of free will, which is now an universal topic in their pulpits, although no such thing is inserted in their confession of faith, already printed. But in this they are not much different from some other Protestant churches, perhaps being of opinion with Bp. Burnet, that men may subscribe to a particular system he does not literally believe, and put what construction upon it he pleases. This opinion of Bp. Burnet is not much unlike the conduct of a Friar, who having a desire to a fowl in Lent, flourished his knife in his hand, and said, *Capon be Cod*, and then eat it with the utmost avidity. Mr. Blackburn, the author of the Confessional, thinks that when men have no other way of procuring a subsistence than by that of subscribing to a certain formulary which they do not approve, they may temporize and comply.

This has some connection with the conduct of the emperor of Germany, who granted a safe conduct to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, when they went to the council of Constance, and

afterwards conducted them to the stake, declaring no faith should be kept with Hereticks. Without sincerity there can be no religion; and if systems cannot be written in such language as is understood, then there is an end of all uniformity of sentiments; and such evasion being used by so many Protestants has done more hurt to their cause than all the machinations of Romish priests. In all Protestant countries men may dissent from the established religion, if they are not satisfied with the terms of conformity, and it is more honourable to live even in a state of poverty, than for a man to wound his conscience, by declaring his assent to what he does not believe to be truth.

But to return to the subject. The next thing to be considered is the worship of the Lutherans; for worship must always be considered as one of the essentials of religion.

The worship in the Lutheran churches has a near affinity to what we have already mentioned in our account of the primitive Christians, only that the Lutherans wear gowns and surplices, which were not in use till a considerable time after Constantine the Great. If we are able to form any notion of the worship practised in the church during the fifth century, it was much the same if not entirely so, as what the Lutherans use at present. Mosheim, a Lutheran divine, and late president of the university of Gottingen, is of this opinion in his ecclesiastical history, and that learned gentleman freely acknowledges, that they have in their churches still too many ceremonies, as well as too many festivals.

All their churches are built in length from east to west, which is of great antiquity and still observed by Protestants in general, except by the Scotch, who build their places of worship in a promiscuous manner. When the Lutherans first go into their churches, they stand looking towards the altar, which is always at the east, and in that attitude offer up their devotions in private. The women sit in the middle of the church, and the men round about and in the galleries. The public service begins with the organ playing, and then all the people rise up and sing an hymn, or psalm, to which they are directed by the preacher, or reader. After this, the minister in his gown goes into the pulpit and prays, the people all looking towards the east, and some bowing to the altar. At the conclusion of the first prayer, which is a form though not read, the minister falls down upon his knees and remains in silence for some time. He then rises up, and all the people turn their faces towards him. He then reads out of their liturgy the gospel for the day, and delivers a sermon from it, without notes; for throughout the whole world, no churches, whether Greeks, Roman Catholics, or Protestants, ever read sermons to the people, except the English. Sermon being over, the minister repeats a short prayer, the people having their faces towards the east, and then the organ begins to play, when they sing another hymn. The minister then pronounces the blessing.

This is the forenoon service, for they seldom have any preaching in the afternoon, the whole consisting of prayers and singing. In the after-



noon, as soon as the minister enters within the rails of the altar, dressed in his surplice, he gives out the psalm to be sung, repeating the first line, when the organ strikes up, and all the people join in singing. The minister stands with his back to the people, much in the same manner as the Romish priests when they celebrate mass; but at the beginning of every new hymn, turns to them and repeats the first verse. They are extremely fond of music, and, indeed, great part of their worship consists of it; but they do not make the sign of the cross, nor do they use any holy water like the Roman Catholics. These, however, are only the outlines of their religious worship, for they have many other practices which might be attended to. This much, however, is necessary to observe, that they are the least removed from the church of Rome of all the Protestants.

It was Luther's intention to change the whole form of Divine service as practised in the Romish church; but he met with powerful opposition from several of the German princes, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the people of Europe were in that age, little better than barbarians. In the celebration of the eucharist, he looked upon wine as sufficient without any mixture of water, and masses for the dead were abolished. He exhorted all true Christians before they approached the communion, to prepare themselves by fasting and prayer, and although he declared, that auricular confession was not absolutely necessary, or to be insisted on, yet he held it to be a salutary practice, and by no means to be rejected and contemned. He found no fault with the canonical hours, but ordained, that the people worship in the church twice upon every Sunday; that there should be prayers and sermon in the morning, and singing in the afternoon; that the gospel should be expounded in the morning and the epistle at vespers, and that the saints days should be kept up. Lent is still kept by the Lutherans, and during that time, all those who are to come to partake of the eucharist at Easter, confess their sins to the minister of the parish.

It is certain, that confession took place in the Christian church a little time after Constantine the Great; but it was never magnified into such a degree of esteem as it is now held by the Roman Catholics, till many hundred years afterwards. Upon it much of the power of the clergy depends, and Luther retained it in his ritual, although it has no foundation in the sacred scripture.

The Lutherans consecrate their churches in the following manner: The pastor, and the greatest part of his congregation, meet near the parsonage house, or at some convenient place adjoining to the church intended to be consecrated, and afterwards march in procession two and two, once at least, and sometimes thrice round it, singing hymns all the way. As soon as this act of devotion is over, they enter the church, where the service is again opened with singing. After which, some portions of sacred scripture are read, and a sermon preached on the solemnity of the meeting. If the revenues of the church will admit of it, the superintendant is invited to be present,

to assist at the ceremony and give his benediction to the church, and consecrate it with some form of his composing, which favour is acknowledged by a gratuity, and a genteel entertainment.

There can be no manner of doubt but that as the Lutheran religion is established by law in many countries, and tolerated in some others, so there must be considerable differences in the ceremonies, although none of a very essential nature. We have the following account of the consecration of a church in the neighbourhood of Dresden, performed so lately as 1730.

The procession set out from the place where the Lutheran service had been first performed and the students and scholars sung all the way. After them went the superintendant, who is much the same with them as our bishops, carrying a large bible, and the pastor of the parish with a chalice in one hand and a patin in the other, followed by two deacons. One of the deacons carried the small chest in which the book of their discipline was deposited, and the other carried a copy of the book itself. A numerous train of Lutherans of all ranks brought up the rear, and in this order they marched to the church, where there were several anthems sung, accompanied with instrumental music.

After this the superintendant preached a sermon on the solemnity of the occasion, and there was a grand entertainment provided.

The superintendant repeated a few prayers over the ground, upon which the church stood, and no doubt but from that time it became sacred. It is certain, that the holiness of times and places has been frequently insisted on; it is equally certain, that it has no foundation in the New Testament. St. Stephen the first martyr, who suffered death for Christ, said before the Jewish Sanhedrim, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." But let us attend to what is said by the late Mr. Hervey, an author esteemed and admired by Protestants of every denomination. Speaking of gratitude, he says, "Here I recollected, and was charmed with Solomon's fine address to the Almighty, at the dedication of his famous temple; with immense charge and equal skill, he had erected the most rich and finished structure that the sun ever saw; yet upon a review of his work, and a reflection on the transcendent perfections of the godhead, how he exalts the one and abases the other. The building was too glorious for the mightiest monarch to inhabit, too sacred for unhallowed feet even to enter, yet infinitely too mean for the deity to reside in. It was, and the royal worshipper acknowledged it to be, a most marvellous condescension in uncreated excellency to put his name there."

The whole passage breathes such a delicacy, and is animated with such a sublimity of sentiment, that I cannot persuade myself to pass on without repeating it. But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold! the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house that I have builded. I. Kings viii. 27. Medit. Vol. I. p. 5.

Undoubtedly, these sentiments of Mr. Hervey are extremely fine, and in all respects consistent



sistent with the gospel dispensation, nay, with the purity of religion in general; for what sanctity can there be in any place where the heart is polluted, the conscience defiled, and the soul not reunited to God. Whenever ceremonies are strenuously adhered to, the life of religion is generally lost, and all sinks down into formality. We have a remarkable instance of this in a controversy that took place in the London news papers, 1766. It was occasioned by the following circumstance. Dr. Joseph Butler, the celebrated author of the *Analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion*, delivered a charge to the clergy of Durham, in which he made use of the following expressions: "There may be a form of religion where no religion exists, but there can be no religion without a form."

There was nothing in these words that any sensible man could look upon as superstitious; for as we are a composition of flesh and blood, we must either have some forms in our religious worship, or we must become Quietists. However, Mr. Blackburne, the author of the *Confessional*, laid hold of these expressions; and not contented with representing Bp. Butler as a superstitious person, he actually accused him as having died a Roman Catholic. But this leads us to treat of the discipline of the Lutherans.

The validity of the English ordinations, altho' episcopal, has been called in question; but it was ably defended by father Le Courayer, who was himself a Roman Catholic. But if such objections have been made to the church of England, we need not be surprised to find some treating the Lutherans as not canonically ordained; for although they have bishops, or superintendants, yet they have no episcopal ordination. It is a rule in all Protestant churches, except in England, never to ordain a man to be a minister till he is presented to a living; for, say they, a shepherd is of no manner of use without a flock. For this reason, the Lutherans, like the Calvinists, grant licences to young men to preach, but they are not to take upon them any charge of souls.

The young gentlemen among the Lutherans, who have finished their studies at the university, and are declared qualified for the clerical office, are generally sent as assistants to such ministers as are far advanced in years; and these are called expectants. Their business is to perform all the divine offices, except that of administering the sacrament, and hearing the confession of penitents, that being confined to such as are ordained. These young men frequently succeed the aged ones when they die; and here we may observe, that it is much to the honour of the German princes, who are Protestants, that although they have the right of presentation to livings, yet they generally give it the people, leaving them at liberty to chuse their own ministers.

The day for the ordination being fixed, the candidate repairs to the church where he is to be ordained, in the presence of several ministers, ecclesiastical judges, and the congregation of the people. A sermon is preached, after which, the candidate makes a confession of his faith verbally; for they are not permitted to use notes. In the prayer after sermon, the candidate is mentioned by

name, in words to the following import: "A. B. attending here to be admitted and ordained a minister of the gospel, by the imposition of hands, according to the apostolical institution; let us pray for him, that God Almighty would vouchsafe to inspire him with the holy spirit, and bestow upon him an abundant portion of heavenly gifts."

As soon as the minister withdraws from the pulpit, they sing the *Veni Spiritus Sancti*; that is, the hymn beginning with the words, *Come Holy Ghost*, but not in Latin, as is the practice with the Roman Catholics, but in the vulgar language of the country where they reside. Then the superintendant, with about five or six clergymen, repair to the altar, followed by the candidate, who, as soon as they are entered, falls down on his knees before them. Here the superintendant, addressing himself to his colleagues before mentioned, and having repeated the candidate's request, desires them to join with him in prayer on his behalf. After that, he reads the certificate of his free election by the people, and then they join in prayer the second time. The prayer being over, the superintendant speaks to the ministers, his colleagues, in the following words:

"Dearly beloved brethren in our Lord Jesus, I exhort you to lay your hands on this candidate, who presents himself here before us, in order to be ordained a minister of the church of God, according to the antient apostolical institution, and to concur with me in vesting him with that sacred office." After this, they all lay their hands on the head of the candidate, when the superintendant says, "Be thou, and so remain to be, devoted to the service of God."

This being over, the superintendant addresses himself to the person thus ordained, in terms to the following purpose: "Being assembled here through the aid and assistance of the holy ghost, we have made our humble supplications to God for you, and hope that he will vouchsafe to hear our prayers. Wherefore I ordain, confirm and establish you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, pastor and spiritual instructor of the saints belonging to the church of C. D. to govern it in the fear of God, and have a watchful eye over it as a faithful shepherd over his flock."

The superintendant having pronounced the exhortation, withdraws from the altar, and the stated minister approaches it, dressed in his sacerdotal vestments, to read the common service, and to consecrate the bread and wine, which he administers to the new pastor, who receives it upon his knees. Some few hymns and the usual benediction conclude the ceremony. After service is over, all the pastors retire to the vestry, where they congratulate in Latin the party ordained. The superintendant afterwards reminds him of the great importance of the pastoral charge, and presses home the numerous obligations he has laid himself under, the most material of which are the following.

As a pastor, he is to look upon himself as the shepherd and father of his flock; he must make the sacred scriptures the foundation of all his discourses, and not broach new doctrines, whatever may be his private sentiments with respect to established notions, yet he is to be careful not to make them



them public as doubts, lest he should mislead those who are weak. He must not look with contempt on his congregation, nor must he leave it without assigning such a reason as shall satisfy the superintendant that he is sincere. He must concern himself with no political or state affairs, nor interfere in any private dispute, unless it be to reconcile the parties, by acting the part of a mediator, which was the practice of the Primitive Christians. He must not follow any trade nor mechanical employment, or be concerned in commerce. It is true, that if he has gardens, vineyards, or any small piece of ground, he may cultivate them to the best advantage, so as it does not in any manner interfere with his duty. He is to live in peace with his brethren, the clergy, and entertain a charitable opinion of their actions. Last of all, he is obliged to reside with his people, but he is, by no means, to have more churches than one.

The minister thus ordained, is invested, or put into the actual possession of his congregation, and all its temporalities. The superintendant confers the investiture upon him in the presence of the whole church of which he is constituted and appointed pastor. In Saxony, all the clergy are exempted from the payment of taxes, and so it is in some other parts,

Their superintendants so often mentioned, are, in Sweden and Denmark, called bishops; and it is true they are invested with episcopal power, but they do not pretend to a *jure divino*, or divine right, in a direct line of succession from the apostles. In Denmark the king appoints the bishops, and the bishop of Copenhagen ordains the others. This ordination is performed in the church of St. Mary in Copenhagen, in presence of the bishop and several pastors. The superintendant of Zealand, who is also bishop of Copenhagen, is ordained by the bishop who resides nearest him. Their bishops are chosen from amongst the rest of the clergy, and, in general, are men of fair characters.

They go twice every year to the general assembly of the clergy, which consists of the superintendants of the provinces, and the ministers of parishes, who are sent by the people for that purpose. The civil governor of the province presides at all these meetings, but he does not interfere in their debates, unless they happen to censure the government, and then he dissolves them. These bishops, or superintendants, have power invested in them to inspect into the lives of the clergy, and to examine what progress the students make in the schools. All the schools in Denmark are established by royal authority, and supported by royal munificence out of the crown lands, and this may be one of the reasons why we seldom meet with a man from that country, who is not well acquainted with religion.

The church of Sweden is governed by an archbishop and ten bishops, and over every ten parishes there is an inspector, or overseer, who gives an account of the rest of the clergy to the bishop four times in the year. In Germany, and some parts of Switzerland, where the Lutheran religion is professed, there cannot be such an exact regularity with respect to clerical dominion, many of the states being so small, that they cannot support a superintendant; but still the worship

and government are, as much as can be, the same; for except in some things relating to doctrines, the Lutherans are much the same as they were when their great founder established them.

All their disputes are regulated and adjusted in the assemblies of the clergy; for as these Lutheran ministers are prohibited from meddling with state affairs, so the government seldom interferes with their disputes. When any new regulation takes place, the civil power generally gives it a sanction; but without that sanction it cannot be reduced to practice, so as to become binding either on the clergy or laity.

The school masters, or instructors of youth in the Lutheran churches, are young men, who have passed examination at the university, and such as they call expectants, they being afterwards ordained to the ministry if chosen by the people. Such, indeed, should be the qualifications of all those who teach youth; and perhaps it is owing to the want of these qualifications, that there are so many who undertake to teach things they are utterly unacquainted with themselves.

The Lutherans have public prayers and sermons oftener than any other Protestants in Europe. This is, perhaps, one of the worst practices in their church; for as God ordered but one day in seven to be kept holy among his antient people the Jews, so the Primitive Christians never assembled but on the first day of every week. Every thing is beautiful in the order of Providence; and whenever men depart from labour, to attend Divine worship, except at such times as the sacred scriptures have appointed, they act inconsistent with the order of God, and in general do much injury to their families. Nay, it frequently happens, that those who are more than ordinarily anxious after the exterior parts of religion, have seldom any sincerity, but rather bring a dishonour upon it. This first opened the mouths of Deists; for it is very remarkable, that our most celebrated Deists were such as contracted prejudices against the Christian religion, in consequence of the clergy preaching and praying two or three times a day like angels, when they lived the lives of devils. Of this we might produce many examples; but we shall have occasion to take notice of some, when we come to another part of this work.

It is certain, that there are still in the Lutheran church several superstitious customs, inconsistent with the purity of Primitive Christianity; for they generally delay their funerals till Sunday, in order to have a prayer and a funeral sermon, which their ministers always preach on the death of any of their hearers, whether old or young, rich or poor. These sermons are, for the most part, full of flattery, than which nothing in the world can be more useless or insignificant; for whatever rest we may wish our departed friends, yet we are left till the judgement day in a state of ignorance concerning them.

We have already observed, that the Lutherans have altars in their churches, for the celebration of the holy communion. They likewise make use of lighted tapers in their churches, with a crucifix on the altar, and sometimes they have incense; but some of these things are not general, being confined to particular parts. Some of their divines urge, that these things add a lustre and dignity to divine worship, by fixing the atten-  
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*Engraved for D. HURD'S Religious Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.*



*A custom formerly observed by the LUTHERANS of North Holland, at WHITSUNTIDE.*



tion of the people; others complain that the priests lay too great a stress on these ceremonies, by considering them as essential to religion. It is certain, that many of them pay too much regard to these unnecessary, or rather absurd trifles. Nay, we need not hesitate to call them dangerous; for whenever people, during Divine worship, are led to seek any or the least assistance from carnal objects, religion itself becomes to them a carnal thing, and the purity of spiritual Christianity is defaced. Their minds, says a pious author, are led away from beholding the great God of their salvation; and we are well persuaded, that the introduction of such ceremonies into the primitive church soon after the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, made way for all the ridiculous, and Heathenish rites of the Papists.

The Lutherans preserve a vast number of popish ceremonies, and in the observance of some they are very particular. Thus, their bells ring to public prayers and sermon, but never to vespers or matins; for, strange as it may appear, the Lutherans retain the canonical hours; and, in some places, part of their service is said in Latin.

They all use organs in their churches, not only to strike the ear the more agreeably, but also to lead the people into a sort of consort with them. But besides organs, they have in all their cathedral churches a vast number of other musical instruments, especially on their solemn festivals; but these often give offence to the more sober part of the people.

It is necessary to observe in this place, that nunneries, or convents for women, are still kept up in several places where Lutheranism prevails. These nuns, however, are not bound down by the entanglements of vows; for they may leave the convent whenever they please. In every religious house there is an abbess, and the nuns lie two and two in a bed, in very decent apartments. Each of them has a small closet, where they work, read, or pray; and they have a chapel, wherein Divine service is performed on Sundays and Fridays.

Their priest wears a kind of stole, made of fine crimson velvet, and a crucifix embroidered with silver when he reads prayers at the altar, but when he goes into the pulpit he has nothing on but his surplice. These nuns dress like other women, and may marry when they please. Happy for Britain, had the revenues of the convents at the reformation been applied to the same valuable purposes; but, alas! there is no such thing to be found. Nor do we read of any thing of this nature, except it be those small convents that were established in Holland, when the French Calvinists first fled thither for refuge after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They were called religious dormitories, and consisted chiefly of ladies of prudence and discretion, under the direction of anti-ent matrons, refugees like themselves, but of fortunes sufficient to command respect in their retirement, and vested with the authority of abbesses, as far as the Protestant religion would admit of. They spent their time in prayer, reading the sacred scriptures, and other books of devotion in public; but in these societies there were no sermons preached, nor sacraments administered. It is generally believed, that at the reformation, it was the design of Luther to abolish festivals and many other ceremonies, which still prevail in there-

ligion that bears his name; but he found the stream of popular prejudice too strong for him to suppress it.

In some Lutheran countries, the people go to church on the night of the nativity of our blessed Saviour, with lighted candles or wax tapers in their hands. There they spend the whole night in singing, and saying their prayers by the light of the torches. Sometimes they burn such a large quantity of incense, that the smoke thereof ascends in the form of a whirlwind, and their devotees may be said, with propriety, to have their minds wrapped up in it. In Germany it is customary during such festivals, to make entertainments for their friends and relations, and to send presents one to another, especially to the young people, whom they amuse with very idle and romantic stories, telling them, that our Saviour descends from heaven on the night of his nativity, and brings with him all sorts of play things.

They have another whim or conceit equally ridiculous, and that is, of wrapping an infant in swaddling clothes, and laying it in a cradle, in order to represent the infancy of our Blessed Lord. They likewise stroll about in all sorts of masquerade dresses, which is frequently attended with very fatal consequences; because, mistaking one another, quarrels ensue, and in the scuffle the innocent often suffer where no affront was intended.

They have a sort of vagabonds, who, during the Christmas holidays, sing hymns about the streets, and these are considered by the vulgar, as persons who have real religion at heart. In times of war, these wretches are pressed into the army; but no sooner are they gone, than the women supply their places. In Saxony, they used formerly to erect may-poles in all their churches on ascension day; but this practice was abolished in 1715, because it induced the people to cut down the trees in the neighbouring forests, and to prevent riots, which frequently happened on these occasions.

They all celebrate the jubilee of their reformation from popery, and on such occasions several poems are written in honour of Luther. Many of the German princes have, in vain, attempted to put an end to their vast number of holy days; but the popular prejudices, as in all other cases, so in this, prevented them from succeeding according to their wishes.

We have already treated slightly on the Lutheran form of worship, we shall now proceed to consider it more minutely and particularly.

In 1523, Luther drew up a sort of liturgy, which, in many things, differed not much from the mass of the Roman church. In that formulary he called the communion of bread and wine a ceremony instituted by Christ, which all Christians should deem sacred; but treated with contempt the canon of the mass. And yet in this liturgy there were so many things like popery, that it was not an easy matter to separate the ideas. He allowed the Nicene Creed, which has given offence to many Protestants, to be read in the church; nor does it appear that he made any objection to the Creed of St. Athanasius. He ordered that no water should be mixed with the wine in the sacrament; which was certainly right, because water was never used but in the warmer climates, where the strength of the wine led to intoxication. As



for private confession before the communion, he said it was useful but not necessary. He ordered that hymns should be sung after divine service was ended, some of which were to be in Latin, and others in the vulgar tongue; but that the rest of the service should be read in a language known to the congregation. In all this we may see, that at that time Luther had but dark notions of the purity of Christianity. He was no stranger to the corruptions that had crept into popery; but either in consequence of his own prejudices, or of those of the people, he would not, or could not entirely heal them. However, some churches where the Lutheran religion is professed, have one ritual, and some another. Some are more clogged with ceremonies than others, and some more rational.

This will appear the more consistent with truth, when we consider, that in Sweden the liturgy differs from that in Germany, or in Denmark. At Nuremberg in Germany, there is but little difference in the outward form of divine worship between the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans; only that the latter renounce the pope's supremacy. This was one of the healing measures proposed by Melancthon, but that reformer was a time-serving man. He loved indolence more than reformation, and being destitute of activity, he had no courage to support Luther, whose views were great, and whose spirit was undaunted.

Melancthon has been much cried up by Protestants in general, as a divine of great moderation, and as one who did not desire to carry things to extremity in the first instance. However, we are not to judge of the motives from which he acted, but of his conduct, as it appears on public record. There are many sentiments in his works that seem to breathe a spirit of peace; but if men are once convinced that the purity of the Christian religion has been contaminated, and errors established in it as truths, then it is necessary that every true believer should testify against them. To be timid in such matters, is to give up all attachment to the truth, it is to betray the cause we have embarked in, and to wound our consciences; but we shall afterwards give our readers a more enlarged account of these things, when we treat of the reformation in other nations in Europe.

Much has been said concerning the notions which the Lutherans entertain with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist; but as all these are confused and contradictory, we shall here endeavour to lay the whole truth before the reader, as taken from one of their most eminent writers, namely, Melancthon. He says, "Our very children are not ignorant, that at the holy communion, we receive beyond all contradiction the body and blood of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and although that mystery is so far above our common or human capacities, that we can never comprehend it, yet we firmly believe and rely on the veracity of those words of our Saviour, 'Take eat, this is my body, &c.' He who with a few words was able to satisfy the hunger of several thousands of people, and could walk on the surface of the sea, could, at the celebration of his own supper, perform and bring to pass what was implied in these words he had

expressed." It is very probable, that the most bigotted Roman Catholic would subscribe to this opinion, and yet they are inveterate enemies to the Lutherans.

Those who are of the Lutheran opinion in Germany, are obliged to come to the minister of the parish, either on Wednesday or Friday, previous to the communion, and this is done on purpose that they may open their minds without reserve. This is called confession, but it is by no means conducted on such superstitious principles as among the Roman Catholics. It is true, that common practice and long usage give a sanction to many things, which although no way important in themselves, nor any way essential to religion, yet are considered as sacred by those who have not had it in their power to make a proper enquiry. We have a striking instance of this in Patkull, a gentleman of universal knowledge, who had been brought up a Lutheran, but was, without changing his religion, many years ambassador from the Czar, Peter the Great, to the elector of Saxony, then king of Poland. That great man had been, contrary to the law of nations, seized on by a party of Swedish dragoons, and chained to a stake in the camp of Charles XII. near Pirna, upwards of six months. In vain did he plead his privilege as an ambassador; in vain did he assert, that he had never done any thing against the honour of his native country, Livonia, which at that time belonged to Sweden. The unfeeling Charles ordered him to be broke alive upon the wheel, one of the most horrid and barbarous deaths that malice could invent. The day before he was to suffer, the chaplain of a Swedish regiment came to him by order of the king, and, after a few formal expressions, said, "I am come to you with such a message as the prophet brought to good king Hezekiah of old, Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live."

The poor distracted prisoner begged to know in what manner he was to be put to death, but this was a question the clergyman could not answer; for, as we have already observed, the Lutheran ministers are not to meddle with politics. Patkull told him, that he could not die in peace without confessing his sins, and the clergyman desired him to prepare himself for it against the next morning. He did so, and when he had confessed his sins, he told the minister that he was ready to die. If a gentleman, who had obtained a liberal education, who was acquainted with all the sciences, and who had made a distinguishing figure as a minister of state, thought this formulary necessary in order to promote his eternal happiness, how then can we blame those poor creatures, whose minds were never enlightened with human knowledge. Patkull suffered death after five hours torture, and the learned Keyfler, the German traveller, takes notice that from that period Charles's affairs first went into confusion, and at last ended in ruin; but this we only mention by way of digression.

On the Sunday, when the communion is to be administered, the minister immediately after sermon prays to Almighty God for all in particular who are to partake of that holy ordinance. There is no form of prayer, however, for that purpose; but



but the minister is at liberty to make use of such words as he thinks proper for the occasion. After prayer, they sing an hymn, and while it is singing, those who are to communicate, advance towards the altar, and fall down on their knees, at least as many as can approach it at once, for the rest stand behind in a praying posture. As soon as the hymn is over, the minister says, lets us pray, and repeats, at the same time, the Lord's prayer, and after that he reads the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper. In some places the whole congregation sing with an audible voice, both the prayers and the words of the institution. After that they receive the communion, much in the same manner as in the church of England, namely, kneeling before the rails of the altar.

In some parts of Saxony, the minister rings a little bell two or three times after a very solemn manner, which custom is both needless and impertinent, especially among people who are Protestants, and who pay no regard to the adoration of the host. Indeed, they look upon every thing of that nature as idolatry; and yet we may find, that men may in words despise idolatry, while they are actually idolators in practice. In most of the Lutheran churches, the pastor, before he administers the sacrament, puts on his surplice, and over that a vestment with several crosses fastened to it, which, however, ought not to be compared with the stole worn by the Roman Catholic priests, there being no resemblance between them. In some places, the pastor, after he has read the gospel at the altar, throws the vestment beforementioned over his head and lays it on the table. After the creed is sung, he goes into the pulpit and preaches in his surplice, and then he returns to the altar, where he again puts on his vestments. However, many of them never put it on till the communion begins, and that is amongst them reckoned the most decent practice. Some of their devotees, as among the Roman Catholics, consider the bestowing of habits on the priests as a very meritorious action; and in several of their churches they have eight or ten different sets: So profuse is superstition in bestowing what can be of no service to mankind, and so vain is human pride in placing some sort of confidence in what consists, merely, of empty shew. Mechanical religion is the worst that ever could take place in the world, and notwithstanding the bold assertions of Mr. Hume, we may venture to affirm, that those who give encouragement to it, are no friends to Christianity.

We have already observed, that in many places they keep wax candles burning on their altars during the time of celebrating the communion. But can any thing in the world be more idle than to burn candles at noon day. But the whole force of this part of our argument is taken away by allegories; for they tell us, as Christ instituted the holy supper at night, so we should always receive it with candles burning. They might just as well assert, that as the primitive Christians were obliged to meet in the night, on account of the violence of persecution, so all our meetings, even in a land of liberty, should be nocturnal assemblies. This is undoubtedly one of the most idle arguments that ever was advanced; but when men embrace only one half of the truth, it is

not strange to see them again returning to error.

However, when the communicant has received the sacred elements, he falls down on his knees to return thanks to God for the spiritual nourishment, and in some places the communicants congratulate each other on that joyful occasion. As for the number of times for the communicants to partake of this sacred institution, they are not fixed, but voluntary; some partake of it every Sunday, but these are only what are called devotees.

No minister can receive the communion from his own hands, that being absolutely forbidden by Luther's doctrine.

On the evening of the day before the communion is administered, there is always a preparation sermon, and this custom has obtained in several other reformed churches; on that occasion, all those who are to communicate are obliged to be present, and those who neglect it without shewing a reasonable cause, are liable to the censures of the church. Although, in general, they receive the communion kneeling, yet in some places they take it standing; but for this there is no fixed rule, which often creates a great deal of confusion in their public assemblies.

The Lutherans make use of red or white wine, just as opportunity serves, in the celebration of their communion. They never administer the sacrament to infants, but it is common enough for them to carry it to such as are sick, or on a death-bed, at the same time observing a great many ceremonies. And here it is necessary to observe, that such communion carried to the sick and dying person, bears a near affinity to the vaticum of the Romish church, except in the act of adoration. Nay, this communion of theirs may be called by the same name as the Romans; for the Lutheran priest says to the communicants, that it is a suitable provision for them in their journey to another world. The term which the Lutherans make use of for viaticum, is expressive of the very same idea, and brings to our remembrance the antient customary fee paid to Charon by the Heathens; for it was from the Heathens the papists borrowed it, and the Lutherans have, in a great measure, retained it.

Whether the term viaticum was looked upon as too superstitious by the Lutherans, as being popish, we cannot determine; but this much is certain, that they have left it out of their ritual, and now they call it the communion of the sick.

As for the ceremonial part, it has been reduced to the following ceremonies:

First, to the confession of the communicant, which is preceded by a prayer, and followed with an absolution pronounced by the confessor in the name of the ever blessed trinity.

Secondly, the communion administered to the sick person, preceded likewise by a prayer, and accompanied with singing a psalm of praise and hope, most commonly the 23d, or 103d, according to the version made use of by the Lutherans, and several other Protestants, and a collect or prayer suitable to the solemn occasion.

Thirdly, the benediction which is delivered in the most solemn manner, recommending the departing



parting soul to the arms of the Lord Jesus, to enjoy everlasting happiness in heaven.

In those parts where the Lutherans are the most superstitious, the priest, when he comes into the chamber of the sick person, takes a table, which he places in the form of an altar, by covering it with tapestry, a fine crimson cloth, and setting two lighted candles upon it. Between the candles he places a crucifix, and such other things as are objects of superstition among them. It should be administered in presence of some of the relations of the sick person, but when there are no relations, then the neighbours are to be invited in. Every person present is permitted to partake with the sick man, or woman; and for that purpose they must have notice sent them before, that they may be duly prepared. The Lutherans do not only carry their communion to the sick, but also to such as are aged and infirm, so as to be incapable of attending public worship. To these persons the minister, who gives the communion to them, makes a serious exhortation, which may, with propriety, be called a domestic sermon, after a family communion.

We shall now proceed to consider their manner of confession, which is looked upon as highly necessary wherever the Lutheran religion is established. And here it is proper to add, that it contributes much towards aggrandizing the power of the clergy. If on the one hand, it relieves the agonizing pains of the soul, and gives a sincere comfort and consolation to a wounded conscience, it creates, on the other hand, an awe, veneration and respect for their pastors, who, by such act of confession, become the spiritual directors and physicians of their people.

They administer their cures in the name of the Lord, but in the same name denounce curses on those who will not take what they prescribe. However, let the veneration, respect and authority of the Lutheran preachers or confessors be ever so great, yet it falls vastly short of what the Romish priests procure for themselves. The following was delivered to the author by an eminent Lutheran minister now alive.

"Before the communion the person who is to receive, confesses his sins to the minister, who, agreeably to the sacred scriptures, pronounces the full remission of sins to all such as truly repent. This confession is not particular, like that of the Roman Catholics; for the minister does not pry into secret affairs. It is sufficient for the penitent, or intended communicant, to declare in general, that he has sinned, and what man would deny that? This is a thing implied in religion; for what purpose would it be necessary for men to attend to sacred duties, to ask pardon of God, to beg for his assistance, and praise him for his many mercies, if they were not sinners; that is, if they had not transgressed against the divine law. However, the practice of confession among the Lutherans is not always the same, it varies in different places, according as prejudices may happen to aggrandize it, or the freedom of enquiry sink it almost beneath the lowest sort of contempt. In some places, a whole body of people go together to their pastor, in order to confess their sins; and one of them reads a ge-

neral confession, after which, the confessor asks if their sentiments are all one and the same. After the answer is given in the affirmative, the minister makes a formal exhortation, longer or shorter, as he thinks proper; and that, together with the absolution, concludes the ceremony. This is the general custom in most populous towns, where it would be in a manner impossible to attend to every private individual. In some places, the minister proposes the three following questions, to those who are to confess their sins.

First, he asks them whether they repent sincerely of those sins of which their consciences accuse them? Secondly, if they sincerely believe and profess, that the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ are really and actually present in the elements of bread and wine? And, thirdly, if they promise to persevere in the Lutheran faith to their lives end? This last question implies a principle inconsistent with toleration, and consequently with Christianity; and it is well known, that the Lutherans are generally very stiff in that particular; not with regard to the Roman Catholics only, but likewise to the Calvinists, who have often made them the most generous professions of brotherly love.

At Nuremberg, and in some other places, imposition of hands is practised when absolution is given, and this is of considerable antiquity; for it seems to have taken its rise about the middle of the fifth century, when the Christian religion was beginning to give up its reality for an empty vain shadow. The form and manner of doing it is this:

The minister, whom we may call the confessor, lays his hands three times on the head of the penitent, repeating, in a solemn manner at each exhortation, the name of one of the three persons in the blessed trinity. After which he says to the penitent, "Go in peace, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you."—Making, at the same time, the sign of the cross.

As to their modes of confession, they either stand, sit or kneel, just as they please, so that we find they are far from being so superstitious as the Papists. And yet almost all the Lutheran ministers take money from their people when they come to confess their sins. Having been accused of this as a simoniacal practice, they have endeavoured to extenuate the enormity of the crime, by telling their accusers, that it is a part of their revenue. A Popish priest, who takes goods as well as money, could have said no more. Whenever money is taken for a spiritual gift, the gift itself ceases to be spiritual, and many who call themselves ministers, make it appear to the world, that the desire of gratifying their passions, tramples over all regard they can have for religion. As they have a vast number of fasts and festivals, so their superintendants exercise a high authority on those occasions; for they are sure to order the clergy to preach on whatever topics they think proper, and to prescribe rules for their conduct during every part of the solemnity. During their fasts, the shops are shut up, all manner of exercise ceases but devotion; though on their festivals, and even on Sundays, they will play at cards in the afternoon.

We



We shall, in the next place, proceed to their form of excommunication. In Denmark and Sweden, it is accompanied with very severe penance. In the Danish ritual, we are informed, that the person excommunicated, when he first appears in the church, is turned out with disgrace by the clerk of the parish, in the presence of the whole congregation. However, if the excommunication be of long continuance, he is not excluded from the privilege of attending public worship, and joining in the congregation during sermons, and other acts of public devotion; but he is obliged to sit in a place appointed, and at some distance from them; and when the minister comes down from the pulpit, the clerk before-mentioned conducts the excommunicated person out of the church. This has a near resemblance to some of the practices of the Primitive Christians when their church was on the decline.

As to the Swedes, their form of excommunication is equally rigid and severe. We are assured by a traveller, who visited that country, that he saw at Lincoping, a young woman who had been guilty of some rash misdemeanor, and who, by consequence thereof, had rendered herself obnoxious to the church, exposed to public view upon her knees, from break of day till noon, in the church porch, upon an eminence, like a criminal's bar, erected for that particular purpose. It is probable, however, that might have been a civil punishment and not an ecclesiastical censure. Such young women as are not ashamed of exposing themselves by drinking to excess, or the commission of any other odious and abominable vice, are punished in the same manner at the Hague. There is not, therefore, a possibility of forming a proper notion of this sort of Swedish punishment, because we know not whether it is of a civil or religious nature.

It is true, their discipline is severe, but no ecclesiastical censures are to be inflicted through the coercion of the civil power. This is much to their honour, and we are sorry to say that there is but one Protestant church in the world where this practice prevails. In a word, the Lutherans admit of the lesser excommunication; but as to any civil pains or penalties being inflicted on the delinquents, they are never thought of. Probably, the civil power, in arbitrary countries, may sometimes deviate from what is here laid down; but still there is nothing in the ecclesiastical constitution of their churches that can give any authority for such a practice. Excommunication is the casting a person out from among the faithful, but except in the church of Rome, and in one single Protestant church, the punishment ceases with the declaration of the minister, which, according to the spirit of Christianity, should always be of a spiritual nature.

Luther has given us a formulary of baptism in the vulgar tongue, in order that every person present might understand it, and in this we find many of the ceremonies used by the Roman Catholics left out, particularly that of breathing upon the infant, which however was, from a mistaken notion, practised in antient times. Exorcism, or commanding the devil to go out of the child, is still observed, and the sign of the cross is retained.

As the Lutherans retain a large share of popish superstition, so they make it a rule to baptize their children as soon as possible after they are born. In case the child should be too weak to be carried to the church, they baptize him at home, and on such occasions one or more godfathers must attend. When they imagine the infant to be in danger, then the midwife baptizes him, just as they do among the Roman Catholics. If a child is found exposed in the streets, and a note is left along with it, intimating that it had been baptized, no regard is paid to that intimation, so that it is carried to the church and baptized in public. They never baptize idiots when they arrive at years of maturity till they have regained the use of their reason. All legitimate children are baptized before divine service begins, but bastards after it is over.

There are baptismal fonts in some of the Lutheran churches, but not in all of them. In several of the Saxon churches, the figure of an angel with a basin in his hand, descends from the ceiling by a private pulley, or some other secret machine, and presents the basin to the minister who is to baptize the child. In some other places, a table is brought out of the vestry, and placed before the altar with the basin upon it; but this custom prevails more at Augsburg than any where else.

After the preliminary questions which are always common at baptism, the minister makes a discourse by way of exhortation, and then he exorcises the devil in the following words, "Get thee hence thou unclean spirit, and make room for the holy ghost." The minister, at the same time, makes the sign of the cross upon the infant, saying unto him, "Receive the sign of the cross, and be a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." He then baptizes the child by dipping him three times in the water, in the name of the blessed trinity, and the whole ceremony concludes with an exhortation and a blessing. And here we must not omit to take notice that the Lutheran ministers exact fees from those who have their children baptized; but we shall have occasion to mention this practice as taking place in some other reformed countries in Europe, and, indeed, in many of them.

The next thing to be taken notice of, is their form of confirmation, which has no affinity to that of the Romish church; for they make no use of oil, and any common pastor of a congregation may perform the ceremony. The young person, who comes to be confirmed, must give a satisfactory answer to all questions proposed to him by the minister, which practice is very much like that of the primitive church. When they have answered all the questions proposed to them, the minister delivers a suitable exhortation, and the congregation sing an hymn, and then the ceremony concludes with a prayer and the benediction.

The Lutheran discipline with respect to matrimony, is regular and uniform. In order to the consummation of marriage where there is no lawful impediment, the parties present themselves at church before their pastor, who asks them whether they are mutually agreed to enter into that state? and thereupon they join their right hands



hands, and make an exchange of their respective rings. Then the pastor says, "A. and B. being desirous to enter into the holy state of matrimony, before all this congregation here present, I do hereby declare them husband and wife, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, Amen". After that he repeats, without a book, several texts of scripture, that enforce the duties of husbands and wives; and the whole ceremony concludes with a prayer for their prosperity in time, and their happiness in eternity. It is proper to observe, that the Lutherans never marry any of their people on fast days, and few but the lower sort of people go to the church to have that ceremony performed; for those in genteel life, are generally married at their own houses in the evening; the ceremony, however, is the same, consisting of prayers and exhortations.

In some parts of Germany where the people are married publickly, the streets are strewed with flowers, and there is a great deal of other unnecessary parade not worthy of being mentioned. In the morning of the wedding day, which is very frequently on a Sunday, the bridegroom goes out of his own house to visit his mistress; but before he goes out, the door and windows of his house are adorned with flowers, to give intimation to the people that he is to be married. At his first setting out, a young girl throws some of the flowers into his face, after which he gets into a chaise, or cart, according as his circumstances will permit, the horses being grandly adorned. When he meets his mistress at her own apartments, he quits his carriage, and both she and he go in another to the church, the streets being strewed with flowers; and as soon as they arrive at the church, the nuptial knot is tied, by which they are bound together for life.

We come at last to their funeral ceremonies, or, at least, to that last stage which puts an end to human existence. The dying Lutheran has no extreme unction administered to him, no outward application of relics, he receives no comfort or consolation from a crucifix being put into his hand. He is buoyed up with no hopes from the virtues arising from a monk's habit, and he expects no happiness after death, in consequence of a number of masses having been said for him. His whole dependence is on the merits of Christ Jesus, and he receives spiritual consolation in consequence of the admonitions and exhortations he receives from his pastor. But notwithstanding they are very superstitious; nor is it an easy matter to divest the mind of superstition, without running it into Deism.

On the day appointed for the interment of the corpse, the relations and friends of the deceased meet together at the house where he died, and the minister of the congregation resorts thither at the same time, attended by a train of young scholars, who, no doubt, come to learn the nature of the ceremony; for mechanical religion is not easily attained to. These youths sing two or three hymns before the door where the deceased lays, after which they march in the front of the procession, having either a cross or a large crucifix carried before them. An inferior clerk, or some young scholar appointed for that purpose, marches close by the side of the corpse with a

small cross, which is afterwards fixed in that part of the church, or church-yard where the body was interred. The relations and friends of the deceased follow the corpse, the men first, and the women after them. During the procession, their bells are, for the most part, tolled, out of respect and complaisance to the deceased, and several hymns sung as they march along. It is customary likewise to open the coffin at the grave, and take farewell of the deceased, singing, at the same time, several hymns suitable to the occasion.

When they nail up the coffin for the last time, the minister reads a prayer, and pronounces a benediction or blessing. If a funeral sermon is to be preached, then the corpse is carried into the church, and the discourse generally consists of a great deal of flattery, because the minister is paid for it. As, in all other things, so in their funeral ceremonies, the Lutherans differ much from each other; but this, indeed, is not much to be wondered at, when we consider how much we differ in the small island of Briton. In some parts of this island, a woman must not attend a funeral; in many other parts, her presence is considered as necessary. What then shall we say to those differences which take place among the Lutherans? The answer is plain and easy; they depend upon locality and ancient custom, without any connection with religion.

It is necessary to observe in this place, that although Lutheranism is professed in many countries on the continent of Europe, yet sometimes it happens that the prince is of one persuasion, and his people of another. Thus, the elector of Saxony is a papist, yet all his subjects are Lutherans. The king of Prussia and his court are Calvinists, and yet almost all his subjects are Lutherans. That illustrious monarch has drawn up the following confession of his faith, which will ever do him great honour. It was written at a time when he was in very precarious circumstances; but the whole may serve to shew the clearness of his head, and the goodness of his heart. It was presented to the diet of the German empire at Ratisbon 1744, and the substance of it is as follows:

1. I do not believe in the ordinances of the Pope, nor even in the writings of Luther, Beza, or Calvin; but I believe in the adorable Trinity, and I make his holy word the foundation of my faith, nor shall I ever believe any thing that clashes with it, even though an angel from heaven should reveal it.

2. I believe also that I shall be saved, together with all true Christians, by the blood of Christ, his suffering and dying for us.

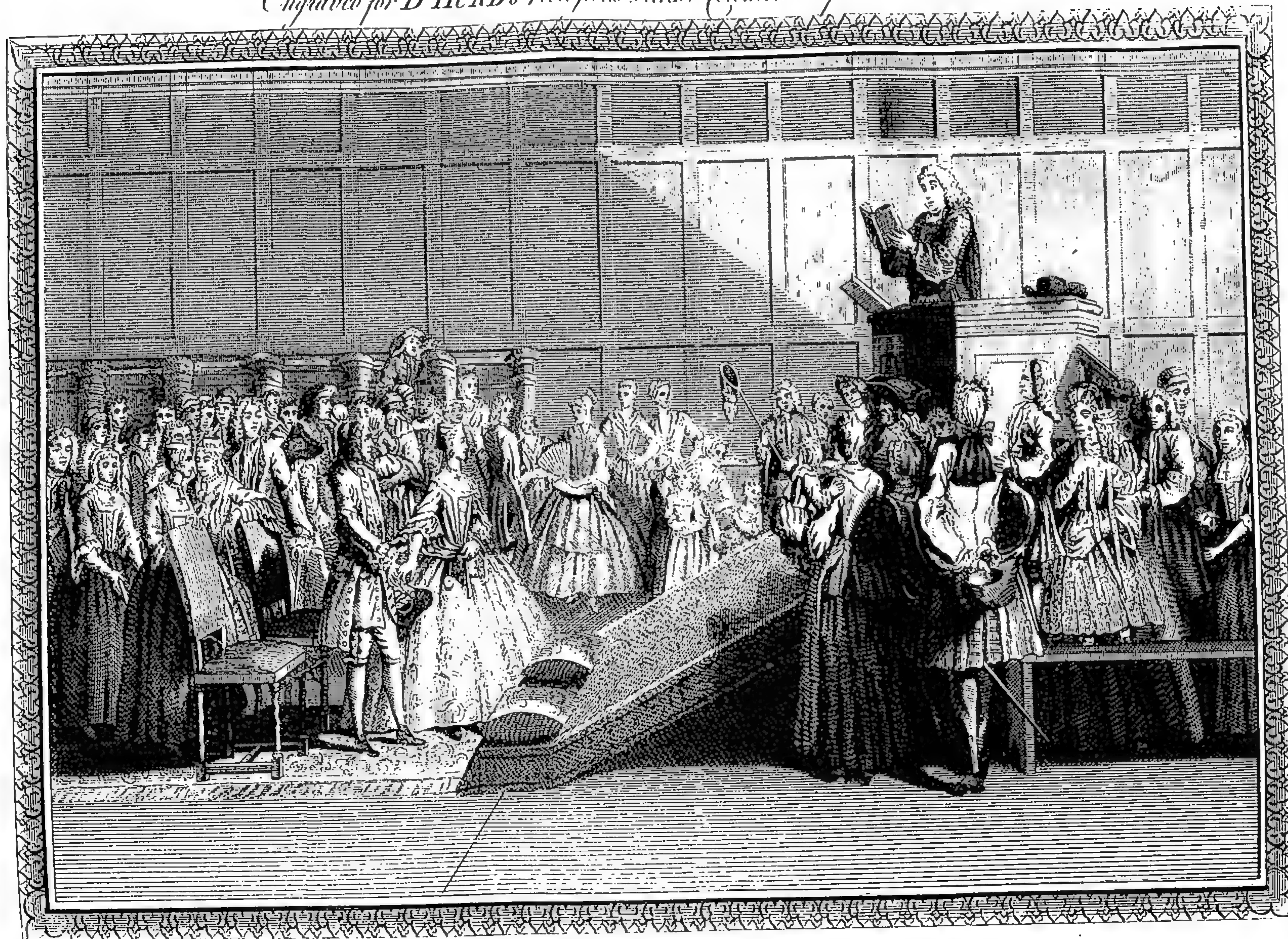
3. As I profess there is no salvation in any other name, I would not be stiled a Lutheran, a Calvinist, nor a Papist, but a Christian.

4. With regard to eternal election, or predestination, this is my private opinion, that the merciful God hath called all men to salvation; and it is not for want of being called if they are not saved, but thro' their own wickedness and obstinacy in opposing divine grace, and by reason of their corrupt hearts, and their sins, that they are condemned through the just judgement of God.

5. As to good works, it is my opinion, that there



*Engraved for D'HURD's Religious Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.*



*MARRIAGE CEREMONY of the Protestants at AMSTERDAM.*



there must necessarily be good works where there is a true faith; for faith and good works can no more be separated, than light from fire: nevertheless it is an error to believe, that man can merit heaven by good works, or that he can be saved but by true faith. How then can the merit of good works save us?

6. With regard to baptism and the Lord's supper, it is my opinion, that I have been washed from sin in baptism; not by the water, but by the blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and have been by it received into the eternal covenant of grace with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: so I am nourished in the holy supper at the table of the grace of Jesus Christ; and, in virtue of this sacrament, am rendered partaker of all the benefits which my Saviour hath purchased by his wounds and death, and am become an inheritor of life everlasting; whence I believe, that those who believe in God, and seeketh his salvation in the blood of Jesus Christ, and leadeth a true Christian life, may die the death of the righteous, and shall be saved.

7. I leave to every one liberty of faith and conscience; protesting, before the face of God, that I am determined to live and die in this plain confession of faith: nevertheless, I leave to all good people to judge, whether I am cold, hot, or lukewarm. I am very far from believing, that the service of Catholic priests promote the salvation of souls; have learned by the experience which I have had, that all their actions tend not to the honour of God, and the salvation of men, but solely to their own honour, and to be respected among men.

8. It is with reason that I scruple to be called a Papist, a Lutheran, or a Calvinist; because, according to the custom and opinion of the world, it is not sufficient to take the name of a Christian, but we must be engaged to some particular church, and make profession of its faith; and as the pure reformed religion best agrees with my religion, I think it not improper to call myself a Reformed; although I see no cause to say, there is the least difference between my confession of faith and the pure Lutheran religion: I would not, however, be called a Calvinist; but am, and shall always be, a reformed Christian: that is to say, one that is disengaged from all error in the doctrine of faith, and who believes all that I have before mentioned; but a Calvinist is one, who makes the doctrine of Calvin the rule of faith.

9. As Calvin was a man, he might be mistaken, since no man is perfect: but I regard Calvin, Luther, and others, as chosen instruments of God, drawn by virtue of the Holy Ghost from the darkness of Popery, and that they shewed the true way to life; but as they were fallible, I do not call them rabbies. I profess, not to believe any doctrine that is not agreeable to the word of God; believing that it is my duty, as St. Paul advises, to try all things, and hold fast that which is good.

It has been commonly reported that the king of Prussia was, or is a Deist; this has been believed by many, and yet let us only consider these different articles as they are here before us.

Every Christian, who is a Protestant, would subscribe them if presented to him. It will be asked, that as there remains not the least doubt of their having been dictated by this illustrious hero, from what motives did they flow? To this we would answer, that in all cases where there does not remain the shadow of a doubt, we are to consider the conduct of our fellow creatures in the fairest point of view. We have no evidence that the Prussian hero ever denied the truth of Divine revelation; for as to the many scandalous writings that have been imputed to him, there is little doubt but that they were written by some profane wits, who never either saw his majesty or knew his sentiments.

The famous book, entitled *Eikon Basilicon*, ran through eight editions of two thousand each, in the compass of two years, merely because it was reputed and asserted to be the work of Charles I. and yet we have undeniable proofs that it was not written by that prince. Some years ago, a bookseller, a man of ingenuity, drew up a small piece, which has had an amazing run, because it was whispered that it had been written by a noble lord lately deceased. Thus we may frequently find Frenchmen of learning and ingenuity writing and publishing things under the names of princes, and ministers of state, which although lively and entertaining, contain but little of the truth.

It has been just the same with the king of Prussia. Voltaire and D'Argens brought a great number of refugees to his court, and these men being of too abandoned characters to expect encouragement from a virtuous monarch, retired to Holland and published some gay trifles under his name; or, at least, they insinuated that they had been written by him. The states general ordered them to be burnt by the common hangman; and surely, had the king been the author of them, he would not have suffered this act of indignity to go unpunished; for it is well known that he has, by being in possession of East-Friesland, a power at any time to invade their territories.

In this manner the first characters may be traced, and men may be represented as the authors of sentiments which they hold in abhorrence. It is acknowledged by all, that the Prussian monarch wrote the memoirs of the house of Brandenburg; and what man will say that there is any thing in that work derogatory to the truth and honour of the Christian religion? He maintains a Lutheran minister in every one of his regiments, who are not suffered to remain at home, but must go to camp with the troops. This does not look like a prince upon whom religion sits so very light, as has been represented by some persons in the present age.

But who were those persons who first represented his Prussian majesty as a deist? We answer, the same profligates who published systems of debauchery, and then gave it out that they were written by him. Men who had enjoyed some favours from him, but because they could not get into the plenitude of power, to gratify their ambition and support their unbounded extravagancies, stabbed his character in the most tender part, by foisting their spurious predictions upon him.



We have dwelt the longer on this circumstance, for the honour of our own country, because, notwithstanding we have many deists amongst us, yet not one of them was ever guilty of such mean, beggarly actions. They were Frenchmen who wrote the books alluded, and as insincerity and false politeness are the characteristics of that nation, they are extremely welcome to all the honour that arises from a conduct so mean and base. We do not desire to import French vices, we may perhaps have enough, and too many of our own; but the dignity of our country, honour of our nature, the sincerity of our dispositions, and above all, the regard, we as well as our ancestors have had for truth, leads us to treat with contempt, every thing inconsistent with the duty we owe to those, who, for their illustrious actions, will shine bright in the annals of Europe. But to go on with our subject.

Thus we have given an account in the most impartial manner, of the first Protestant church in Europe with respect to time, and shall conclude with a few remarks.

First, although the Lutheran church has yet too many popish ceremonies in it, yet, when we consider every thing, it is surprising they have not more. Luther had the power of the house of Austria to oppose, as well as the cunning and malice of the court of Rome. Most of the German princes, who supported him, had nothing more in view than to get themselves delivered from the galling yoke of popish slavery, and to keep that money to themselves, which

had been annually sent to the Romish treasury. Such men as these did not seek for simplicity in worship; rites and ceremonies were more agreeable to them, because they captivated the senses. Nor was it less difficult to engage the prejudices of the common people, who were grossly ignorant, and long accustomed to popish ceremonies. It was wise in Luther to begin with removing a few of the nuisances, reserving the others for some more favourable period, when the minds of the people would be better prepared to comply with innovations, and more ready to part with their favourite ceremonies.

Secondly, although the Lutherans retain a great many absurd ceremonies, yet in many things they are better reformed than some other Protestant churches. Thus they have no plurality of livings, and the clergy are obliged to reside with their people, so that they are all personally known to them. They are so zealous in the discharge of their duty, that the people almost adore them. Wherever they are met, either in the streets or in the fields, all hats are off to them; and from the regularity and simplicity of their lives, their ministry has a vast effect on their morals. It is the pious lives of ministers that must make religious exercises have a due and proper effect.

Lastly, as to the time when this religion is to be further reformed, is not for us to enquire; we are satisfied, that the means of salvation are to be found in it, and when these are properly improved, the end must be left to divine wisdom.

## *The RITES and CEREMONIES of the CHURCH of ENGLAND, &c.*

**H**ENRY VIII. ascended the throne of England 1509, and married the widow of his brother Arthur, a circumstance that produced the most serious effects. Henry had been taught the jargon of school divinity, with a view as is thought of making him archbishop of Canterbury; but his brother's death changed that design. When Luther opposed the pope, a book was published in Henry's name against the opinions of that illustrious reformer, and altho' it was generally believed that Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was the author, yet the king in consequence thereof, had the title of defender of the faith conferred on him.

It has been proved by lord Herbert, and several other writers of credit, that Henry had resolved to sue for a divorce from his queen sometime before he saw Anne Boleyn. He had a large ingredient of superstition in his character, and he imputed the death of his two sons to the divine vengeance, for having married his brother's widow; and he was extremely desirous of male issue, to prevent all disputes about the succession. He was startled at a doubt sug-

gested of the legitimacy of the birth of his daughter Mary; and being a prince of violent passions, longed to be united to a lady of more endearing qualities than his present queen, who had not many personal attractions. His scruples, which are ascribed to the writings of Thomas Aquinas, were encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, who hated Catharine, on account of her disapproving of his licentious manner of living, and was equally incensed against her nephew the emperor, for having twice baffled him in the design he had formed of obtaining the papal chair.

As the king passionately desired to obtain Catharine's consent to a separation, he sent several bishops to her, together with as many noblemen, to persuade her to drop her appeal, but all in vain; and when they endeavoured to persuade her to submit her cause to the decision of four ecclesiastics, she said, she would pray to God to send the king happiness, that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by her right, until the court of Rome should declare the contrary.

By this time Henry, having thrown off all obedience



obedience to the pope, and got himself declared head of the church. The bishops and dignified abbots had granted the king a large sum of money, which induced them to attempt to make the inferior clergy pay a part of it. Stokesly, bishop of London, sent for some of the priests of that metropolis to meet him in the Chapter-house, to propose an assessment, hoping, if he could obtain the consent of a few at first, the rest would follow their example. But all the London priests being apprized of this intention, went thither in a tumultuous manner, accompanied by a great number of their people, who all declared they would not pay any thing. They had already burst open the door, and a sharp conflict ensued between them and the bishop's servants; but his lordship dismissed the rioters with his blessing, assuring them, that they should never be called in question for the disturbance.

But notwithstanding this promise, he complained to the chancellor, by whose order, fifteen priests and five laymen were committed to prison. The king, alarmed at this tumult, resolved to convince his people, that though he had shaken off the papal yoke, his intentions were not to violate the rights of the established church, and therefore ordered the laws against Heretics to be rigorously executed, an order which was attended with the death of two priests and a lawyer, who were all three burnt in Smithfield.

The lawyer was James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, who having on a former occasion been taken up, was put in prison in Sir Thomas More's house, and whipped at a tree in his garden, called "The tree of truth." This was done because he would not discover where he had concealed his books, nor accuse his fellow students in the temple. He was sent to the Tower, and there so racked that he became lame. He abjured and had his liberty, but was so disconsolate, that he professed his repentance in a congregation, held in a private house in Bow-lane. On the succeeding Sunday, he went to St. Austin's church, with the New-Testament in English in his hand, and the obedience of a Christian man in his bosom. Here he was taken up, and after three hearings condemned and executed. Such executions were common enough in this reign, and yet even at that time Henry was supporting the Lutherans in Germany against the pope and the emperor, a conduct becoming a sound politician.

In January 1533, Henry assembled the parliament to consider the internal state of the kingdom, when the commons having been previously instructed by the court, presented an address, beseeching his majesty to consent to the reformation of sundry abuses which had crept into the immunities enjoyed by the clergy. The king answered, that before he could assent to a proposal of such importance, he would hear what the clergy had to say in their own defence. This step was taken to shew them, that as they were odious to the parliament, how much they stood in need of his royal protection.

This year the king was privately married to Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, and the English nation

were much pleased with the match, because the queen favoured the reformation. But the great object the king had in view, was to procure the divorce with Catharine; for whatever steps had been hitherto taken for that purpose, the affair lay still undecided. Dr. Cranmer was a person in whom the king had great confidence, and being in Germany, when Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury died, he was sent for to discharge the duties of that important office.

April the 5th, the convocation met, and declared that the pope had no right to grant dispensations contrary to law, and therefore the marriage with Catharine was void. Accordingly Cranmer repaired to Dunstable, where Catharine had been summoned to make her appearance near Haughton-Park, the place of her residence; she rejected the citation, upon which Cranmer pronounced sentence, declaring her marriage null, as being contrary to the law of God, and by another sentence he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on the first of June, to the no small joy of the people.

This part of Henry's conduct so incensed the pope against him and Cranmer, that he threatened, if all these proceedings were not immediately annulled, he would proceed to the sentence of excommunication. At this time, the duke of Orleans, next heir to the crown of France, was to be married to the princess Mary of Medicis, and the ceremony was to be graced with the pope's presence, who was to meet the parties at Marseilles. Francis I. king of France, wrote to Henry, desiring him to send an ambassador to treat with the pope, and although Henry saw that he had proceeded too far to retreat, yet he sent the duke of Norfolk as ambassador, to accompany Francis, to meet the pontiff at Marseilles.

Along with the duke went Stephen Gardener, bishop of Winchester, Sir John Wallop, and Sir Francis Bryan, accompanied by Edmund Bonner, a clergyman of great impudence and resolution. After the ceremonies of the nuptials were over, Francis desired the pope to satisfy the king of England, but his holiness, in order to save the honour of the holy see, insisted on judging the cause in a consistory of cardinals. Bonner, who was ignorant of this resolution, demanded an audience of the pontiff, and told him that Henry had appealed to a future general council, from any papal sentence that either was or should be given against him. The pope said he would take the advice of the cardinals, and in a few days after told him, that the appeal could not be received. But Bonner, without being intimidated by this answer, proceeded to notify archbishop Cranmer's appeal from the reversion of the sentence he had pronounced. The pope was so exasperated at Bonner's presumption, that he threatened to have him thrown into a cauldron of melted lead. Francis was equally offended at Bonner's insolence and indiscretion, and he promised to assist the pope in taking vengeance on him for such an outrage; but nevertheless, he suffered him to make his escape. This was the same Bonner who became such a cruel persecutor in the reign of queen Mary.



January 15, 1534, the parliament met, and repealed the statute against heretics passed in the reign of Henry IV. The king and parliament did not, however, intend to exempt those accused of heresy from the flames; for by the new law the delinquents were still liable to suffer the same punishment as before. But in order to hinder the clergy from being sole judges in such cases, it was enacted, that heretics should be tried according to the laws of the kingdom, without any regard to the canon law; by another act it was decreed, that no synod, or convocation of the clergy, should be held without the royal licence; that the king should appoint thirty-two persons from the parliament and clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church; that those who were necessary should be retained, and all the rest abolished.

This parliament confirmed the statute of *annates*, prohibiting the pope from receiving, for the future, any money out of England; they likewise enacted, that for the future, the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but that in cases of vacancy, the king should send his licence to the dean and chapter, to elect a new bishop; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, then the power of electing should devolve on the king. In the external government of the church, these things had some appearance of a progress towards a reformation; but although the king had abolished the papal power, yet he did not intend to part with the ceremonies.

In the mean time, the pope was not without his emissaries in England, many of whom did all they could to raise tumults throughout the nation.

Elizabeth Barton, commonly known by the name of the Maid of Kent, had been taught by doctor Bocking, a canon of Christ-church, in Canterbury, and Richard Master, the priest of the parish of Addington, where she resided. This woman was subject to fits, and often uttered very incoherent expressions, which the two impostors resolved to improve on. They told her, she was inspired by the holy ghost, and taught her what to say when she fell down in pretended, instead of real fits. Vast crowds of people followed her, and to them she told that the king would be destroyed by some signal judgement, for having renounced the pope's authority. Some men of learning and eminence were so weak as to follow this impostor, who had been trained into these practices by artful designing priests. Bishops, abbots, and monks, held private meetings with her, pretending to believe all her blasphemies, and the affair at last became very serious.

One Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, told him he had been deceived by many lying prophets; but a true Micaiah warned him, that the dogs should lick his blood as they had licked the blood of Ahab. Henry bore this insult with great temper; but to undeceive the people, appointed Dr. Corren, to preach before him on the next Sunday, when that priest justified the king's proceedings, and branded Peto with the epithets of dog, rebel, slanderer and traitor. He was interrupted by one Elston, a friar, who called him a lying prophet, who established the succession to the crown upon adultery; and spoke with such virulence, that the king was obliged to interpose, and command him to be silent. At last these im-

postors became so insolent that the king ordered the maid, with her accomplices, to be brought before the star-chamber. There they confessed the whole mystery of iniquity, and soon after were brought to a scaffold in St. Paul's church-yard, at which place the articles of their confession were read in their hearing. They were sent to the Tower, and as soon as the parliament met, they were all attained of high treason. On April 20, following, Barton with five priests her accomplices, were executed at Tyburn and there she confessed that she had been deceived by those artful impostors.

As soon as the parliament was prorogued, commissions were sent all over the kingdom to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. These oaths were taken by the majority of the clergy, but Fisher, bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, absolutely refused them; for which they were both committed to the Tower and afterwards executed for high treason. More, though a man of wit and learning, yet was a violent persecutor; for while he was chancellor, a great many persons, both clergy and laity, had suffered for the gospel.

As the monks had insulted the king with personal abuse, and seduced his subjects from their allegiance, so he was determined to proceed against them with rigour. For this purpose a commission was appointed to visit all the monasteries, and Cromwell was made visitor general, who appointed substitutes to act in his stead. There they discovered such scenes of vice, debauchery, and impudence, as were disgraceful to religion and shocking to human nature. The visitors, who were no friends to the monastic life, did not fail to exaggerate many things, by representing the monks as all equally vicious, whereas some of them were very inoffensive persons. They told them, that in order to avoid punishment, they must give up their houses to the king, who would make a suitable provision for them during life. Many of them complied with this, but refused to take the oath of supremacy.

Soon after this the parliament met, and passed an act, dissolving all convents whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year. This was a fatal blow for popery, for there were many of these in the kingdom. By this statute, three hundred and seventy six religious houses were dissolved, and the sum of thirty two thousand pounds a year was added to the royal revenues, besides a capital of above one hundred thousand pounds in the plate, ornaments and effects of the convents and churches. A motion was made in the convocation, during this parliament, to have the bible translated into English in a more correct manner than Tindal's, but this was violently opposed by the Papists. However, a petition was drawn up to the king and he gave orders for that purpose; it was printed at Paris about three years afterwards, but who the translators were is not certainly known. It is taken from the vulgate latin, as appears from the grand copy still preserved in the king's library in the British Museum, where all the capitals are embellished.

In the beginning of this year the unfortunate queen Catharine died in the castle of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, and was buried in the abbey, now the cathedral of Peterborough. She sunk into a decline after the king had withdrawn his affections from her, but she would never resign her



her title of queen, though frequently importuned to it by Henry. When she found her end drawing near, she dictated a most affectionate and passionate letter to the king; she did not upbraid him with the treatment she had met with, but prayed for him, begging that God would bless him. She recommended her daughter Mary to his tender care, and likewise her servants, all which Henry complied with. For whatever scruples he might have had concerning the validity of his marriage, yet he never accused that princess of any thing indecent or unbecoming her character. She was certainly, in many respects, a devout princess, according to the notions of those times, but she was bigotted and fretful, which, in some measure, alienated the king's affections from her. Henry seemed to be affected with her death, but his queen, Anne Boleyn, was so indecent in her behaviour as to speak of it with marks of the greatest pleasure in company.

His majesty was now beginning to be cloyed with the possession of Anne Boleyn, the charms of lady Jane Seymour having captivated his unsettled mind. Anne was no stranger to this, and therefore, in order to provoke his jealousy, she practised some very indiscreet levities, which were construed into crimes. She was committed to the Tower as having been guilty of adultery with two of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, Weston and Brerton, and likewise with one Smeton, a musician. The evidence against her did hardly amount to a presumption, but she was found guilty of high treason, in having violated the king's bed, and received sentence to be burned alive, which was afterwards changed into beheading. She was executed within the walls of the Tower, and her body thrown into an empty chest, where it lay several days.

Thus fell Anne Boleyn, whose fate has been matter of much dispute. She is said to have been a lady of unaffected piety, and was certainly of a very charitable disposition, and an encourager of genius and learned men. She was naturally volatile; and, in some cases, indiscreet. By her education in France, she had contracted a kind of vivacity that did not suit the manners of the English court, and much less the impetuosity of the king's temper, to which she undoubtedly fell a sacrifice. All those accused of having been concerned with her, were executed at the same time. Her brother and two more were beheaded, but Smeton was hanged. Nothing so much justified Anne Boleyn as the conduct of the king, who, on the very day after her execution, married the lady Jane Seymour. So little regard did he pay to common decorum, or the opinion of his subjects, over whom he had established and exercised the most arbitrary way.

But that the king might convince his subjects, that he had no intention to part with the popish religion, though he had abolished the papal power, he issued strict orders, that several things should be attended to in public worship as they had been in former times. That the mass was to be still said in latin; image worship was to be retained; prayers for the dead were to be observed; the seven sacraments were to be solemnized in the same manner as before; prayers to saints were to be strictly observed; the doctrine of purgatory

and works of superogation were still retained, and indeed, every thing else in the Romish church, except obedience to the pope. All those who either opposed, wrote, or spoke against these articles, were to suffer death as Heretics, and the statute was executed with the greatest severity throughout the kingdom. Many, both clergy and laity, were burned alive at the stake, or racked on gibbets.

The people of England, who had long groaned under the power of the clergy and papal extortions, were well pleased with the abolishing of the pope's supremacy; but they were not so well satisfied with the suppression of religious houses, thinking it unjust, that they should be all destroyed for the vices of a few, and that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God, should be consigned to profane uses. The gentry used to provide for their children and decayed friends in those houses, and to be entertained themselves at the tables of the abbots. Travellers were lodged there, and the poor relieved by the alms daily distributed at monasteries.

The act of parliament which suppressed them, enjoined that the farmers should keep up the same hospitality as before, and the king sold the lands to the nobles, at an easier rate for that purpose. But this hospitality was neglected, and in a short time it was taken no notice of. Books had been written to expose the characters of the Monks, but this did not hinder their being punished, when shoals of them wandering from place to place in a distressed and begging condition, told their own tale, and complained of the cruelty, and impiety of their treatment. To prevent their being restored, the new proprietors thought proper to destroy their nests; churches and convents were pulled down; the bells, lead, and other materials were sold, and this havock being visible in all parts of the country, shocked abundance of persons, besides the simple and devout who lamented, that their relations were likely to remain the longer in purgatory, through the want of masses being said for their deliverance. To abate some thing of the general clamour, the king restored fifteen convents of men, and sixteen nunneries, who had been the least exceptionable in their conduct, which subsisted till the general dissolution of abbeys, but this did not prevent insurrections.

The first that broke out was in Lincolnshire, where one Dr. Mackrel, Prior at Borlings in that county, called himself *Captain Cobler*, gathered twenty thousand men together, swearing them to be true to God and the king, and drew up their grievances in a few articles, which were transmitted to court. These articles acknowledged the king's supremacy, desiring he would take the advice of his nobility, and redress their grievances. Adding, that they were afraid more of their religious houses would be suppressed, their churches pulled down, and their plate sold.

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was sent against them with a declaration from the king, telling them he would grant none of their requests, and at the same time commanding them to deliver up their leaders. The answer enraging them, they seemed disposed for a march to London, but some gentlemen of the county whom they had forced to join them, moderated their



their resentment, and sent the duke word, that nothing would contribute more effectually to disperse them, than a general pardon.

A new proclamation was accordingly published, requiring them to return home, if they expected mercy; for whilst they continued in arms, no pardon would be granted. This induced most of them to return home; but captain Cobar, with the rest of the ringleaders, was taken and executed.

What disposed the king to give these insurgents hopes of mercy, was the advice of a much greater body of rebels being got together to the number of forty thousand men in Yorkshire. This rising was upon the same principle, and for the same reason as the others; but it was the more formidable, in consequence of being in the neighbourhood of Scotland.

One Robert Askew, a private gentleman, but of a turbulent disposition, put himself at the head of the rebels, whose march was called, "The Pilgrimage of Grace." Some priests marched before them, with crosses in their hands, and on their banners they had a crucifix with five wounds and a chalice, and every one wore on his sleeve, as a badge of the party, an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle. As is generally the case with rebels, they pretended that they were come to drive evil counsellors away from the king, or in other words, they were to dictate to him in what manner he was to govern the nation.

Lee, archbishop of York, and Thomas lord Darcy, surrendered Pontefract castle to the rebels, who soon afterwards seized on the city of York, and the town of Hull; but Scarborough and Skipton held out against all their efforts.

However, the example of the archbishop and lord Darcy encouraged the inhabitants of Durham, Richmond, Lancashire, and Westmoreland to join the rebels. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, marched against them with so much zeal and diligence, that he did not wait for the king's orders, not doubting but his services would merit a pardon for this presumption. The king made him commander in chief of all his forces in the north, and proposed joining him in person, but was diverted from it by Shrewsbury and Norfolk, whom he had sent to the army. These noblemen sent notice to the king, that it would be dangerous to bring the rebels to a general engagement; but the best way would be to gain them by amusing treaties, their numbers being so very great that they could not keep long together for want of provisions.

The earl sent a herald to them with a proclamation, requiring them to lay down their arms and submit to the king's mercy; but Askew, who assumed all the dignity of a prince, rather than a general, would not suffer the proclamation to be read when he heard what were the contents. The king's troops did not exceed five thousand men, and with these the noblemen took post at Doncaster, where they fortified the bridge, and lined the river, to hinder the rebels from marching southward. Askew, with an army at least six times as numerous, had resolved to force a passage; but heavy rains falling on the two days

he had appointed for that purpose, the fords became impassable, and Norfolk made use of that opportunity to engage him in a treaty. This afforded an opportunity for some agents he had employed among the rebels to insinuate, that their leaders were making terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be hanged or ruined. The poorer sort whom Askew would not suffer to plunder the country for subsistence, were already reduced to great necessities; and hearkening the more readily to these suggestions, disbanded in great numbers, and returned home to their families. Norfolk, seeing the success of his measures, proposed their sending deputies to court with their demands, offering at the same time, to accompany them, in order to intercede in their behalf. This he knew would take up some time, and most of them would disperse before his return. Sir Robert Elerkin, and Robert Bowes, two gentlemen who had been taken at Hull, and forced to go along with the rebels, were sent to Windsor; but they did not receive the king's answer till most of the insurgents had disbanded. At last the king granted a general pardon to the whole rebel army, except six, who were not mentioned. As the rebels had no hopes of seeing their grievances redressed, and as every one imagined that he might possibly be one of the six excepted, so they rejected the terms with disdain.

It was therefore found necessary to enter into a new treaty, and three hundred of the rebels were sent for to Doncaster to treat with the king's commissioners. The demands made by these men, were the most exorbitant that could have been thought of. They were, that he should restore to all the religious houses, their former revenues, acknowledge the pope's supremacy, and, in a word, disannul all the acts that had been made against even the grossest abuses in popery. They added further, that the king must remove all his ministers, and chuse in their room such as would be favourable to the Roman Catholic religion. However, the king being advised thereto by the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury, told them in general terms, that he would call a parliament to consider their requests, and in the mean time to make them easy, he granted a general pardon, upon which they all dispersed. From what has been said concerning these two rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, we find that the opposition made to the reformation, arose, not so much from motives of what is commonly called superstition, but rather from temporal interest.

The poor had long enjoyed many temporal privileges, in consequence of the existence of religious houses, and the farmers seldom paid any money, the abbots being contented with a share of what the earth, the flocks and the rivers produced. But now these lands were seized on by the rapacious nobility, who obtained grants of them from the crown; and as by the statute of alienations, they had a right to dispose of these, so they fell into different hands; and it frequently happened, that every new landlord raised the rents, which tenants were obliged to pay in money. There is, therefore, no wonder that a change so sudden and so unexpected should

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carry on discontents and raise tumults among the people, and we have been the more explicit concerning these things, because, without a proper knowledge of them, no man can understand the history of the reformation in England. But to return to the subject.

Whether the people were not satisfied that the pardon would be inviolably adhered to, or whether the clergy were dissatisfied at not obtaining all their demands, a fresh rebellion broke out in the north, though not so dangerous as the former. Two gentlemen of Cumberland, Nicholas Musgrave, and Thomas Tilby, raised an army of eighteen thousand men, with which they attacked Carlisle; but being repulsed by the citizens, were in their return, routed by the duke of Norfolk, who put all the officers to death by martial law, with about seventy private persons, so that of all their leaders, only Musgrave made his escape. Sir Francis Biggot, and one Hellam, attempting to surprise Hull, were taken and executed. The pretence for this second rising in the north was, the king had promised to call a parliament to meet at York, to settle all the disputes, but he not having complied, they once more took the field. The reason assigned by the king, was, that they had broke through the faith of treaties, and consequently they were not to be trusted, so that he would not call a parliament to redress their grievances, till such time as they would be quiet.

The duke of Norfolk, displaying the royal standard, executed martial law wherever he saw it requisite; Aske was put to death at Hull, and some abbots and priors were executed at York. Lord Darcey was beheaded on Tower-hill, and lord Hufsey at Lincoln. The former, on his trial, accused the duke of Norfolk of having encouraged the rebels to persist in their demands; but this nobleman's great services set him above all suspicion. The duke denied the charge, and offered to clear himself by single combat; but the king declared himself satisfied with his conduct. The executions were not all over till June, and in July the king published a general pardon for all the rebels in the north, which was received with great joy, and putting an end to the people's fears, re-established the peace of the country.

October 12 this year, was born Edward VI. to the inexpressible joy of the whole nation, and much more so to the king himself, who ardently wished to have an heir male of his own body. This prince was the son of his beloved queen, lady Jane Seymour, who died within twelve days after she was delivered. Some of our ignorant historians have been bold enough to assert, that Henry gave orders to the midwife who delivered his queen, to dispatch her. But that this is a falsehood, will appear to any person who looks into the royal letters in the British Museum, where there is one written by this queen herself a few days before she died, declaring that the king had always treated her with tenderness.

In 1538, the king, finding that such of the abbeys as were still left were nurseries of rebellion, and plots against his crown and dignity were daily hatching in them, set on foot a second visitation, and the commissioners were to make a

minute enquiry into every particular relating to their estates, their duties, their manner of living, and their vices. They were to enquire what number of images they had, by what names they were called? How many pilgrims frequented their shrines annually, and what money they paid? They were further to make a faithful report of all the miracles said to have been wrought at the shrines of these images, and they were to be laid before the king in his council, that he might take a proper account of them, so that the subjects should not be imposed on, as they had been in times past.

This produced a detection of an almost infinite number of impurities, besides holy cheats and pretended relics, made use of to encourage superstition, rather than devotion in the people, and to draw them to pilgrimages, where they might be fleeced of their money. The horrid crimes of Sodom and Gomorrah are said to have been committed at Battle-Abbey, Christ's church in Canterbury, and in several other convents. The visitors found innumerable instances of whoredom, adultery, and unnatural crimes, which ought not to be mentioned; and it was discovered, that the monks had taught the nuns how to procure abortions. In all this there seems to have been nothing exaggerated, for the confining such vast numbers of persons by the most solemn oaths to a state of celibacy, must have naturally led to the commission of unnatural crimes; for God having appointed the regular manner in which human passions are to be gratified, those who lay unnecessary restraints upon them, set aside the order of the Divine Being, and open a large field for the commission of the most unnatural crimes.

With respect to monkish idolatry and deceit, Reading seems to have been the repository of the nation. There was found the figure of an angel with one wing, which the monks affirmed to have brought over from Palestine, the spear that pierced our Saviour's side, together with such a number of pretended relics as took four sheets of paper to contain their names. At St. Edmundsbury, some coals were shewed, said to be the remains of those with which St. Lawrence was roasted; the parings of St. Edmund's toe nails; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas a Becket; a piece of the real cross on which Christ suffered, and a vast quantity of other relics. Indeed, it would take up a whole volume to describe the whole, for they were endless; they were sent up to London, and such as were of no manner of use, were carried to Smithfield, where they were made a bonfire of; and one Fount, a friar, was burnt along with them for denying the king's supremacy. There was something extremely natural in sending their friar into another world along with his gods; for as he pretended that they had often elevated his affections whilst he prayed before their shrines, so the last kind office they could do him was, to send him from the fiery furnace into eternity.

One would naturally conclude, that the monks, after the detection of such impostures carried on by them, would have submitted to any thing rather than a public trial, and to surrender their houses to avoid the indignation of the king and



Cromwell's anger, who as visitor general was no friend to them; nay, indeed, some of their vices had been of such a glaring nature, that as no excuses could be pleaded to extenuate them, so many of them signed confessions which were sent up to the king.

There were among the abbots and priors of the mitred convents, some who had been preferred since the breach with the court of Rome; and these readily agreed to resign, either from hopes of being advanced to bishopricks or because they wished for a reformation. The pensions granted to some others induced them likewise to resign; but that which occasioned the destruction of most of the abbeys was, the conduct of their superiors; who, expecting a change of religion and the ruin of their societies, had taken fines, and granted leases of lands for twice ninety-nine years, at little or no rent; alienated a great part of the estates of their convents, and had been guilty of all kinds of depredations for which they stood responsible. The abbot of Glastonbury broke open a house where the plate belonging to his convent was lodged, and sent it to the rebels, for which he was hanged and quartered; the judges having construed this part of his conduct into an act of high treason. The abbots of Reading and Colchester shared the same fate; and, indeed, there were so many inferior monks and friars hanged, that there is no wonder the papists should point out Henry as a bloody tyrant; for as no papist will ever shew mercy to a protestant, so, to use the words of Mr. Sterne, "every person who is possessed of false religion, hates those who profess the true."

One would have thought that this severity of the king towards the monks, would have induced him to embrace some things proposed by the reformers; but quite the reverse took place, for he was determined to persecute all those who acknowledged the papal supremacy, and all those who disputed the validity of the popish ceremonies. Of this we have a striking instance in the case of Lambert, who had been formerly minister in the English factory at Antwerp in Flanders, but was dismissed on account of his denying some of the popish tenets. Returning to London he kept a school some years, and one Sunday going to hear Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real presence in the sacrament, he sent him a letter containing his reasons for differing from his sentiments. This letter was shewn to Cranmer, who was still of his old opinion concerning transubstantiation, and he sent for Lambert to converse with him. Cranmer said all he could to dissuade the man from his opinions, but this was in vain, for Lambert, in order to display his logical powers, appealed to the king. This was like Gill Blas's going out of the frying pan into the fire.

Lambert's appeal gave great pleasure to the king, because it gave him an opportunity of displaying his knowledge in theology; for such was the temper of this prince, that if he had thought there was a more learned man in his kingdom than himself he would have ordered him to be hanged up *in terrorem*. What a happy thing to have such a learned king!

For this poor insignificant purpose, the nobility, great officers of state, and the judges, were assembled in Westminster Hall, where the king himself sat as president. There the culprit was brought, and the trial was opened by a speech delivered by Dr. Day, who declared to the assembly that the end of their meeting was to hear the king convict the prisoner of heresy.

Here was judgement before evidence, and sentence before conviction, so that we may say in the words of a noble lord, "In vain are judges learned, in vain do they study to be up-right, if the channels through which justice should flow are to be stopped." This mock trial, which lasted seven hours, ended just as might have been expected; for poor Lambert was brow-beaten, and told that if he would not recant his errors he should be burnt. Lambert refused to comply, and the consequence was, that he was burnt in Smithfield with circumstances of the most horrid cruelty. His last words were "None but Christ, none but Christ."

Soon after this, in consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, the king received an annual revenue of near two hundred thousand pounds, besides an immense quantity of plate; for that of St. Edmundsbury alone amounted to five thousand marks of gold and silver. All this, however, did not make him rich; for his own prodigality, joined to the rapacious desires of his courtiers induced him to squander away these revenues which might have been useful in promoting the education of youth, and supporting the aged and infirm.

It was much about this time, that Cranmer procured an order from the king, to have a proclamation published, granting every person who chose it, to have a bible in his own house. The year before this, English bibles had been fixed in the more conspicuous places in the churches for the people to read in; but now they were permitted to have them in their families. Hitherto we have been able to trace out some of the steps by which the reformation was brought about in England; for Henry, tho' a merciless arbitrary tyrant, yet as an instrument in the hand of divine providence, brought about that reformation which he never intended to complete. His worst of passions promoted the glorious design, and God, the universal Lord of nature, providence and grace, made him an eminent instrument in his hands, to open the way for the establishment of that religion, which now takes place in this nation; and thus we may learn, that while men are gratifying their own sensual desires, God is making them perform his works. We must not pass over this part of the reign of that illustrious tyrant Henry VIII. without taking notice of the fate of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, especially as most of our writers have represented that nobleman a friend to the Protestant religion.

We are told that he was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, but this certainly is as great a falsehood, as that of cardinal Wolsey's being the son of a butcher at Ipswich. Cromwell was a man of learning, and as such he made the tour of Europe, after which he was taken into the family of cardinal Wolsey, who recommended him



to the king. His advancement to grandeur was rapid, and it is certain that he rose to be Henry's prime minister of state. Like other courtiers, he was compliant with court measures, and justice or injustice were all one to him, so as he pleased his sovereign. Having acquired a superficial knowledge of religion, and seeing the wicked lives of its professors, he considered the whole as a cheat, and consequently trampled upon every moral obligation in compliance with the will of his sovereign. He was neither a Papist nor a Protestant, but he was willing to be either, just as circumstances happened. He pronounced sentence of death upon poor Lambert the schoolmaster, and it was common to see him conduct Papists to the flames for denying the papal supremacy.

He thought no crime too great so as he could please his royal master, and although he was indefatigable in business, yet his ambition seems to have been unbounded. It is generally supposed, that he fell under the royal displeasure in bringing about the match between the king and Anne of Cleves; but be that as it will, thus much is certain, that when he was arrested, he shewed such pusillanimity of temper as was by no means consistent with the character of a minister of state. It was proposed at first to try him at common law, but his enemies believing they would not by that method have it in their power to convict him, had recourse to a much shorter expedient, and that was to bring in a bill of attainder. This easily passed through both houses, and Cromwell was in consequence thereof ordered for execution, which was inflicted with some circumstances of barbarity.

The seizing the lands belonging to the great abbeys, and the disputes among the courtiers concerning the partition of them, every one pretending to a share, occasioned insurrections almost every where, particularly in the north, where superstition seems to have taken deepest root. Many of the nobility entered into conspiracies, and some of them having corresponded with cardinal Pole, whom the king had proscribed, were executed. Pole was grandson to the duke of Clarence, and second cousin to the king, and although a priest, the pope had promised to secularize him, if the people would place him on the throne. This almost deluged the nation with blood, and executions were so frequent, that the people seemed to pay little regard to them.

There was one grand object Henry had in view at that time, namely, to prevail on his nephew, James V. king of Scotland, to join with him in shaking off the papal yoke. For this purpose he sent Sir Ralph Sadler to Edinburgh, with instructions to press James to dismiss cardinal Beaton from his councils, and to seize on the abbey lands. The Scottish clergy prevailed on James to reject the proposals made by his uncle, but at the same time promised to meet Henry at York. This alarmed the Scottish clergy so much, that they raised a considerable sum of money and presented it to James, who was a very extravagant prince, and then he broke his promise of meeting his uncle at York.

Henry, enraged at being trifled with in this

manner by James, returned to London filled with deep resentment, but he met with another misfortune upon his return, which had almost discomposed his rational faculties. We have already observed that Anne Boleyn was put to death merely on some slight suspicions, but now the king had a consort, who had been guilty of repeated acts of lewdness, all which she confessed. This was Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, who was executed within the walls of the Tower. She was not tried at common law, but attainted along with that abandoned woman the countess of Rochford, who had given evidence against Anne Boleyn. Henry having raised an army, sent it to chastise the Scots, and both meeting at Solway, a few miles beyond Carlisle, the latter were defeated, and the flower of their nobility taken prisoners by the English. This had such an effect on James, that he died in a state of madness, leaving behind him an infant daughter named Mary.

Henry ordered the Scottish prisoners to be treated with every mark of respect, and having nothing so much at heart as uniting the two kingdoms, he proposed a match between his son Edward and the young queen of Scotland. This was much relished by the prisoners, and the king generously suffered them to return to their country loaded with presents, that they might communicate the proposal to their next parliament.

Cardinal David Beaton had forged a will in the name of the late king James V. appointing himself regent of Scotland, so that every alliance with England was found to be impracticable while that prelate was at the head of affairs, but of this more afterwards.

Soon after this, Henry resolved to marry a sixth wife, but as not one of all the maiden ladies in the kingdom would trust their lives to his suspicions, so he gave his hand to lady Latimer, commonly called Catharine Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, whose name she assumed on the death of her husband.

This lady was an intimate friend of Cranmer's, and under these two worthy persons the reformation went on gradually, notwithstanding the violence of the king's passions. Henry, though a sworn enemy to the papal power, yet was no less so to all those who opposed the Romish ceremonies. Nothing was more common than to see a bigotted papist for denying the king's supremacy, and a Protestant for refusing to comply with the ceremonies, chained to the stake together and burnt; and notwithstanding the minds of the people began to be wonderfully enlightened. By reading the bible, they found that there was a vast difference between what was written in the New Testament and Popery. Primers and catechisms were distributed by Cranmer among the lower orders of the people, and the reformation might have been completed had the king given his consent to it.

In this state was religion in England, when Henry VIII. died on Friday January 28, 1548, according to the present stile. A little before he expired, he sent for his dear friend Cranmer, who had retired to Croydon, that he might have no share in the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who was his mortal enemy.

The



The character of Henry VIII. has been variously represented, just as the wantonness of men's passions led them to misrepresent the truth. In vain among contending parties do we look for the picture of the man.

Till he advanced in years, and became rather corpulent, he was extremely handsome, tall and well shaped, with a graceful countenance, set off by means of the dress used in that age.

Having in his youth learned all the jargon of the schools, so as to be able to dispute with his clergy, he became vain to excess, and embraced every opportunity of shewing his parts. His long attachment to Wolley, is a proof that he was not always fickle in his disposition; and his proposal of marrying his son to the queen of Scotland, will serve to shew, that he was not ignorant of the interests of the people. The provocations he received from the pope and his adherents were great, but he took an ample revenge. His seizing on the revenues of the convents, enabled him to reward his favourites and support his extravagances. It was generally understood, that he spent all the money belonging to the convents. The reverse is the truth. He founded and endowed that noble structure Trinity College, in Cambridge, with many other structures for the education of youth. The most striking part of his character is, that of living eighteen years with Catharine, who bore him several children, and then parting with her. This was certainly from notions of superstition instead of those commonly assigned.

Whatever hand Divine Providence took in punishing this king, is not for us to determine; but thus much is certain, that after his divorce, he was never happy with any other queen, at least not long. Anne Boleyn, for irritating his jealousy by the levity of her conduct, was beheaded. Jane Seymour died twelve days after the birth of her first child. Anne of Cleves was divorced the day after the king married her. Catharine Howard was a common prostitute, for which she suffered death: And Catharine Parr had nearly lost her life, for disputing with the king about religion. Upon the whole, Henry was one of those men, whose characters seem to be marked with great vices, while, at the same time, they have many shining qualities. He was a happy instrument, in the hand of Providence, of laying the foundation of the Protestant religion, although he never desired to see it accomplished. He died in the firm belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, and with seeming contrition for his past life.

He was succeeded by his son Edward, a pious youth, then in the tenth year of his age. The first thing relating to religion after the accession of this prince, was a general visitation of the churches, and the reformation was begun in real earnest. All shrines and images that had been left standing were taken down, the lessons and epistles were read in English, and every thing was conducted with regularity.

The grand design that Cranmer had in view was, to abolish the whole of the Popish rites and ceremonies; and in this he was greatly assisted by the duke of Somerset, uncle to the young king. Never did reformation proceed

more gently and gradually than in this reign; the conduct of Somerset the protector, and of archbishop Cranmer, ought to be imitated by all those who wish to conduct things with moderation, and prevent any sort of violence from taking place. The reading the lessons, epistles, and gospels in English, was of the utmost service to the people, by enlightening their minds in the knowledge of the truth, and exposing Popish errors. But our celebrated reformers did not stop here.

The next thing, was to have the whole service of the church read in English; and for that purpose a commission was granted to several learned men, to revise the Popish liturgy, and make another more agreeable to the genius of the gospel.

The next thing the reformers proceeded to establish was, that a register should be kept in every parish, of births, marriages, and funerals; and no priest was to preach any where but in his own parish, without a special licence. In churches where they had not a large English bible, one was to be purchased in the space of three months; and before the expiration of one year, Erasmus's paraphrase of the four gospels, and the acts of the apostles lately, translated into English, were to be placed in every church for people to read in. Every clergyman under the degree of bachelor in divinity, was also obliged to procure a copy of the same paraphrase for his own use, and the bishops were to enquire, from time to time, what proficiency the clergy had made in the study of the sacred scriptures.

As the priests knew little of preaching, and much less of the nature of theology, so it was found necessary to publish a book of homilies or sermons, to be read every Sunday and holy day in the churches. This was the more necessary, because the people were running into mad extremes; some considered the priests as being in possession of a secret, by which they could bestow salvation on whom they pleased; whereas, on the other hand, some imagined, that in consequence of the death of Christ they were to be saved, let them live in whatever manner they would. To rectify these abuses, it was inculcated in the homilies, that salvation could only be obtained through the imputation of Christ's merits; but then, that no sinner was to expect justification before God, unless he lived in such a manner as became the rules laid down in the gospel. Many books were written at this time against image worship, and archbishop Cranmer published a catechism, containing the genuine principles of the Christian faith and duty.

The next thing taken into consideration was, the admitting the laity to the cup in the eucharist. This had been long denied them, but now an ordinance was published, wherein every priest was ordered to give the sacrament in both kinds to the communicants, and a new communion service was framed. The celibacy of the clergy came next under review, and it was declared, that as not only many of the primitive fathers were married men, but that even some of the apostles had wives, so it was both unjust and unlawful to exclude the clergy from that privilege. It



It was therefore granted to every clergyman, and many of them availed themselves with an act so consistent with common justice, and natural reason.

But while those who wished well to the interests of religion, were carrying on the work of reformation, some of the nobility and gentry, who had obtained grants of the crown lands, exercised great cruelties over their tenants. The rents were raised above double their antient value; instead of corn, money was to be paid, and the people were really distressed. England, at that time, exhibited a shocking picture to every generous mind. Farmers who had lived in affluence, had their rents doubled four times; the iron hand of oppression was heavy upon them, and whatever their affections might have been to the Protestant religion, yet the love of ease and the enjoyment of affluence, naturally led them to wish for the return of those happy days they had enjoyed under Popery.

These murmurings became at last of a very ferocious nature; for there were insurrections in almost every part of the country, particularly in Yorkshire, where they had been before raised, and even as far as Cornwall. All these insurgents demanded, that the old religion should be restored; but to have complied with the demands of mobs, would have been a strong instance of the weakness of government, and a proof that they were ready, at all times, when it suited their own conveniencies, to give up those rights and privileges which had been bestowed on them by their sovereign.

The Cornish men rose in a vast body, and were so audacious as to attack the city of Exeter. Lord Russell was sent against them, and arrived just time enough to relieve the city. The chief part of the rebels were sent to London and executed; many of the lower sort were put to death by martial law, and the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged up on the top of the steeple of his own church, dressed in his canonical habits, with his beads hanging round his girdle.

Much about the same time, a formidable insurrection broke out, in Norfolk, headed by one Robert Ket, a tanner, but extremely rich, for he was lord of three manors. The pretence made use of by this rebel was, that the people had been oppressed by the inclosing of commons; and therefore he and his company went about the country destroying all those enclosures which had been set up to exclude the tenants from common right. They took possession of the city of Norwich; but Dudley, earl of Warwick, having been sent against them, he stormed the place. One hundred and thirty were killed, and sixty being taken were immediately hanged. The rebels, enraged to see so many of their friends hanged up, became in a manner desperate, and attacked the earl, but the royalists killed two thousand of them, and put the rest to the flight. Ket and his brother were taken the next day hid in a barn, the former of whom was hanged over the walls of Norwich castle, and the latter on the top of Wymundham steeple. Nine others suffered in the same manner, being all hanged up on a tree which the rebels

called the Oak of Reformation. Some of the vagabond priests in the county of Norfolk had forged a story, containing what they called a prophecy, in the following words:

The country kuffs, hob, duck and hick,  
With clubs and clouted shoon;  
Shall fill up Dafferdale with blood  
Of slaughtered bodies soon.

The countenance given to these insurgents by the Popish party, induced government to have a watchful eye upon such persons as were suspected. For this reason, Bonner, bishop of London, was taken into custody, and committed to the Marshalsea, where he remained several terms; for such was his disposition, that when he was brought before the council, he reviled them with the most opprobrious language.

During this reign, several foreigners, men of reputation and learning, arrived in England. They had been invited over by archbishop Cranmer, who was respected and beloved by all the Protestants in Europe. Amongst these was Peter Martyr, a person well skilled in the knowledge of the fathers, of a sweet natural temper, a healing disposition, and one who desired, as far as lay in his power, to restore every thing relating to the church to its original state of genuine purity. He was accompanied by several others, the most celebrated of whom was Martin Bancer, a man of learning, but rather of austere manners. These gentlemen proposed a visitation of the universities, for some of the colleges had been so much injured, that there was not a sufficiency left to support them. These foreigners were undoubtedly men of understanding in their own country, but it was rather an imprudent step to bring them over to England, at a time when the people's minds were unsettled as to religious principles. This will appear the more consistent with truth, when we consider in what manner they conducted themselves.

Having adopted the notions embraced by Luther concerning the real presence in the sacrament, they were continually disputing in favour of it, and this created them a great many enemies in England. The English in their own country were convinced of the falsity of that doctrine; and as the great Cranmer had published his catechism, concerning the devotion of the sacrament, much regard was paid to it, and some of the foreigners were treated with great contempt.

As we are treating of those steps which lead to the reformation of the church of England, so we are obliged, at the same time, to take notice of every obstacle that happened in its progress, not only from those who were professed Papists, but also such as assumed the name of Protestants. This will appear the more necessary, when it is considered, that some of the sects which sprung up at that time, have since obtained a name in several European nations, and will make a most distinguishing figure in the latter part of this work. Indeed, in treating of these matters, we are obliged to trace things from the original fountain, for without that, no proper knowledge can be attained.



Much about the same time that the foreign learned gentlemen above-mentioned arrived in England, some gentlemen, or rather enthusiasts, came over to this country, who, instead of shewing a grateful sense of the favours they had been treated with, found fault with all the ordinances of the church of England; and they condemned the reformation as not purged from the errors of Popery. In the infancy of a reformation, nothing could have a more fatal tendency, or more likely to prevent its succeeding than such a nonconformity and division among its professors, for at this time great divisions happened among the reformed in Germany.

The chief of these foreigners was John Law, a Polish baron, who came over with several of his countrymen, and a great number of German refugees, to whom he acted as a pastor. He had been sometime settled at Embden, in East-Friesland; but the fears of persecution had driven him from thence, and then he took shelter in England. He applied himself in behalf of his people, to the duke of Somerset, who then acted as protector to the young king. Accordingly, a charter was granted them to settle in Austin-Friars, within the city of London. A charter was likewise granted under the great seal constituting these foreigners a body politic, under the direction of John Law, their superintendant, and four other ministers, with a power to encrease their number and chuse their successors, if the king approved of it. At the same time several other foreigners settled in England, but they had all such wild romantic notions concerning religion, that they attempted, as far as lay in their power, to bring every thing into a state of confusion.

At the same time, a vast number of Anabaptists took shelter in England, who had been driven out of Germany by the violence of persecution. These people, however innocent their sentiments might have been with respect to religious principles, and however inoffensive they were to the powers in being, yet, such was the intolerent principles of the times that they were considered as objects of punishment. A commission was granted to prosecute these people, whom the law at that time called Heretics; and many of them being seized, recanted their errors, except Jane Boucher, and George Van Paris, both of whom were natives of Holland, and these were burnt alive at a stake.

The liturgy of the church of England having been established in parliament, it was considered as necessary, that a confession of faith, or articles of religion, should be drawn up. This was consistent with the practice of the reformed churches in general; for as the Papists had reproached them with holding opinions contrary to the Christian system, so it was necessary that they should use these methods, in order to prove their innocence to the world. During the whole of this period, reformation went on in such a rapid manner, that nothing but infinite wisdom, for wise purposes, could have stopped it; but wherever God acts, let men be silent.

It was at this time, that the famous, or rather infamous council of Trent first met, and notwith-

standing all their zeal, yet they could not obliterate the light of truth, nor overpower the religion of Protestants. The priests in that council had no intention to give any countenance to the Protestant religion; they were persons interested in the fate of popery, and they knew that they must stand or fall by it. For this reason, instead of abolishing any of the antient rites and ceremonies, they not only imposed new ones, but even obliged the people to subscribe to new articles, which were mere matter of speculation before. The acts of the council of Trent ruined the popish interest, while, if properly regulated, they might have established it on the most permanent foundation.

The grand object before this general council was the settlement of some disturbances that had taken place in the Christian world. The provocation on the part of the court of Rome had been so great, that it could not be veiled over; and the concessions made by the Protestants were treated with contempt. Had the bishops, or other deputies in this council, considered the duty they owed to the church, they would have abridged the papal power, ordered the mass to have been said in English, granted the clergy liberty to marry, and church communion in both kinds. To this it may be added, that had they granted a privilege to their people, to enter into a free enquiry into matters of faith and duty, they might have established their credit, and the Roman Catholic religion, under a few modifications, might have now been the established religion of these countries which we now inhabit.

In 1553, king Edward, the greatest prodigy that perhaps ever lived, considering his tender age, found himself in a decline, and although several of the faculty told him that he might survive the malignancy of his disorder, yet he set his mind upon heaven, without neglecting the obligations he was under to his people. That which struck deepest into his mind was the regard he had for the Protestant religion. It was in his power to alter the will of his father; and therefore, upon mature consideration, he thought that as his sister Mary was a bigotted Papist, and so far as he knew, the education of Elizabeth had been little attended to, he made a will in favour of lady Jane Gray, grand-daughter of Mary queen of France, youngest sister of Henry VIII. This was one of the most striking instances of bad policy that ever could have taken place. Lady Jane Gray had been but lately married to lord Dudley, and she did not court any such dignity. The decorated crowns and regal dignities were beneath her notice. Her mind was enlarged with human knowledge, she was endowed with the most unaffected piety, her heart was a stranger to contentions, but an ambitious father-in-law prevailed upon her to assume the regal dignity, which brought her and her husband to the block. The popish party were still strong in England, the leaven of old prejudices was not totally worn out, different passions led to different ends, and the bigotted Mary was seated on the throne of England. Had this princess been endowed with the least spirit of common humanity, she would have looked on the lady Jane Gray as an object of compassion;



compassion; but consistent with the temper of that family from which her mother descended, being a most merciless tyrant, she suffered her and her husband to be both put to death under some degrees of torture that are a disgrace to human nature. The cause of Edward's death was a decline, which was improperly treated by some persons who were ignorant of the nature of his disorder. He was certainly a very pious prince, and from the latter part of his conduct it seems that a year before his death he had given over all hopes of life. He was an enemy to persecution on account of religion, and in learning, he exceeded many who were double his age. He seemed to have no pleasure in any thing besides that of doing good. Men of great learning came from all parts of Europe to visit this more than illustrious prince, and Cardan, a learned physician, in returning from Scotland, where he had been to cure Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, of the venereal disease, waited upon Edward, and found him so amazingly learned in the languages, that he declared he had never met with such another before. Upon the whole, he was one of those illustrious characters that is but too seldom found on the throne, and at his death he left the church of England almost as much reformed as it is at present. When his death was made known, and particularly during his funeral, there was an universal dejection displaying itself, as it were, over the whole kingdom, and the people seemed to have been well persuaded what part Mary would act.

No sooner had Mary got possession of the throne, than she resolved to re-establish the old religion, for mass was said in her own chapel. Being of a revengeful disposition, she sought every opportunity of sacrificing those to her malice who had given the least encouragement to the reformation. She had taken the oath of supremacy in her father's life-time, but her priests easily granted her absolution.

Having called a parliament, she found the members so obsequious to her will, that popery was easily established. Orders were sent to all the counties, and indeed to every civil officer in the kingdom, to take into custody all those who did not go to mass, so that in a short time all the prisons were full. The horrid cruelties inflicted on the poor sufferers, are well known to all those who have read the History of England; but if the reign of this princess was violent, God so ordered that it was short. It was the last struggle the Protestant church of England had with Popery, so far as to resist unto death. It was like that darkness which generally takes place before the day breaks, to make way for the rising sun. Stakes were erected and faggots lighted in most towns in England; people were not tried in the civil courts, but before the bishop's chancellor, and he, having declared them Heretics, sent a certificate thereof into chancery, upon which a writ was made out, directed to the sheriff, commanding that they should be burned alive. This princess continued her cruelty to the last, and died forsaken by Philip of Spain her husband, despised by her neighbours, and abhorred by her subjects.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, on the death of her sister Mary, is the

grand epocha of the reformation in England. This princess had been brought up with great care under Ascham, whose works are now well known. She was not only acquainted with the French and Italian, but even with the Latin and Greek. The solitary manner in which she lived during the reign of her sister, gave her an opportunity of improving her mind, and the continual fear she laboured under of being put to death as an Heretic, led her to consider those points upon which salvation depends. She was at her accession to the throne, twenty-five years of age, but had nothing in her countenance that was engaging. A fatal blow was given to the papal power by her father, when he took off the pope's supremacy; the minds of the people were beginning to be gradually, and, as it were, imperceptibly enlightened, and her brother Edward had almost established the Protestant religion. The grand work, however, was left for her, and she proceeded upon such principles of moderation as will ever do honour to her memory. Having assembled her council together, she proposed calling a new parliament, in which Sir Nicholas Bacon, as lord keeper, sat president. In this parliament, it was agreed upon, though not without much opposition from the popish party, that a convocation should be assembled, to consider the articles of religion, and the state of the liturgy that had been set forth in the reign of Edward VI. The clergy were commanded not to preach on disputed points, till such time as the opinion of the convocation should be taken, and the consequence was, that a committee of clergymen were appointed to revise the liturgy, and make what alterations they thought proper, leaving the whole to the inspection of parliament. The next thing was to call home all those Protestant ministers who had taken refuge abroad during the reign of queen Mary, and some of these being men of learning, they were advanced to the highest places under government. But this leads us to take notice of the state of religion at that time in England.

Learning was beginning to rear her head, but she had many difficulties to struggle with. Inveterate prejudices were not easily eradicated, and religion, the grand ornament of human life, was so little attended to, that they did not care much what they embraced. Those who had been long accustomed to idolatry, were loth to refrain from image worship, and others, who thought a reformation necessary, had but very confused notions concerning it. Thus it was no easy matter to steer between the two extremes. But the intrepidity of the queen surmounted all difficulties, and rose superior to opposition. A system of articles were drawn up, thirty-nine in number, which in many things differed materially from those drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. These we shall consider in the order they lay before us, because we shall attend to what was originally intended in our account of Protestant churches, namely, to give an account of the faith, worship, discipline, and government, of every Protestant community established by law in Europe.

There has been much objection made concerning the validity of the articles of the church of England, but it is our business to consider them



them with moderation; we are not to enter into disputes, but we will freely acknowledge our own sentiments, even concerning the most disputed points; and when we do so, we hope it will not be considered as arrogant. In every thing of that nature, it is becoming the dignity of the historian to speak without partiality or prejudice, and to acquire honour without seeming to look for it. We shall therefore proceed to examine these articles one by one, and make such reflections on them, as appear consistent with common sense, and with the Christian religion.

The first article in the church of England is, that which should constitute the foundation of all religion whatever; namely, the being of a God, and the existence of the ever blessed trinity.

The second article relates to the divinity, as well as the human nature of Christ, and this is upon the most orthodox principles.

The third article relates to Christ's descent into hell, and the modesty which the authors have expressed cannot be too much commended. In the reign of Edward VI. the article was very different from what it is at present, and favoured strong of Popish superstition; but here the word hell is simply mentioned, without defining what is meant by it, leaving every one at liberty to judge for himself. Hell no where means a state of punishment in the writings of the ancient fathers, but merely the state of departed souls; and so it is in Luke xvi. where we find both Lazarus and the rich man; nay, Abraham himself was in hell. That is, they were confined in that place where all the souls, both of the righteous and the wicked, were to remain till the resurrection; but not in the same condition, because the wicked are in continual terror, and the righteous in joyful cheerful hope. But as different notions have been formed concerning our Saviour's descent into hell by the reformers abroad, so our worthy divines, who compiled the articles, made the words general, without imposing such a fixed sense upon them, as should set aside the right of private judgement.

The fourth article contains a declaration, that Christ rose from the dead, with the same body that was crucified on mount Calvary, and buried by Joseph of Arimathea. This is a grand article in the Christian religion; for had Christ not risen with the same body with which he suffered, then his followers could have no hopes of ever rising from the grave. As his descent into hell was to make them look with pleasure on the state of the dead, so his resurrection was to remove all fears from their hearts; for because Christ lives, so we shall live also. Nay, we may add further, that if we only in this life have hopes, we are of all men the most miserable. For what is life? What are all the enjoyments of this world, which are of such a transitory perishing nature, were we not to have a firm persuasion that we are to exist hereafter?

The fifth article asserts the divinity of the holy ghost, which is another fundamental article of the Christian religion; for it is by the spirit of God we are sealed to the day of redemption, that is, till the resurrection day, when the work of our salvation will be completed.

The sixth article is another of great importance, for it asserts, that in all things the sacred scriptures are sufficient to make men wise unto salvation. It is certain, however, that to assert that we take the scripture for the rule of our faith, is a very ambiguous expression; for it may be construed into any sense whatever. In this article the books of the Apocrypha, that are not to be found in the Hebrew, and were never acknowledged as canonical by the Jews, are totally excluded. They were, however, permitted to be read in the churches, for the example of life and instruction of manners; but this has been complained of by some other Protestant churches, because, in some of these books, there are several stories of too loose a nature to be read to Christian congregations. As it is our intention to adhere to the strictest impartiality, in giving an account of our Protestant bretheren, so we shall take notice of such of the articles as exceptions have been made to, by whom made, and for what reason, leaving the reader to judge for himself.

The seventh article is a noble description of the true sense in which the Old Testament should be read; for it distinguishes between the ceremonial and moral law, pointing out what is binding on Christians, and what has been abolished by the sacrifice of our redeemer.

The eighth article asserts the vality of the three creeds. This is one of those articles which has been much objected to by the people called Arians. It is certain, that the creed called the Apostles, may be subscribed by any Arian in the world; for although it asserts the divinity of the three persons in the ever blessed trinity, yet it says nothing either concerning their unity or equality.

The Nicene Creed was written against the Arians; for it asserts, in the most positive terms, the unity and equality of the three persons in the ever blessed trinity. The third, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, carries things much further than the Nicene, for it pronounces damatory clauses against all those who do not believe in the doctrine of the trinity.

It is certain, that in the Primitive church, every congregation had its own creed, but they never differed in any of those points that relate to the essentials of religion. They were the same in substance, but not in words. Some great men in the church of England have complained of the Athanasian Creed, particularly archbishop Tillotson, who, in a letter to Bp. Burnet, says, "I wish we could get well rid of it."

The ninth article asserts the doctrine of original sin, that is, that all mankind are conceived and born in sin, so that no man can be accepted by his maker, without the interposition of a mediator. The doctrine of original sin, was never denied in the church, till the time of Pelagius, who was learnedly confuted by St. Austin.

All the Protestant reformers acknowledged this doctrine till 1605, when Arminius, a Dutch divine, wrote against it, and was followed by several of his countrymen, which occasioned the calling the synod of Dort.

The tenth article asserts, that man cannot, by the freedom of his own will, nor by any powers he can exercise, obtain the Divine favour, which

article



article seems to have been uniformly believed by the primitive church. It is consequent to and naturally follows original sin; for if men come into the world in a state of corruption, consequently it must require Almighty Power and sovereign grace, to renew them in the image of God, lost by their first parents transgression.

The eleventh article asserts, that men are justified and made acceptable to God, through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. This article naturally follows the others that went before, for if we have no power to turn to God of ourselves, then there must be another person to save us from Divine wrath; and certainly he who becomes our surety, transmits to us his merits, or his righteousness.

The twelfth article establishes the doctrine of good works, as flowing from faith in Jesus Christ. This article is expressed with all the caution imaginable; for certainly all good works flowing from a lively faith in Jesus Christ, are evidences of our being his disciples. It is very observable, that the sincere Christian, who performs the greatest number of good works, pays the least regard to them, nor does he put any confidence whatever in them.

The thirteenth article asserts, that nothing can be acceptable to God, which does not flow from faith in Jesus Christ. This sentiment was, in general, believed by the Primitive fathers; for we find only three of them of a different opinion, namely, Chrysostom, Justin Martyr, and Gregory Nazianzen. The grand difficulty is to settle the dispute, whether the Heathens, who lived virtuously, could be saved, although they had never been favoured with the light of the gospel? This question has been nobly answered by Bishop Wilkins, in the last chapter of his book on Natural Religion. He says, "That the mercy of God, as well as all his other attributes, is a great depth; and as he has not told us what he will do with the Heathens, so it is very improper that we should tell him what he ought to do." This we know, that none ever was, or ever will be saved but through the merits of Jesus Christ, who was the lamb slain from the foundation of the world; but in what manner God may communicate that blessing, is what we have no manner of business to pry into. Let us rest satisfied, that the judge of all the earth will do what is right.

The fourteenth article overthrows the Popish notion of men being able to do more good works than they are commanded to perform in the gospel. This notion, which is what a sober Heathen would have been ashamed of, was not heard of in the Christian church till many years after the time of Constantine the Great, nor have we any account of it till after the tenth century. All Protestants of whatever denomination, whether established by law or otherwise, are of the same opinion with regard to this article, as the church of England.

The fifteenth article asserts one of the grand fundamental doctrines of Christianity; namely, that Christ was in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; and so far as we know, this doctrine never was denied, either by the Roman Catholics, or Protestants, nor by any who ever assumed the

name of Christians, except some of the antient Heretics. And here it is necessary to observe, that the first reformers considered the justification of sinners through the imputation of Christ's righteousness, as a necessary consequence of his having taken our nature upon him. Nor does it appear from the whole scripture account, that it could be otherwise; but had Christ descended among us in his glory, we could not have received any benefit from him, but it was the will of the Lord our God to make the captain of our salvation perfect through sufferings.

The sixteenth article relates to sin after baptism, and militates against the Popish notion of venial and mortal sins. It is well known, that every offence against the law of God is a sin; but the Papists, in order to make a proper distinction for the sake of aggrandizing their clergy, have told us, that those venial, or rather trifling sins, may be atoned for by penance; whereas grosser crimes, which they call mortal sins, can never be forgiven. Here is a distinction without a given rule, and a conclusion drawn before the points were stated. In order to oppose this Popish notion, the Church of England is plain and explicit; for as all sins are offensive to God, so the blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse the most impure sinner from all wickedness, and to render him acceptable to the Divine Being.

The seventeenth article relates solely to predestination; and it must be acknowledged, that it is here defined in a more modest and scriptural sense, than in any of the systems drawn up by the other reformers in Europe. It is certain, that some of the reformers abroad, when treating of this article, made use of very unguarded expressions, which led some of those, who were otherwise piously disposed, to despair, while the profane plunged themselves into Deism. But here the church of England takes the middle line between the two extremes. She acknowledges the doctrine to be a scriptural one, but conscious of the weakness and depravity of human nature, cautions her members to be upon their guard against enquiring too minutely into it.

The eighteenth article contains an enlarged sentiment indeed; for it declares that no man can be saved in consequence of his belonging to a particular sect or party, but that salvation alone is through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. This article was extremely necessary to be carefully inserted, because, that when the reformation took place, many of the people were so ignorant, that they thought they might be saved by the merits of the saints. Here the church of England, to her everlasting honour, has given the glory of men's salvation to that Redeemer who purchased peace and pardon for them with his blood. If Christ did not come into the world to save sinners, why did he die on mount Calvary? If Christ Jesus is not the Redeemer of lost mankind, and the sole hope the sinner can repose any confidence in, then there is an end of our religion, and our preaching is vain indeed?

The nineteenth article asserts, that the church of Christ consists of a body of persons, who willingly consent to be obedient to every rule laid down in the gospel. This was the more necessary, because the Papists had asserted, that the whole



of those, who in words professed the Christian religion, were members of the church. This article further asserts that no church is, or can be infallible; and it gives us three instances, besides that of Rome. It is certain, that Christ will have a body of people in the world, who will worship him in all ages till his second coming; and it may be added further, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against this church; but then it must be remembered, that there is no promise that this church shall be local. God has his churches frequently where men do not discern them.

The twentieth article asserts the power of the church in decreeing rites and ceremonies, and although this article is expressed in the most cautious terms, yet it has been the occasion of much controversy. The Dissenters were exempted from subscribing to this article, and yet we cannot see with what propriety. Had the declaration here made been that the church's power was absolute, then we should have been in the same condition as the Papists. But it is quite otherwise, for the church is not to declare any thing to be binding on the people that is contrary to the scriptures. Indeed, there does not seem to be any ambiguity in the words of the article, for all the popish errors are carefully guarded against.

The twenty-first article relates to general councils, which were originally called by the Roman emperors; but lest too much confidence should be placed in their decrees, the church of England has declared, that they have no such thing as infallibility in them. Composed of fallible men, they are liable to err, and therefore all their decrees must be tried by the test of sacred writ. It is certain, that general councils have erred, or at least, this much is certain, that they have not all been infallible; so far from it, we frequently meet with one council anathematizing another, and if this is the case, where is the truth to be found. General councils are nothing more than ecclesiastical bugbears or scarecrows; but ancient usage had conferred upon them a sort of sanctity, embraced by the ignorant and nourished by designing priests.

The twenty-second article relates entirely to purgatory, a notion which the Papists had embraced partly in consequence of not understanding what had been written by the primitive fathers, and partly to court favour with the Heathens. It was necessary that our reformers, consistent with their characters as Protestants, should oppose this doctrine; for although it may, in the common acceptation of the word, have some affinity with Christianity, yet in general it is totally repugnant to it. It procures much money to the priests, whose Heathenish tricks, preying upon the ignorance of the people, can at all times make them subservient to their purposes.

The twenty-third article relates solely to ordination, that is, that no person shall take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel till he is regularly appointed for that purpose. Bp. Stillingfleet, speaking of this article, says, there is no ambiguity in it; for he believed that every church might ordain their ministers in whatever manner they thought proper. It is certain, that

there is necessity for a regular succession of ministers in the Christian church, and in the primitive times, notwithstanding the violences that took place, this was never interrupted. It may, however, be carried to a superstitious height, and therefore the church of England has expressed herself in very general terms concerning it.

The twenty-fourth article militates against the popish practice of having worship celebrated in a language which they do not understand. At what time this abominable practice took place does not appear, but we are certain it was not sooner than the tenth century. As a proof of this, there are several liturgies extant written in the sixth century, and in the language of those people for whom they were composed. Nay, the author asserts further from his own knowledge, that there are several liturgies still extant in the Saxon language, written long before the use of Latin ones was imposed on the people.

The twenty-fourth article relates to the doctrine of sacraments in general, and gives as clear a definition of them as ever could have been given by any Protestant divines whatever. They are defined to be the symbols of an unseen object, which they certainly are. They are the representations, says the church, of something that happened, but not the object itself.

The article, however, admits of nothing as a sacrament, except what is pointed out to be such in scripture. Confirmation and penance, matrimony and extreme unction are wholly excluded out of the number. This may serve to shew, that the design of the English reformers was to level their whole power against the strong bulwarks of popery, to strike at the root of their principles by which it had been long supported, and establish in room of it a system of religion, consistent with the doctrine laid down in the New Testament.

The twenty-sixth article asserts that the efficacy of the sacraments taken, received in faith, does not depend on the merits of the person who administers them. To understand this article rightly, which does not in the least militate against the Papists, we must attend to the following circumstance: About the time of the reformation, when light was beginning to spring up in the minds of men, there were several people in Europe who embraced very erroneous opinions. Among these were some Germans who came over to England, and taught that the sacraments were of no avail, nor could the person who received them obtain any benefit, unless the minister by whom they were given was a real believer. This was a most destructive notion; for admitting it to be true, then there is an end of all divine institutions. When a pious Christian goes to receive the sacrament, how does he know but the person by whom it is administered, is an hypocrite. And is the favour of God to be lost in consequence? No: God forbid. It was to oppose this notion, that the article we are speaking of was written, and it is expressed in modest and manly terms. While it regulates the notions of men's putting any merit or confidence in the person who administers the sacrament, it, at the same time, enforces the necessity of ecclesiastical discipline,



discipline, and points out the duty of ministers in the clearest manner. This article is agreed to by all Protestants whatever, but none of their confessions are expressed with so much modesty as here, where we do not meet with a single dogmatical expression.

The twenty-seventh article enforces the doctrine of baptism by water, as a sign of our adoption into the church, as sons of God by regeneration. The words of this article are so clearly and plainly expressed, that even a child may understand them as soon as he has learned his catechism. It concludes with enforcing infant baptism, not only as useful and agreeable to the word of God, but as necessary. It seems to have been on this principle, that the rubric was inserted in the office for the burial of the dead, which prohibits its being read over such as died unbaptized.

The twenty-eighth article treats of the Lord's supper, as one of the sacraments of the Christian church. It is considered, in its genuine sense, as a sign of that charity which should always distinguish Christian churches. The popish doctrine of transubstantiation was totally abolished, and declared to be contrary to the nature of a sacrament. It is added further, consistent with the sense of the sacred scriptures, that as a sacrament is no more than a visible sign of something which it is to point out, so the bread and wine must be received by faith, as emblems of that body which was broken, and that blood which was shed for sinners.

The twenty-ninth article is a necessary consequence of the preceding one, for it is inseparably connected with it. It declares that no person can obtain any benefit from the partaking of the sacrament, except the righteous. The article further expresses a strong caution to those who would partake of the sacrament, to be on their guard; to be cautious in examining themselves, lest that which was intended to promote their spiritual interest, should even seal their condemnation. It is certain, that nothing is more dangerous than to trifle with and make light of religious ordinances. It hardens the mind, and in general the person embraces Deism.

The thirtieth article enjoins the receiving the sacrament in both kinds, which was the practice of the Christian church from the death of Christ even so late as the tenth century. Nay, it was not then totally denied, for even two hundred years later, we find several writers standing up in defence of it. It is certain, that those who believe in transubstantiation, must consider the blood in the wafer, and were it not for that doctrine which contributes so much towards enlarging and aggrandizing the papal power, probably the Papists would have granted the sacrament in both kinds to the laity at the reformation.

The thirty-first article differs a little from the seventeenth, for it asserts that Christ died for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, which notion was afterwards improved on by James Arminius. This article, as it differs somewhat from St. Austin's notions, so it is probable that our reformers borrowed the sentiment from the fathers of the ancient Greek church. It is certain, that this sentiment runs through the

works of Chrysostom, Gregory, Nazianzen, Basil, and many others. And it is generally acknowledged, that the death of Christ, as it surpasses all human comprehension, so it may be of infinite efficacy; but here we leave the reader to judge for himself.

The thirty-second article relates to the marriage of the clergy, and condemns the popish doctrine on that subject. It is certain, that no part of the New Testament enjoins celibacy to the clergy; and, during the first four centuries, we constantly find them mentioned as married men. If any lived single lives, they did so from choice, without being obliged thereto by any positive command. Celibacy among the clergy began to be encouraged about the sixth century, when the monastic life became in vogue, but still it was not imposed. Nay, so late as the tenth century, we find Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, entering into a violent struggle with the secular clergy, who refused to put away their wives. This struggle continued till the twelfth century, when we find Henry I. of England giving countenance to celibacy among the clergy, and the consequence was, they kept their *Limmers*, an old word for prostitutes.

The thirty-third article relates to the sentence of excommunication, but it is not so clearly expressed as some of the others. By the proper judge that hath authority to publish this sentence, is undoubtedly meant the bishop's chancellor, who is generally a layman, at least he always acts under that character. By his authority here mentioned, must be understood that authority which he derives from common law; for in the primitive church, and among all other Protestants except in Europe, excommunication is considered as a spiritual action.

The thirty-fourth article relates to the traditions of the church, and it contains a clear definition of them. The latter part of this article has been much objected to, where it gives leave to all national churches to change their rites and ceremonies as often as they please, so as they be done to edifying. The word edifying has by some been considered as too loose and vague, because the Papists tell us, that their ridiculous ceremonies are calculated for that purpose; but our reformers seem to have had nothing more in view than to establish what was consistent with the truth, and they looked upon all others as absurd and unnecessary.

The thirty-fifth article establishes the doctrine that the homilies were to be read. But as these venerable discourses are but little known in the present age, we shall take some notice of them.

The ignorance of many of the clergy, and the unsettled state of the church at the time of the reformation, induced many of the greatest men at that time, to draw up a set of discourses, in the form of sermons, on the principal points of the Christian religion. One of those were to be read every Sunday in the parish churches, till such time as the clergy could learn to compose sermons for themselves. This was of great service to the cause of truth at the time of the reformation, for these homilies, having been drawn up very judiciously by men of learning and



and piety, they prevented the people from relapsing into Popery, and established the principles of religion on their minds.

The thirty-sixth article asserts, the necessity and utility of episcopal ordination. This sentiment is founded on a notion that there had always been in the church a regular succession of clergy, from the days of the apostles; some great divines, however, were at that time of a different opinion, particularly Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, and Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Many of the inferior clergy contended that it was sufficient for presbyters to ordain presbyters; and as these pretended to promote a purer reformation than had hitherto taken place in the church, they were called in derision Puritans. This article is not so much disapproved of by the Dissenters as some are apt to imagine, for they allow the validity of English ordinations, altho' they do not consider it necessary to impose them.

The thirty-seventh article establishes the supremacy of the civil magistrate in all things, and over all persons, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and this has occasioned much contention. It is certain, however, it was in some measure necessary at the reformation, because the clergy had been long accustomed to call the pope their head. Some princes, indeed, made a bad use of this act, by turning out bishops whenever they pleased; but nothing of that sort has happened for a considerable time. Indeed, it lodges a vast power in the crown, but while that power is not abused, we ought not to complain. All the power granted in this article to the king over the clergy is of a civil nature, for he is not permitted to administer divine ordinances, but merely to preserve the external peace of the church, and prevent factious clergymen from disturbing government.

The thirty-eighth article is levelled against the German Anabaptists, who sprung up at that time, many of whom, as we have already mentioned, came over to England. These people asserted, that all Christians should have their goods in common, and that none should be richer than the others. This was owing to a mistaken notion concerning the first Christians in Jerusalem. This was never enjoyed by the Apostles, for Annanias and Sapphira were told by Peter, that they might have kept their estate to themselves. It is said, we acknowledge, that they had all things in common; but it is no where said they were commanded to have them so.

The Christians at Jerusalem were warmed with the love of the truth; they loved each other; they had but a very precarious title to their possessions, while they were hated by the Jews and persecuted by the Romans. The afflictions of many of their brethren were great; the Jews considered them as blasphemers, and the Romans treated them as rebels. It was, therefore, necessary that they should assist each other; but when the cause was removed, the effect naturally ceased. We have a strong proof of this in several of the apostolical epistles, where the rich are exhorted to be charitable to the poor; and had there been an equality of property, there would have been no need of this exhortation.

The thirty-ninth and last article, relates to a

Christian man's oath. This article, although it does not expressly say so, seems likewise to have been levelled against the Anabaptists; who, not considering properly the meaning of our Lord's words, "Swear not at all," declared that all oaths were, in their own nature, sinful; whereas, all that Christ had in view was to put an end to two things, which were then much encouraged by the Pharisees: First, the frequency of swearing in common conversation, when there was no necessity for it; and, secondly, swearing by heaven, by the temple, the altar, the sacrifice, and such other things as were not objects of divine worship. The apostle, in writing to the Hebrews, explains every doubt concerning this point. God swore by himself, because he could swear by none greater, that was, that the Messiah should be priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. And the same apostle adds, that an oath is necessary to put an end to controversies among men. If it was not for the solemnity of an oath, there would be an end of civil society; for such is the state of human nature, that although men may sometimes perjure themselves, yet there is generally a dread on their minds, when they go into a court of justice to swear.

Such are the articles of religion in the church of England, and when we consider all the circumstances attending the framing of them, we are really led to admire them. Let us but reflect, that the authors of them had been brought up in Popish superstition; were proscribed and persecuted by queen Mary; obliged to take shelter in foreign countries, where they met with men of different sentiments. And yet these men returned and compiled a system of divinity as little liable to exceptions, if not less so, than any other systems framed by different Protestant churches. In perusing the articles it appears, that in all those points which have been matter of dispute, and occasioned much controversy, the English reformers have conducted themselves with the greatest moderation. If a few expressions may happen to appear ambiguous, even the ambiguity gives peace of mind to the subscriber, because in consequence thereof, he can put what sense he pleases upon them. The church of England allows of no infallibility in human beings, and therefore as her fundamental articles were written by men, so if any sentiment should displease the person who comes to subscribe them, he is at liberty to refrain, so as he gives up all pretensions to the temporal emoluments annexed to the subscription.

The next thing in order is the worship used in the church of England, and here we shall first take notice of the Liturgy, or Common Prayer in general, and then proceed to consider its different parts, omitting only the Catechism, as that has been fully explained in our account of the articles. For all catechisms are no more than articles of religion, or public confessions of faith, drawn up in a plain easy manner, for the use of youth to be learned at school.

Before the reformation, the Liturgy was only in Latin, being a collection of prayers made up partly of some antient forms used in the Primitive church, and partly of some others of a later original, accommodated to the Romish religion, at that time the religion of England. But, when the nation in king Henry VIIIth's time, was disposed



posed to a reformation, it was thought necessary both to have the service in the English or vulgar tongue, and to correct and amend the Liturgy; by purging it of those gross corruptions which had gradually crept into it.

And, first, the convocation appointed a committee, A. D. 1537, to compose a book, which was entitled, *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*, containing a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments, &c. This book was again published in 1540, with corrections and alterations, under the title of, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. In the same year, a committee of bishops and other divines was appointed by king Henry VIII. to reform the rituals and offices of the church; and the next year the king and clergy ordered the prayers for processions and litanies to be put into English, and to be publicly used. Afterwards, in 1545, came out the king's Primer, containing the whole Morning and Evening Prayer in English, not very different from what is in our present book of Common Prayer. Thus far the reformation of our Liturgy was carried in the reign of Henry VIII.

In the year 1548, the first of king Edward VI. the convocation unanimously declared, that the communion ought to be administered in both kinds: whereupon an act of parliament was made, ordering it to be administered. Then a committee of bishops, and other learned divines, was appointed, to compose an uniform order of communion, according to the rules of scripture, and the use of the primitive church. The committee accordingly met in Windsor-castle, and drew up such a form. This made way for a new commission, empowering the same persons to finish the whole Liturgy, by drawing up public offices for Sundays and holy-days, for baptism, confirmation, matrimony, burial, and other special occasions.

The committee, appointed to compose this Liturgy, were:

1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Thomas Goodrick, bishop of Ely.
3. Henry Holbeck, bishop of Lincoln.
4. George Day, bishop of Chichester.
5. John Skip, bishop of Hereford.
6. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster.
7. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of London.
8. Dr. William May, dean of St. Paul's.
9. Dr. John Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.
10. Dr. Simon Haynes, dean of Exeter, and master of Queen's Coll. Camb.
11. Dr. John Redman, dean of Westminster, and master of Trin. Coll. Camb.
12. Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Christ's Church, Oxon.
13. Mr. Thomas Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester.

Our excellent Liturgy, thus compiled, was revised and approved by the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of both the provinces of Canterbury

and York, and then confirmed by the king and three estates in parliament, A. D. 1549.

But, about the end of the year 1550, exceptions were taken against some parts of this book, which were thought to favour too much of superstition. Archbishop Cranmer therefore proposed a new review, and, to this end, called in the assistance of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two foreigners, whom he had invited over from the troubles in Germany. These, not understanding the English tongue, were furnished with Latin translations of the Liturgy. The principal alterations, occasioned by this second review, were; the addition of the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, at the beginning of the morning and evening services, which, in the first Common Prayer book, began with the Lord's Prayer; the addition of the Commandments at the beginning of the communion-office; the removing of some rites and ceremonies retained in the former book, such as the use of oil in confirmation, the unction of the sick, prayers for departed souls, the invocation of the holy ghost at the consecration of the eucharist, and the prayer of oblation that used to follow it; the omitting the rubric, that ordered water to be mixed with the wine; with several other less material variations. The habits likewise, which were prescribed in the former book, were in this laid aside; and lastly, a rubric was added at the end of the communion office, to explain the reason of kneeling at the sacrament. The liturgy, thus revised and altered, was again confirmed by parliament, A. D. 1551, with this declaration, that the alterations made in it proceeded from curiosity rather than any worthy cause. But both this, and the former act in 1548, were repealed in the first year of queen Mary, as injurious to the Romish religion, which she was resolved to restore.

Upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, the act of repeal was set aside, and several learned divines appointed to make another review of king Edward's Liturgies.

These (according to Camden and Strype) were:

1. Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely.
3. Dr. May.
4. Dr. Bill.
5. Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham.
6. Sir Thomas Smith.
7. Mr. David Whitehead.
8. Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.
9. Dr. Edwyn Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York.
10. Mr. Edmund Gueft, afterwards bishop of Rochester.

It was debated at first, which of the two books of king Edward should be received. At length the second was pitched upon, and confirmed by parliament, which commanded it to be used, "With one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year,



and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise."

The alteration in the Litany here mentioned was the leaving out the deprecation, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, and adding these words to the petition for the sovereign, "Strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life." The two sentences, added in the delivery of the sacrament, were; "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c." which were taken out of king Edward's first book; whereas, in the second book, these sentences were left out, and in the room of them were used, "Take, eat, or drink this," with what follows; but now, in queen Elizabeth's book, both these forms were united.

There are some other variations in this book from the second of king Edward. The first rubric, concerning the situation of the chancel, and the proper place for reading divine service, was altered; the habits, enjoined by the first book of king Edward, and forbid by the second, were now restored; at the end of the Litany was added a prayer for the sovereign, and another for the clergy. Lastly, the rubric, that was added at the end of the communion-office, in king Edward's second book, against our Saviour's corporeal presence in the sacrament, was left out in this. This was done, that the aforesaid notion might remain as a speculative opinion, not determined; it being the queen's design to unite the nation, as near as possible, in one faith.

In this state the Liturgy continued, without farther alteration, till the first year of king James I. when a conference was held at Hampton Court, between that prince, with archbishop Whitgift, and other bishops and divines, on the one side, and Dr. Reynolds, with some other Puritans, on the other: the result of which was, the adding some forms of thanksgiving at the end of the Litany, and an addition to the catechism in relation to the sacraments. Likewise, in the rubric at the beginning of the office for private baptism, the words Lawful Minister were inserted, to prevent midwives and laymen from presuming to baptize; with one or two more small alterations.

But, immediately after the restoration, king Charles II. at the request of several of the Presbyterian ministers, issued out a commission for a new review of the Liturgy, empowering twelve of the bishops, and twelve Presbyterian divines to make such reasonable and necessary alterations as they should jointly agree upon. Nine coadjutors were added on each side, to supply the place of any of the twelve principals, who should happen to be absent. Their names are these.

*On the Episcopalian side.*

Principals.

1. Dr. Frewen, archbishop of York.
2. Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London.
3. Dr. Cousins, bishop of Durham.

4. Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester.
5. Dr. King, bishop of Chichester.
6. Dr. Henchman, bishop of Salisbury.
7. Dr. Morley, bishop of Worcester.
8. Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln.
9. Dr. Laney, bishop of Peterborough.
10. Dr. Walton, bishop of Chester.
11. Dr. Stern, bishop of Carlisle.
12. Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

Coadjutors.

1. Dr. Earles, dean of Westminster.
2. Dr. Heylin.
3. Dr. Hackitt.
4. Dr. Barwick.
5. Dr. Gunning.
6. Dr. Pearson.
7. Dr. Pierce.
8. Dr. Sparrow.
9. Dr. Thorndike.

*On the Presbyterian side.*

Principals.

1. Dr. Reynolds.
2. Dr. Tuckney.
3. Dr. Conant.
4. Dr. Spurstow.
5. Dr. Wallis.
6. Dr. Manton.
7. Dr. Calamy.
8. Mr. Baxter.
9. Mr. Jackson.
10. Mr. Case.
11. Mr. Clark.
12. Mr. Newcomen.

Coadjutors.

1. Dr. Horton.
2. Dr. Jacob.
3. Mr. Bates.
4. Mr. Rawlinson.
5. Mr. Cooper.
6. Dr. Lightfoot.
7. Dr. Collins.
8. Dr. Woodbridge.
9. Mr. Drake.

These commissioners had several meetings at the Savoy, but to very little purpose; the Presbyterians reviving all the old scruples of the Puritans against the Liturgy, and adding several new ones of their own. Baxter had the assurance to affirm, that our Liturgy was too bad to be mended, and confidently pretended to compose a new one, which he thought proper to offer to the bishops. Upon this the conference broke up, without any thing being done, except that some particular alterations were proposed by the episcopal divines; which, the May following, were considered and agreed to by the whole clergy in convocation. The principal of these alterations were, that several lessons in the Kalendar were changed for others more proper for the days; the prayers for particular occasions were disjoined from the Litany, and the two prayers to be used in the Ember-Weeks, the prayer for the parliament, that for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving, were



were added. Several of the collects were altered; the epistles and gospels were taken out of the last translation of the bible, being read before, according to the old translation. The office for baptism of those of riper years, and the forms of prayer used at sea, were added. In a word, the whole Liturgy was then brought to the state in which it now stands, and was unanimously subscribed by both houses of convocation of both provinces, on Friday, Dec. 20, 1661. And being brought to the house of lords the March following, both houses very readily passed an act for its establishment; and the earl of Clarendon, then lord Chancellor, was ordered to return the thanks of the lords to the bishops and clergy, for their care and industry shewn in the review of it.

We shall subjoin Dr. Comber's character of the Liturgy of the Church of England. "No church was ever blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a Liturgy, as ours; which is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion, and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full, that nothing is omitted, which ought to be asked in public; and so particular, that it compriseth most things, which we would ask in private; and yet so short, as not to tire any that have true devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them; its method is exact and natural; its language significant and perspicuous, most of the words and phrases being taken out of the holy scripture, and the rest are the expressions of the first and purest ages. And, in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius, who was no member of, nor had any obligation to this church, the English Liturgy comes so near the primitive pattern, that none of the reformed churches can compare with it."

Again he says; "In the prayers a scholar can discern close logic, pleasing rhetoric, pure divinity, and the very marrow of the antient doctrine and discipline; and yet all made so familiar, that the unlearned may safely say, Amen."

As in the antient church the reader always spoke a few words to the people before he began the service, so in the church of England, one verse of the sacred scripture is repeated. There is something praise worthy in beginning divine worship with some part of sacred scripture, because it is giving preference to inspiration above every thing human. It is really bestowing honour on God, and it is well known, that the sentences are most judiciously collected. They all intimate something leading to the confession of sins; and these are followed by the exhortation. The confession that follows is expressed in very striking language, and such as is easy to be retained in the memory.

It has been much controverted by several other Protestants, whether a minister should pronounce the absolution? But if any person reads this form, he will find it is no more than a declaration that God will pardon sincere penitents. It supposes, that those who have on their knees confessed their sins; are contrite and penitent,

which gives them encouragement to hope for mercy.

It has been objected, that the Lord's Prayer is too frequently repeated, so as to make it like a charm; but with respect to the controversy, we shall not meddle with it, leaving every man at liberty to judge for himself. And here it is necessary to observe, that every minister in the church of England, may pray extempore before sermon, if he pleases, only it is reckoned necessary to conclude it with the Lord's Prayer. If this was more attended to, it would remove many objections that are constantly made against formality and repetition. The marquis of Halifax, who served four sovereigns in the highest departments of the state, recommended this practice; and he used to say, that when he knew a minister's life to be pious, and heard him pour out the effusions of his heart before sermon in extemporary prayer, it always affected him, and made a lasting impression on his mind, by charming him with the love of religion.

The Arians and Socinians make strong objections to the greatest part of the Common prayer, because it every where asserts the unity of the three persons in the ever blessed trinity; but these objections have been ably answered by many eminent divines, and also by laymen.

Another objection was made to the Litany by the Presbyterians at the Savoy conference, particularly these words, "From fornication and all other deadly sins, &c." Now by deadly sin has been generally understood the Popish doctrine of mortal sin, but surely the compilers of the Liturgy never meant so. This will appear the more probable, when we consider that fornication is here called a deadly sin; for what man will assert that sin to be unpardonable? All that seems to be meant is, that as fornication is a breach of an absolute precept, so it is dangerous in any person to commit it as well as other sins of a similar nature. But we think this need not be enlarged on; we shall only add that it has been objected, that some of the collects have been taken out of the Romish mass book. If it is allowed that the collects are good, then the objection falls to the ground; for it might, with equal propriety, be objected, that we should not be called Christians, because the Papists call themselves by that name; and so on in thousands of other instances. Let us keep all they have good among them; and let what is useless be retained by themselves. Reformation may be carried too far at some particular periods. Probably, the first reformers thought so, and therefore they left these things for a more favourable opportunity. As for Litanies, we shall here observe what many learned men have said of them.

In the Christian sense of the word, a Litany is a solemn form of supplication to God. Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's custom of making his solemn addresses to God in his tent, says, he endeavoured to render God propitious to him by his supplications and Litanies. And Arcadius, in one of his laws against heretics, forbids them to hold profane assemblies in the city, either by night or by day, to make their Litany. At that time, the public prayers, hymns, and psalmody, were all comprised under the general name of Litany. Afterwards, the word came to signify



signify a peculiar sort of prayers used in the church; concerning the original of which learned men are not agreed.

At first, the use of Litanies was not fixed to any stated time, but they were employed only as exigencies required. They were observed, in imitation of the Ninevites, with ardent supplications and fastings, to avert the threatening judgements of fire, earthquakes, inundations, or hostile invasions. The days, on which they were used, were called Rogation-days. Several of these days were appointed by the canons of different councils, till the seventeenth council of Toledo decreed that Litanies should be used in every month throughout the year. And so, by degrees, these solemn supplications came to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the antient stationary days in all churches.

As to the form in which Litanies are made, namely, in short petitions by the priest, with responses by the people, St. Chrysostom derives the custom from the primitive ages, when the priest began, and uttered by the spirit, some things fit to be prayed for, and the people joined the intercessions, saying, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord." When the miraculous gifts of the spirit began to cease, they wrote down several of these forms, which were the original of our modern Litanies. St. Ambrose has left us one, agreeing in many things with that of our own church.

About the year 400, Litanies began to be used in processions, the people walking barefoot, and repeating them with great devotion. It is pretended, several countries were delivered from great calamities by this means. About the year 600, Gregory the Great, out of all the Litanies extant, composed the famous seven-fold Litany, by which Rome, it is said, was delivered from a grievous mortality. This has been a pattern to all the western churches since; to which ours of the church of England comes nearer than that of the Roman Missal, in which later popes have inserted the invocation of saints, which our reformers justly expunged. These processional Litanies having occasioned much scandal, it was decreed, that the Litanies for the future should only be used within the walls of the church.

The days, appointed by the 15th canon of our church, for using the Litany, are Wednesdays and Fridays, the antient fasting days of the primitive church; to which, by the rubric, Sundays are added, as being the days of the greatest assembly for divine service. Before the last review of the common prayer, the Litany was a distinct service by itself, and used some time after the morning prayer was over. At present it is made one office with the morning service, being ordered to be read after the third collect for grace, instead of the intercessional prayers in the daily service.

By the fifteenth canon, whenever the Litany is read, every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church, is to come, or send one at least of his household, to join with the minister in prayers.

There is one great advantage to Christians in the worship used by the church of England, and that is the reading of the psalms and lessons, and it is surprising that this should not take place in

all Protestant churches. The advantage is not only to those who cannot read, but it refreshes the memories of the best scholars whatever. Nay, it has been asserted, that were the scriptures not read in our churches, we would become in a short time such barbarians as our ancestors were two thousand years ago. But let us here consider the practice of the antient church on this head, and then take notice of our own, that the reader may make the comparison.

In the antient church, the reading the scriptures was one part of the service of the catechumens, at which all sorts of persons were allowed to be present for instruction. The lessons were always two at least, and sometimes three or four. The author of the constitutions speaks of four lessons, two out of Moses and the prophets, and two out of the gospels and epistles. The church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter: for, till the time of pope Celestine, about four hundred years after Christ, they read no lessons out of the Old Testament, but only out of the New; whereas in all other churches, they read lessons out of both.

The method of reading the scriptures seems always to have been governed by some rule, tho' this might vary in different churches. St. Austin tells us, there were some lessons so fixed and appropriated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. He particularly instances in the festival of Easter, when for four days successively the history of Christ's resurrection was read out of the four gospels. In like manner, on all other festivals, they read those parts of scripture, which related to the particular festival.

Particular books of scripture had their particular seasons of the year, in which they were more especially read. Thus the Acts of the Apostles was read immediately before the feast of Pentecost, and in Lent they usually read the book of Genesis. The book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion-week, and the prophet Hosea was read on the Vigil of our Saviour's passion. Though we have no complete Lctionarium, or Kalendar of Lessons extant, yet we are sure their reading the scripture was some way methodized, and brought under rule. The first Kalendar of this kind is thought to be Hippolytus's Canon Paschalis, which Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing Lessons for the festivals. But Bucherius, and others, give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain. There is a Lctionarium under the name of St. Jerom; but the best critics look upon it as counterfeit. Some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French churches. It is observable, however, that the lessons were sometimes appointed by the bishops at discretion. Ferrarius gives several instances of this practice out of St. Austin and Chrysologus.

As to the persons, whose office it was to read the lessons, it is probable, that, during the two first centuries, they were the deacons, or in imitation of the Jewish church, such as the bishop or president for that time appointed. But, in the time of St. Cyprian, it was the peculiar office of the readers, who were become an inferior order of the clergy. The reader, before he began



gan to read, was used to say, *Pax vobis*, Peace be with you, which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of the offices in the church. This custom continued till the third council of Carthage made an order to the contrary, appointing that it should be said by some other minister. St. Chrysostom mentions two other customs introductory to the reading and hearing the scriptures. The first is, the deacon's enjoining silence and attention before the reader began: The second, the reader's beginning every lesson with, "Thus saith the Lord."

There is a distinction made by some between the longer and shorter lessons, used in the ancient church. The longer lessons are said to be used at the long nocturnal or Antelucan service, and the shorter at the other canonical hours of prayer. But this distinction could have no place till the canonical hours were settled; which was not till the fourth or fifth century. It is probable, these shorter lessons were no other than the psalms, or Antiphonal hymns collected out of the psalms, for the service of the several hours of devotion.

It is observable, that, in some churches, other books were allowed to be read by way of lessons and instructions, besides the canonical scriptures, such as the Passions of the Martyrs on their proper festivals, the Homilies of the Fathers, the Epistles and Tracts of pious men, and the Letters communicatory of one church to another, with other writings of the like nature. Eusebius tells us, the book called *Hermes Pastor* was anciently read in the church. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, says, they read *Clemens Romanus's* first epistle to the Corinthians, and another written by Soter, bishop of Rome. Sozomen tells us, the Revelations of Peter were read once a year, on Good-Friday, in many of the churches of Palestine. Many other instances are to be met with in ecclesiastical authors.

Our own church, in the choice of Lessons, proceeds as follows. For the first lesson on ordinary days, she directs, to begin at the beginning of the year with Genesis, and so to continue on, till all the books of the Old Testament are read over; only omitting the Chronicles (which are for the most part the same with the books of Samuel and Kings) and other particular chapters in other books, either for the same reason, or because they contain genealogies, names of persons, or places, or other matters less profitable for ordinary hearers.

The course of the first lessons for Sundays is regulated after a different manner. From Advent to Septuagesima Sunday, some particular chapters of Isaiah are appointed to be read, because that book contains the clearest prophecies concerning Christ. Upon Septuagesima Sunday Genesis is begun, because that book, which treats of the fall of man, and the severe judgement of God on the world for sin, best suits with a time of penance and mortification. After Genesis follow select chapters out of the books of the Old Testament, as they lie in order; observing that, on festival Sundays, such as Easter, Whitunday, &c. the particular history relating to the day is appointed to be read. On the festivals of the Saints called Saints-days, the church appoints Lessons out of the moral books, such as Proverbs,

Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, as containing excellent precepts and instructions for the conduct of life.

As to the second lessons, the church observes the same course both on Sundays and Week-days: reading the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the morning, and the Epistles in the evening, in the same order they stand in the New-Testament; excepting on saints-days and holidays, when such lessons are appointed, as either explain the mystery, relate the history, or apply the example to us. Thus, by the prudence of our church, the Old Testament is read over once, and the new thrice in the year, some particular parts of both, for particular reasons, excepted.

In treating of the whole public service used in the church of England, we are under the necessity of taking notice of all the objections commonly made to it by all denominations of Christians. This is the more necessary, because, by taking these things in a proper point of view with candour, it may be the means of settling some of our unhappy controversies, or at least making Protestants love each other as brethren.

It is well known, that there are holy days ordered to be observed in the church of England, yet they are not imposed, being left wholly to people's own discretion. If any of these holy days have been used to a bad purpose, the fault does not lay in them, but in the depravity of human nature. Did God become man for us, and must we become beasts? An afternoon debauch will follow very ill after a forenoon's sermon; and therefore those who keep days holy, should keep them holy to the Lord. The first and most solemn of the times observed in the church of England is Lent.

The word *Lent*, in the old Saxon language, signifies the Spring, and is therefore used to denote this holy season, which belongs to that part of the year, it being observed by Christians as a time of humiliation before Easter, the great festival of our Saviour's resurrection.

The observation of this fast is of very great antiquity in the Christian church. The Latins call it *Quadragesima*, which word denotes the number forty; whence this fast was called *Quadragesimal*, but whether from its being a fast of forty days, or only forty hours, is matter of dispute among the learned. They of the Romish church, and some of the Protestant communion, maintain, that it was always a fast of forty days, and, as such, of apostolical institution. Others think it was only of ecclesiastical institution, and it was variously observed in different churches, and grew by degrees from a fast of forty hours to a fast of forty days. This latter is the sentiment of Morton, bishop Taylor, du Moulin, Daille, and others.

The church seems to have limited the term of fasting to forty days, in regard either to the forty days, in which God drowned the world; or to the forty days, in which the children of Israel did penance in the wilderness; or to the forty stripes, wherewith malefactors were to be corrected; or, because Moses fasted this number of days, as did Elias the same space of time; or, because the Ninevites were allowed precisely as many days for repentance; or, lastly, and most probably, because our blessed Saviour him-



self, when he was pleased to fast, observed the same length of time. For some, or all, of these reasons, the church used this number of days, as the common solemn number belonging to extraordinary humiliation.

As to the original of this Quadragesimal Fast, learned men are inclined to believe, it was not instituted by the apostles, at least not as any necessary rule obliging all men to fast forty days; and that for the following reasons: First, because there is some probability, that at first it was only a fast of forty hours, or the time that our Saviour lay in the grave, that is, the Friday and Saturday before Easter. This appears from Tertullian and Irenæus, who speak of Christians observing those days, in which the bridegroom was taken from them, agreeable to those words of our Saviour; "The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." However, it must be confessed, these authors speak of more days than two as observed in many churches, only with this difference, that the first were observed as more necessary, being founded on the words of Christ himself, and the others were at the church's free liberty and choice, as being purely of ecclesiastical institution.

Secondly, Because, if this fast was of apostolical institution, it is scarce accountable how such a great variety in point of time should immediately happen in the observation of it; some churches keeping it only three weeks, some six, some seven, and yet none of them hitting upon the precise number of forty days. It is observable however, that they all agreed in calling this fast Quadragesimal, and assigned different reasons for this appellation.

Lent consisted not of above thirty-six fasting-days in any church; for though some churches kept it six weeks, which make forty-two days, yet all Sundays were excepted out of the fast; and then, six days being subducted, there remained but thirty-six days of fasting. Who first added Ashwednesday, and the other three days to the beginning of Lent, in the Roman church to make them completely forty, is not agreed among their own writers. Some say, it was the work of Gregory the Great; but others ascribe it to Gregory II. who lived about an hundred years after, in the beginning of the VIIIth century.

The general design of this institution is thus set forth by St. Chrysostom: "Why do we fast these forty days? Many heretofore were used to come to the communion indevoutly and inconsiderately, especially at this time, when Christ first gave it to his disciples. Therefore our forefathers, considering the mischiefs arising from such careles approaches, meeting together, appointed forty days for fasting and prayer, and hearing of sermons, and for holy assemblies; that all men, in these days, being carefully purified by prayer and almsdeeds, and fasting, and watching, and tears, and confession of sins, and other the like exercises, might come according to their capacity, with a pure conscience, to the holy table."

But if we enquire more particularly into the reasons of instituting the Lent-fast, we shall find them to be these following. First, The apostles

sorrow for the loss of their master. For this reason, the antients observed those two days, in which our Saviour lay in the grave, with the greatest strictness. Secondly, the declension of Christian piety from its first and primitive fervour. Thirdly, that the catechumens might prepare themselves for baptism, and the penitents for absolution; Easter being one of the settled times of baptizing the catechumens, and absolving the penitents.

This solemn season of fasting was universally observed by all Christians, though with a great liberty, and a just allowance for mens infirmities; and this was in a great measure left to their own discretion. If men were in health, and able to bear it, the rule and custom was for them to observe it. On the other hand, bodily infirmity and weakness were always admitted as a just apology for their non-observance of it.

The manner of observing Lent, among those who were piously disposed to observe it, was to abstain from all food till evening. Whence it is natural to conclude, that the pretence of keeping Lent only by a change of diet from flesh to fish, is but a mock fast, and an innovation utterly unknown to the antients, whose Lent fast was a strict and rigorous abstinence from all food till the evening. Their refreshment was only a supper, and then it was indifferent whether it was flesh, or any other food, provided it was used with sobriety and moderation. But there was no general rule about this matter, as appears from the story, which Sozomen tells of Spiridion, bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus; that a stranger once happening to call upon him in Lent, he, having nothing in his house but a piece of pork, ordered that to be dressed and set before him; but the stranger refusing to eat flesh, saying he was a Christian, Spiridion replied, for that very reason thou oughtest not to refuse it; for the word of God has pronounced all things clean to them that are clean.

Lent was thought the proper season for exercising more abundantly all sorts of charity. Thus what they spared from their own bodies, by abridging them of a meal, was usually given to the poor. They likewise employed their vacant hours in visiting the sick and imprisoned, in entertaining strangers, and reconciling differences. The imperial laws forbid all prosecution of men in criminal actions, which might bring them to corporal punishment and torture, during this whole season. Lent was a time of more than ordinary strictness and devotion; and therefore, in many of the great churches, they had religious assemblies for prayer and preaching every day. They had also frequent communions at this time, at least on every sabbath or Lord's day. All public games and stage-plays were prohibited at this season; as also the celebration of all festivals, birth-days and marriages, as unsuitable to the present occasion.

These were the common rules observed in keeping the Lent fast, when it was come to the length of forty days. But there was one week, called the Hebdomas magna; or the great week before Easter, which they observed with a greater strictness and solemnity than all the rest. This is usually called the Passion-week, because it was the week in which our Saviour suffered.

The



The Christians of the Greek church observe four Lents. The first commences on the fifteenth of November, or forty days before Christmas. The second is our Lent, which immediately precedes Easter. The third begins the week after Whitsunday, and continues till the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. The number of days therefore comprized in this Lent is not settled and determined, for they are more or less according as Whitsunday falls sooner or later. Their fourth Lent commences the first of August, and lasts no longer than till the fifteenth. These Lents are observed with great strictness and austerities. On Saturdays and Sundays they indulge themselves in drinking wine, and using oil, which are prohibited on other days.

Lent was first commanded to be observed in England, by Ercombert, seventh king of Kent, before the year 800. No meat was formerly to be eaten in Lent, but by licence, under certain penalties. And butchers were not to kill flesh in Lent, except for the victualling of Ships, &c.

The next thing to be taken notice of is, Baptism, the first sacrament in the Christian church. As to what manner this is observed in the church of Rome, we have already taken notice in our accounts of the Popish ceremonies. We know of but two objections that ever have been made to the form of baptism, as practised in the church of England, but these will be taken notice of afterwards.

We have already seen, that the church of England defines baptism to be, not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they, that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church: The promises of the forgiveness of sin, of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the holy ghost, are visibly signed and sealed, faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer to God. She adds, that the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

In the rubrics of her liturgy, she prescribes, that baptism be administered only on Sundays and holy-days, except in cases of necessity. She requires sponsors for infants; for every male child two godfathers and one godmother; and for every female two godmothers and one godfather. We find this provision made by a constitution of Edmond, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1236; and in a synod held at Worcester, A. D. 1240. By the xxixth canon of our church no parent is to be admitted to answer as godfather to his own child.

The form of administering baptism is too well known to require a particular account to be given of it; and we shall only observe some of the more material differences between the form, as it stood in the first liturgy of king Edward, and that in our Common Prayer book at present. First, in that of king Edward, we meet with a form of exorcism, founded upon the like practice of the primitive church, which our reformers left out, when they took a review of the liturgy in the 5th and 6th of that king. It is as follows:

Then let the priest, looking upon the children, say;

“ I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy baptism, to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgement, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in everlasting fire, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath bought with his precious blood, and by this his holy baptism calleth to be of his flock.”

The form of consecrating the water did not make a part of the office, in king Edward's Liturgy, as it does in the present, because the water in the font was changed, and consecrated but once a month. The form likewise itself was something different from that we now use, and was introduced with a short prayer, that Jesus Christ, upon whom, when he was baptised, the holy ghost came down in the likeness of a dove, would send down the same holy spirit, to sanctify the fountain of baptism; which prayer was afterwards left out, at the second review of it.

By king Edward's first book, the minister is to dip the child in the water thrice; first dipping the right side; secondly the left; the third time dipping the face toward the font. This three fold immersion was a very antient practice in the Christian church, and used in honour of the holy trinity: Though some later writers say it was done to represent the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, together with his three days continuance in the grave. Afterwards, the Arians making an ill use of it, by persuading the people that it was used to denote, that the three persons in the trinity, were three distinct substances, the orthodox left it off, and used only one single immersion.

By the first Common Prayer of King Edward, after the child was baptised, the godfathers and godmothers were to lay their hands upon it, and the minister was to put on him the white vestment, commonly called the Chrysom, and to say: “ Take this white vesture, as a token of the innocency, which, by God's grace, in this holy sacrament of baptism, is given unto thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocence of living, that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.” As soon as he had pronounced these words, he was to anoint the infant on the head, saying, “ Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the holy ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins; may he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his holy spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.” This was manifestly done in imitation of the practice of the primitive church.

The custom of sprinkling children, instead of dipping them in the font, which at first was allowed



lowed, in case of the weakness, or sickness of the infant, has so far prevailed, that immersion is at length quite excluded. What principally tended to confirm the practice of affusion, or sprinkling, was, that several of our English divines, flying into Germany and Switzerland, during the bloody reign of queen Mary, and returning home when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, brought back with them a great zeal for the Protestant churches beyond sea, where they had been sheltered and received; and, having observed, that, at Geneva, and some other places, baptism was administered by sprinkling, they thought they could not do the church of England a greater piece of service than by introducing a practice dictated by so great an oracle as Calvin. This, together with the coldness of our northern climate, was what contributed to banish entirely the practice of dipping infants in the font.

Lay-baptism we find to have been permitted by both the common-prayer books of king Edward, and that of queen Elizabeth, when an infant is in immediate danger of death, and a lawful minister cannot be had. This was founded upon the mistaken notion of the impossibility of salvation without the sacrament of baptism; but afterwards, when they came to have clearer notions of the sacrament, it was unanimously resolved in a convocation, held in the year 1575, that even private baptism, in a case of necessity, was only to be administered by a lawful minister.

The objections made to the office of baptism are, first, the use of godfathers and godmothers. At the reformation, it was absolutely necessary, that there should have been sponsors for infants, lest their parents should have brought them up in the Popish religion. It was the same in the primitive church, as has been already taken notice of, to prevent the children from being brought up Heathens. At present, when we consider that almost universal depravity of manners, so prevalent among the people, we are led to wish that pious persons could be found, who would take care to see the children brought up in the fear of God. On the other hand, when we reflect on the conduct of those persons who frequently assume the characters of sponsors, such as drunken sots and giddy girls, who never intend to pay any regard to the solemn promise they have made as it were before God, and a Christian congregation, we are apt to wish that none were admitted, but such as would do their duty. We know but of one law in the church of England that forbids a father to be sponsor for his own child, but long usage has given a sanction to the present practice. Let sponsors, however, beware of mocking God, but if they will take that office upon them, let them endeavour, through the Divine assistance, to discharge their duty.

The second objection is, that made to the use of the sign of the cross. We have already taken notice, that this was used in the primitive church, and lord King thinks it first began about the middle of the second century. After that time, it began to be generally practised, but not imposed, so that people were left at liberty to use

it or let it alone. Soon after the time of Constantine the Great, it was become so universal, that it was considered as an imposed duty on the clergymen to cross the children in the sacrament of baptism.

We find from what we have taken notice of before, that the ritual for baptism in the beginning of the reign of king Edward, had something in it very superstitious. As for the making the sign of the cross there can be no harm in it, unless people believe that it has something in it of a sacred nature. Those who submit to it as the mode used in an established church, should look upon it as an indifferent thing, but those who consider it as inconsistent with the word of God, should by no means use it. There is, however, in this country, but little reason to complain, for there is such liberty for tender consciences, that although the minister cannot dispense with the act of uniformity, yet any man who is of opinion that baptism is absolutely necessary to infants, may apply to the Dissenters, none of whom use the sign of the cross.

The next thing to be considered is confirmation.

In the primitive times, this was a grand ceremony in the church. It frequently followed immediately after baptism, when the party made a solemn promise before the bishop and all the congregation present, that he would live according to the rules of the gospel. He was then admitted to the communion, after the bishop had prayed for him, and laid his hands on his head. It was absolutely necessary, that such a declaration should be made, especially as the people were but newly converted from Heathenism. And the same circumstance took place here immediately after the reformation. It was necessary that the ministers of parishes should know to whom they administered the communion, and therefore it was ordered, that those who intended to partake of that holy ordinance, should first be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; for no solemn mystery enjoined in the New Testament must be trifled with.

It is therefore appointed both by the canons and by several public acts, that all those who are to be confirmed, must produce a certificate of their knowledge from the minister of the parish where they reside. This ordinance is observed by the Lutherans, and although not attended to by many Protestants, yet we shall have occasion to point out wherein they have something like it. Indeed, we do not know that ever any of the Protestants spoke or wrote against confirmation, but in some of their writings we find them complaining of abuses in the ceremony, namely, it is not attended to with that awful reverence it was in the primitive church. All we can say on this head is, that our bishops should consider whether it would not be much better to visit their parishes once every year, than once in three years. Bp. Jewel used to say, "A bishop should die 'preaching,'" and surely the gates of heaven must be ready opened for that minister who leaves this world doing his duty.

We come next to the Eucharist or sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which in all Christian churches makes a part of divine worship. This sacrament,



sacrament, as well as that of baptism, was instituted by Christ himself; and by many divines it has been called Christ's last legacy to his people. It was constituted to be kept up in remembrance of him to the end of the world. We are assured by Pliny, in his epistle to the emperor Trajan, that the Christians met on one day in seven, and had a feast together. This feast was no other than what we now call the communion. In the beginning of Christianity, the whole church or body of Christians met together; and those who had been baptized were admitted to the communion. But as they began to multiply, a more rigid discipline was found necessary, catechumens, penitents, and all who were found guilty of any scandalous offences, were debarred from the communion; the former, till they had been properly instructed, and the latter, till they had given sufficient proofs of their amendment. The bishop always washed his hands before he consecrated the elements, according to the words of the psalmist, "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I go to thine altar." But as these things have been treated of at large in our account of the primitive church, we shall therefore only take notice of some traditions concerning the efficacy of the eucharist, which we have carefully collected from different historians. These traditions, however, are not related as facts, but merely as forgeries invented, when the purity of Christianity was on the decline.

Optatus tells us, that some Donatists, who, in their mad zeal against the Catholics, ordered the eucharist which they had consecrated to be thrown to their dogs, but not without an immediate sign of divine vengeance on them; for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters and tore them in pieces.

Again it is related of St. Laurence, that being extended on a red-hot gridiron in order to suffer martyrdom, the sacramental bread and wine which he had just before received, rendered him quite insensible of the force and violence of the fire; and that this surprising event converted a great many people, who were present to see the execution.

The acts of St. Stephen relate a remarkable story concerning the eucharist, of one Tharsicus, an Acolyth, who, as he was carrying home some of the consecrated elements, met with a company of soldiers, who demanded of him what he was carrying; and upon his refusal to discover the sacred mysteries to those infidels, they beat him to death. The story adds, that God confirmed his piety and prudence by a miracle; for the soldiers, though they searched all over him, could not find what he wished to conceal from them.

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, in the fourth century, and a great persecutor of the Novatians, having long hated some of those poor people, obliged them, against their will to communicate with him, by forcing open their mouths and thrusting the eucharist down their throats, which to them was the most insupportable of all punishments.

The historian Sozomen relates, that a certain woman of the Macedonian sect, being obliged by the threats of her husband to dissemble an inclination to embrace the Catholic faith, came

to church, in order to receive the eucharist, where, instead of swallowing the consecrated bread, she privately conveyed it away, and put another piece she had brought with her into her mouth. But by the judgement of God, when she endeavoured to eat it, she found it changed into a stone, upon which she became a sincere convert to the Catholic faith.

St. Austin relates of one Acacius, that he came into the world with his eyelids so closed, that he could see nothing, and that his mother, by applying the eucharist to his eyes in the form of a plaister, brought him presently to sight.

We are likewise told by St. Austin, of a young girl, who being possessed by the devil, and having continued twenty-eight days without nourishment, was dispossessed and perfectly restored to health, by partaking of the eucharist.

We have mentioned these things for the benefit of our Protestant readers, who ought to be on their guard when they read the writings of the antient fathers. And here we may find, that just after the time of Constantine the Great, the priests began to extol the eucharist so much, that the foundation of the corporeal presence was laid. The magnifying any thing beyond its proper merits, or the design for which it was appointed is first, superstition, and then generally ends in idolatry. This is always the effect of will worship, or doing what is not commanded; and if we can here find such a name as that of St. Austin giving countenance to such notions, we need not be much surprised at finding the same in latter writers.

The compilers of our common-prayer book originally extracted this service out of several antient liturgies, as those of St. Basil, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory; but Bucer having found great fault with it, it therefore went under several alterations. The office was originally designed to be distinct, and consequently to be used at a different time from morning prayer. A custom, which bishop Overall says was observed in his time in York and Chichester; and he imputes it to the negligence of the ministers, and carelessness of the people, that they are ever huddled together into one office.

By the last rubric after this office, part of it is appointed to be read on every Sunday and holy-day, though there be no communicants; and the reason seems to have been, that the church may shew her readiness to administer the sacrament upon those days, and that it is not hers, but the people's fault, that it is not administered: or it might be so ordered for the sake of reading the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and the Nicene Creed; together with the Offertory, or sentences of scripture, and the prayer for Christ's church.

As there has been much dispute concerning the propriety of having altars in churches, where there is no sacrifice, we find it necessary to take some notice of the place where the church of England orders the eucharist to be celebrated. And here it is necessary that we should first describe the progress of the primitive church, and then compare it with the practice of the reformed.

This holy table was distinguished, among the primitive Christians, by the name of altar; and



Mr. Mede thinks it was usually so called for the two first ages, and that the name table is not to be found in any author of those ages now remaining. However, it is certain they did not mean by the altar, what the Jews and Heathens meant, either an altar adorned with images or idols, like those of the Heathens, or an altar for bloody sacrifices, which was the use of them both among Jews and Gentiles. But for their own mystical, unbloody sacrifice, as they called the eucharist, they always owned they had an altar, which they scrupled not to term indifferently by that name.

The communion-tables, or altars, of the primitive Christians seem to have been made only of wood, till the time of Constantine, when stone altars were brought in, together with the stateliness and magnificence of churches. The pontifical speaks of silver altars, dedicated by Constantine. And, as the materials, of which altars were made, were changed, so the form and fashion of them began to be changed likewise: For whereas, before, they were in the form of tables, they now began to be erected more like altars, either upon a single stone, or pillar, in the middle, or upon an edifice erected like a tomb.

Among the primitive Christians there never was more than one altar in a church. One bishop and one altar, is the known aphorism of Ignatius. Some are of opinion, that, anciently, there was but one altar in a whole city, or diocese, belonging to a bishop; notwithstanding there were many churches. But this is a point involved in too much obscurity to be easily determined.

In some of the more stately churches, as that of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople, the altar was over-shadowed with a sort of canopy. It was raised in the form of a little turret, upon four pillars, at each corner of the altar. The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls; the top of it was in the form of a sphere, adorned with graven flowers: Above the sphere stood the cross; and the several arches below, between the pillars, were hung with veils or curtains, which served to cover and conceal the whole altar. Sometimes the Holy Ghost was represented, in the effigies of a silver dove, hovering over the altar.

The holy vessels, which they made use of to administer the eucharist in, made another part of the ornaments of the communion-table, or altar. The materials, it is true, were sometimes no better than plain glass or wood; but, in the more stately churches, they were often of gold or silver. What this holy furniture consisted of, we may judge from an inventory of communion-plate, given in to the persecutors by Paul, bishop of Cirta. There we find two gold cups, six silver cups, six silver water-pots, seven lamps, and some other things.

As to the ceremony of bowing towards the altar at their first entrance into the churches, Mr. Mede thinks there is no plain demonstration of it in the antient writers, but some probability of such a custom derived from the Jews, who used to bow themselves down towards the mercy-seat. It is certain, the Christians, both of the Greek and oriental churches, have, time out of mind, and without any known beginning thereof, used

to bow towards the altar, repeating the words of the publican in the gospel, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" as appears by the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, which custom not being founded on any known decree, or canon of a council, and being agreeable to the practice of the Jewish church, to which the Christian succeeded, may therefore fairly be supposed to have been derived to them from some very remote and antient tradition.

The communion-table or altar, in the primitive church, was placed at the upper end, not close to the wall, as it is at present, but at some little distance from it; so that the bishop's throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void space to encompass or go round it. And this is the meaning of Eusebius, who, speaking of the church of Paulinus, says, "He set the holy of holies, the altar, in the middle;" not in the middle of the nave, or body of the church, as some have misunderstood it; but in the middle of the bema, or sanctuary, at such a distance from the upper end, as that the seats of the bishops and presbyters might be behind it. Dr. Hammond, and other learned men, think, this position of the altar in the Christian churches was in imitation of the altar in the Jewish temple, to which the psalmist alludes in those words; "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thine altar."

At the beginning of the reformation in England, a dispute arose, whether the communion-tables of the altar-fashion, which had been used in Popish times, and on which masses had been celebrated, should be still continued. This occasioned a letter from the king and council to all the bishops, requiring them to pull down the altars; and, when the liturgy was reviewed, in 1551, the rubric was altered, and the priest was directed to stand on the north side, not on the altar as it was before, but of the table.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the reformation first received a civil establishment, then it was that our reformers displayed a considerable share of moderation. They appointed that the communion-table should be either in the church or chancel, but not a word concerning altars. In this manner things continued till the reign of Charles I. when one half of the people ran mad in favour of Puritanism, and the other half in favour of superstition. The love of ceremonies trampled over the love of truth, and opposition to government was considered as a virtue. It was at that time, that Dr. Laud caused the book of Sports to be published, by which people were permitted to play at all sorts of games after Divine service on Sundays. This circumstance proved fatal at that time to the church of England, but affliction taught her leaders wisdom.

In 1634, Laud procured an order, that all those tables where the people communicated, should be removed from the middle of the church, and placed within rails on the east end of the chancel, and this was to be called the altar. It is impossible to describe all the confusions that took place on this occasion. The Puritan ministers, by their affected austerity, had gained on the minds of the people, who were become as much slaves to them as ever they had been to the Popish



Popish priests. They said, that to set up altars was the same as to set up Popery, and as some of the clergy were more forward in this affair than others, so it occasioned many tumults, fomented by the puritans, and laughed at by the Papists.

At Grantham, in Lincolnshire, the vicar of the parish procured a piece of painting from one of the remains of an abbey, and had it placed within the altar. All his hearers were Puritans, and the setting up the painting drove them almost stark mad. And here it may be justly said in the words of a celebrated author, "There were fire and tow assembled." The vicar loved ceremonies, and the people hated them. A combination of the parishoners went to the church to demolish the altar, and the vicar to defend it. A stout battle ensued, in which the vicar, who seems to have been a man of courage, lifted a form upon his shoulder, and knocked down five or six of the assailants. The clergy who cannot teach people wisdom, should drive it into them.

Here was a fine opportunity for the Papists to laugh at the simplicity and weakness of Laud, who, to use the words of bishop Burnet, "Drove all things into confusion." Ward, who wrote a book called England's Reformation, takes notice of this, when he says,

What mischiefs did in Kirks arise,  
By setting tables altar wise;  
How Grantham's vicar by the rabble,  
Was bang'd about the communion-table.

By the act of uniformity, none is to communicate in public, but at the altar, and they are to receive the elements kneeling. The ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament is observed by the Lutherans and the church of England, but not by any other Protestants that we know of. In this country, it has occasioned much contention, and a variety of disputes. This much is certain, that kneeling at the communion was not used in the primitive church till after the time of Constantine the Great. And yet there can be no harm in the ceremony, so as it is not used to superstition. It is certain, that the rubric has cautioned people against running into superstition, and perhaps to the liberal and enlarged in sentiment, it will be much the same, whether they commemorate the death of their Redeemer kneeling, or standing. In all things of an indifferent nature, people should be left to their own discretion; for where the conscience is once wounded, there can remain no peace of mind. Last of all, let us consider that this holy ordinance is a feast of charity, and was considered as such by the primitive Christians. With what great care then ought we to examine ourselves, whether we have any grudge or malice against our neighbours, for we ought not to go to the Lord's table with any besides those with whom we could wish to sit down in heaven.

Marriage, as in all other Protestant countries except one, must in England be performed by a clergyman. That marriage is in the law of nature a civil institution, is known to every historian, and the sentiment is established by all modern writers, who have treated of the laws of nature and nations. The Jewish marriages were civil contracts, attended with some innocent ce-

remonies, and the bishops, in the primitive ages of Christianity, never meddled with those things, their sole care being to prevail on the people to live in a state of chastity, according to the apostolical institution, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband."

We are not exactly certain as to the time when the Christian priests first claimed the privilege of marrying the people, all that we know is, that it was practised before the reign of the emperor Justinian, who lived in the sixth century. That emperor published an edict, forbidding any person to perform the ceremony of marriage except a clergyman. To enforce the clerical power, he made this a principle in the pandects, and from that time till the time of the reformation, it was an object of great emolument to the priests who performed the ceremony, and to the popes who assumed the power of setting aside marriages whenever they pleased.

At the reformation, the Lutherans did not follow the Popish rule of making a sacrament of marriage, but still they retained many of the ceremonies. In the church of England, it is likewise declared not to be a sacrament, but the privilege of performing it is still confined to the clergy; and by the marriage act, 1754, there are several restrictions laid upon this bond of union, that were unknown before. This act has defeated its own intention, which was that of preventing young persons from marrying without the consent of their parents or guardians. Avarice inspired the sentiment, and pride supported its operations. By this act, destructive of the natural rights of the human race, dreadful enormities have been committed. Those who found they could not elude the force of it in England, made elopements to Scotland, where they were married without the consent of their parents; and these marriages are declared by the court of session, the supreme court of judicature in that part of the island, to be legal; and this decision has been affirmed in the house of lords, from whose decree no appeal lies.

But as most of these matches were, and still are concluded in the heat of youthful unguarded passion, and as the parents frequently withdrew from them what was intended as a marriage portion, so poverty creates uneasiness, brings on a coldness between the parties, and they are seldom happy. But this is not the worst effect of the act, it operates shockingly, and with a baleful influence on the morals of those in high life. Young ladies, being forced by their parents to enter into the marriage state with persons who have nothing to recommend them but money, are tempted to engage in unlawful pleasures, and to this is owing the vast number of divorces that have taken place in this country. Indeed, these have been multiplied so much of late years, that the lower classes of people, copying the example of their superiors, have as it were laughed at all moral obligation, and endeavoured to unhinge the basis of human society. The evil has spread far and wide, and we should not have been so explicit on it, had it not been learnedly animadverted upon, by some of the members of both houses of parliament, who are in their private and public characters, an ornament to human society. Methods have been proposed



posed to put a stop to the growing evil, but they have all met with violent opposition, and where it will end God only knows.

The church of England, though she does not consider marriage as a sacrament, yet looks upon it as an institution so sacred, that it ought always to be celebrated by an ecclesiastical person. And by several canons of our church, it is declared to be no less than prostituting one's daughter, to give her in marriage without the blessing of the priest. But marriages without this sanction are not, therefore, null and void, for, though the positive law of man ordains marriage to be made by a priest, that law only makes marriages, otherwise solemnized, irregular, but does not dissolve them.

There is no canon, or custom of this realm, which prohibits marriages to be solemnized at any time. The ecclesiastical courts, it is true, pretend, that a license is necessary, to empower persons to marry, during such times as are said to be prohibited, viz. from Advent-Sunday, to the Octave of the Epiphany inclusive; from Septuagesima-Sunday, till the Sunday after Easter inclusive; and from the first of the Rogation-days, that is, the Monday before Ascension-day, till the day before Trinity-Sunday inclusive. During these pretended prohibited times, they allow no persons to marry by banns only, as at other times of the year.

For better security against clandestine marriages, the church orders, that all marriages be celebrated in the day time. By the LXIId canon, they are ordered to be performed in time of divine service; but that practice is now almost, by universal consent, laid aside and discontinued. The canonical hours for celebrating of matrimony are, from eight to twelve in the forenoon. Formerly it was required, that the bridegroom and bride should be fasting, when they made their matrimonial vow; by which means they were secured from being made incapable, by drink, of acting decently and discreetly in so weighty an affair.

The impediments to marriage are specified in the 102d canon of our church, and are these: 1. A preceeding marriage, or contract, or any controversy or suit depending upon the same. 2. Consanguinity or affinity. 3. Want of the consent of parents or guardians. In Henry VIIIth's time, an act was passed, that marriages, solemnized and consummated, should stand good, notwithstanding any precontract, that had not been consummated. But this was done only to gratify the king: and therefore, in the next reign, this act was repealed. As to the impediment of consanguinity or affinity, there is a table of prohibited degrees, drawn up by archbishop Parker, and set forth by authority in 1563.

There is one objection that has been made to the ceremony of marriage in the church of England, and that is the use of the ring. Among the antient Heathens the ring was considered as an emblem of eternity, because a ring has no end. We find several instances of this in antient history, particularly among the Egyptians, and it was to please the Heathens that the Christian clergy, about the latter end of the sixth century, adopted the ceremony. From that time till the

reformation, it was kept up; but in the Greek church, the parties in marriage exchange rings with each other, so that both husband and wife has one each. At the reformation, it was retained by the Lutherans, and by the church of England, but all other Protestant churches exploded it. However, as the English Dissenters are all obliged to marry in the church they use the ring in common with the others, except the *Friends*, vulgarly called Quakers, who never make use of it. All we have to say concerning this dispute, is, that we do not think it worth the mentioning, nor a subject of serious enquiry. If women will have husbands, no doubt but they will accept of the ring along with the male partner; for as Mr. Gray says,

“What female heart's averse to gold.”

It puts us in mind of what Cartwright, the Puritan minister said, when being asked what objections he had to a square hat, answered, that his head was not square. There are some other religious disputes, which might be terminated in the same manner.

We are here obliged to take notice of another objection made by several persons, and that is against the following words, “With my body, I thee worship.” This was a dreadful bugbear to some enthusiasts in the last century, who did not understand what the word worship pointed out. They imagined that worship and divine service were synonymous terms. Now the simple meaning of the expression is, that as the Christian dedicates himself wholly to God, so the man who enters into the marriage state, should consider that he is so connected with his wife, as not to have any thing to do with harlots.

As marriage is necessary on many accounts, and as it is one of the ordinances appointed to be observed in the church, so it ought to be attended to with great care, nor was it ever despised but by libertines. The comforts of society; the mutual assistance that the one sex should give to the other; the propagation of the human species; the care of bringing up children, and industry in providing for them, are all included under this name. The debauchee may enjoy a temporary pleasure, attended with a severe repentance; the virtuous man who is married, knows the sweets of human life. If he is afflicted, he has a helpmate to sympathize with him; if he is in a state of prosperity, then she will partake of his comforts. Their children will grow up together as ornaments of human society, as saints prepared for heaven, and on a death-bed it will be their consolation, that they have not lived in vain. We cannot conclude this article better than in the words of Milton, the greatest poet perhaps that ever lived in the world, next to the inspired writers.

Hail, wedded love! mysterious law! true source  
Of human offspring! sole propriety  
In paradise, of all things common else!  
By thee adulterous lust was driven from man,  
Among the bestial herds to range: by thee,  
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,  
Relations dear, and the charities  
Of father, son, and brother, first were known;  
Perpetual



Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets!  
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights  
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings:  
 Here reigns and revels; not in the bought smile  
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,  
 Casual fruition; nor in court-amours,  
 Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,  
 Or serenade, which the starv'd lover sings  
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.

The next thing to be considered is, the visitation of the sick, a duty which has been attended to amongst all ranks and denominations of Christians, and it points out a fixed belief of eternity; for what occasion would there be to visit the sick, if there was not a belief of an awful change taking place soon afterwards. We know but of one objection that has been made to the office for the visitation of the sick, and that is, the absolution. Undoubtedly, there are here some words that might have been more clearly expressed, so as to remove all sorts of doubt, and to extinguish ambiguity; but where is perfection to be found in human things? It appears by the rubric, that the minister is to pronounce this absolution in consequence of a firm persuasion that the sick man is a real penitent; and as he does it by the authority of Christ, consequently we should imagine that no real Protestant would consider it in an improper light. We are loth to enter into disputes of that nature; but this much is certain, that absolution to sick persons was very early used in the church, even before the time of Constantine the Great; but if it was turned to superstition afterwards, we are not to answer for it, being convinced that the church of England gives no encouragement to it, unless a few simple words can be construed to that purpose.

The burial of the dead naturally follows the visitation of the sick, and the rubric enjoins that it shall not be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicated, or who have laid violent hands on themselves. These words of the rubric have occasioned much controversy; for first it supposes, or at least insinuates, that those who die unbaptized cannot be saved. This notion was never embraced in the Christian church till the tenth century, when it was established into a law by the council of St. John de Lateran. Secondly, as to persons excommunicated in the church of England, they may be so for civil offences, and to deny them Christian burial, according to the rites of their own church, is joining civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction together. Lastly, as to those who have laid violent hands on themselves, the general practice of this country has set aside the barbarity of the rubric. Inquests generally set aside common homicides, because it is imagined that none would put an end to their lives, unless they were madmen. To despise life, indicates a privation of judgement, and therefore we generally find that our inquests return their verdicts *Lunacy*. However, this is not all, the sentiment arises according to the sense of the rubric, from a belief that those who lay violent hands on themselves can have no time to repent, and consequently are lost for ever. That self-murder is a horrid crime is not to be disputed, and God forbid that we should stand up

in defence of it; but then who is to limit Divine omnipotence? Mr. Clark repeats a story, which although perhaps not true, yet it may serve to point out the sentiments of a charitable Christian.

A very profane man riding one day on horse-back, fell and was killed in the very act of swearing. That his soul was gone to hell most people believed, and yet a bye-stander declared he heard a voice utter the following words:

Between the saddle and the ground,  
 Mercy was sought, and mercy found.

We mention this, not as a real fact, but only to point out what are frequently the sentiments of men on such a subject. Great caution should be used in forming notions of the state of our departed friends. God has ways to govern the exertions of his glorious attributes, with which we are utterly unacquainted, and to acknowledge our ignorance is the sure way to attain to wisdom.

There is, however, another objection to this ceremony, which has been frequently made by the Dissenters, and that arises from the repetition of the words, "In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life." By a sure and certain hope can only be meant a well grounded hope, and that is such an hope as is founded upon rational principles. Therefore, if there is any ambiguity in the expression, it does not seem to arise from superstition in our reformers, but rather from a charitable principle.

The next ceremony in the church of England is, that of returning thanks to the great God of nature and providence, for delivering women in child-birth. This practice is attended to in one form or other by all the Protestant churches we know of, whether established by law, or Dissenters. And can any thing in the world be more just? Natural religion points out that we should return thanks to God for every favour we receive from him, and Christianity enforces the duty by the most solemn sanctions. Our gratitude should at least be, as far as lays in our power, proportioned to the benefits we have received; and what sufferings in this life can be compared with those of a woman who goes through the pains of child-bearing? And, if the affliction is so great? If there is a living mother, and what is still more, a living child? How cheerfully should those concerned, go into the house of God, and acknowledge the obligation they are under to him. So far as we know, there has never yet been any exception made to a single passage in this office, by any of our Dissenting brethren. It follows the practice of the Jewish church, in which they were to offer a turtle-dove, or two young pigeons; but Christianity requires the sacrifice of the heart.

The commination, the last ceremony to be taken notice of, has its rise from a practice in the ancient church, when the bishop, or in his absence, any other lawful minister, declared, that those who had not repented of gross sins or immoralities, should not presume to come to the Lord's table. That such a practice existed in the primitive church, is acknowledged in the rubric to this office. The whole ceremony is plain and



simple, and the man who is conscious of his guilt, may freely acknowledge himself as cursed in the sight of God for the sins he has committed, without losing hopes of the Divine favour, which no doubt will be communicated to him in consequence of his accepting of salvation, according to the terms offered in the gospel.

Such is the public service of the church of England, and perhaps, upon a dispassionate enquiry, it will be found that very few exceptions in the eye of reason can be made to it. There can be no criticising, however, in these affairs, so that we must speak with candour, concerning all those who differ from us.

The next thing to be considered in the church of England is, her government, which is different from all other Protestant churches in the world. She is the same in her discipline, and both these must be explained to the reader.

England is governed in ecclesiastical matters, by two archbishops, and twenty-four bishops, and under these, by deans of cathedrals, archdeacons, rectors, and vicars of parishes; all which must be properly attended to, especially as we must soon take notice of Calvinism and the church of Scotland.

Though bishops, in the primitive church, were all vested with the same office, yet, as Christianity increased, it was found necessary to enlarge the episcopal power; therefore, as before there was commonly a bishop placed in every great city, so now, in every metropolis, as the Romans called it, or mother-city, of every province, wherein were courts of civil judicature, there was a metropolitan or archbishop, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the bishops of that province. His jurisdiction consisted in ordaining, or ratifying the elections and ordinations of all other bishops; and once a year he was to summon them all to a synod, in which he presided, to enquire into their conduct, to censure with suspension, or deprivation, and to hear and determine causes between contending bishops.

Dr. Bingham is of opinion, that archbishop was originally but another name for patriarch; though, in process of time, their jurisdiction became distinct.

The first establishment of archbishopricks in England, if we may credit Bede, one of the most antient writers of the English nation, was in the time of Lucius, said to be the first Christian king of England; who, after the conversion of his subjects, erected three archbishopricks, at London, York, and Landaff, then called Caerleon. The dignity of archbishop continued in the see of London 180 years, till, in the time of the Saxons, it was translated to Canterbury, where it has continued ever since; and York remains a metropolitanical see to this day.

Augustin, the monk, who was sent by pope Gregory, to convert the English nation, in the reign of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was the first bishop of Canterbury; but Theodore, the sixth in succession after him, was the first archbishop of that see. The archbishops of Canterbury had antiently the primacy not only over England, but Ireland also, and all the bishop of the latter were consecrated by him. He was stiled by pope Urban II. *Alterius Orbis Papa*; he had a

perpetual legantine power annexed to his archbishoprick; he had some marks of royalty, such as the power of coining money, &c. Since the reformation, he is stiled Primate and Metropolitan of all England: archbishop Cranmer was the first who bore this title. As to precedence, there have been antient contests about it, as also about the oath of canonical obedience, between the two archiepiscopal sees. Some antiquaries will have it, that the archbishop of York was originally primate of the British church; for London never was a Roman colony, or the seat of the Roman emperors, as York was, where both Severus and Constantius Chlorus lived and died, and where Constantine the Great was born; and from hence they infer, that, where the emperors resided, that was the most likely place to have pre-eminence above the rest. However it be, in the reign of Henry I. William Corbel, archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from the pope the character of legate, by which he secured to himself a superiority over the see of York, which he visited *jure legationis*. But after his death, the contest still continued. For we find, that in the reign of Henry II. a synod being called at Westminster by the pope's legate, the archbishop of Canterbury coming first, seated himself at the right hand of the legate; but York, coming afterwards, refused to take the seat on the left hand, and demanded Canterbury's place; which the latter refusing, York sat down in his lap. This occasioned the synod to break up in disorder, and both parties appealing to the pope, the contest was decided in favour of the see of Canterbury, which enjoys the precedence to this day.

The privileges of the archbishop of Canterbury are, among others, to crown the kings of England; to have prelates for his officers; as the bishop of London his provincial dean; the bishop of Winchester his chancellor; the bishop of Lincoln his vice-chancellor; the bishop of Salisbury his precentor; the bishop of Worcester his chaplain; and the bishop of Rochester his cross-bearer; which last office, since the times of Popery, has ceased. He is also the first peer of England, next to the royal family.

The archbishop of Canterbury hath the supreme government of ecclesiastical matters, next under the king. Upon the death of any suffragan bishop, the custody of his see devolves upon the archbishop; he hath a power of censuring any bishop in his province; he hath an antient right to preside in all provincial councils of his suffragans, which formerly were held once a year, but have been discontinued a long time; so that his power of examining things throughout his province is devolved to his courts; of which he holds several, as the court of arches, prerogative-court, court of peculiars, &c. and he has the probate of wills.

As to the archbishop of York, he is now stiled primate and metropolitan of England, and takes place of all peers, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord chancellor. He had originally the primacy, not only over twelve English sees, but likewise over all the bishoprics of Scotland. But Scotland has disowned his prerogative many years since, and the archbishoprick itself



self hath swallowed up several of the smaller and more inconsiderable bishopricks; so that the whole province is now reduced to four sees; Durham, Chester, Carlisle, and Man.

Scotland, whilst episcopacy prevailed in that country, had two archbishops; viz. of St. Andrews and Glasgow; the former of whom was primate of Scotland.

Wales likewise antiently boasted of an archbishop, whose see, as has been observed, was established at Caerleon; and was afterwards translated to St. David's. But the plague raging very much in that country, the archiepiscopal see was again removed to Dôll, in Bretagne; where this dignity ended. Notwithstanding which, in after ages, the Britons, or Welsh, commenced an action, on that account, against the archbishop of Canterbury, but were cast.

Ireland has four archbishops; of Armagh, Dublin, Cassil, and Tuam, of whom the archbishop of Armagh is primate of all Ireland.

The earliest account we have of British bishops, is carried up no higher than the council of Arles, assembled by the emperor Constantine, in the fourth century; at which were present the bishops of London, York, and Caerleon.

Before the Norman conquests, bishops were chosen by the chapters, whether monks or prebendaries. From the conqueror's time to the reign of king John, it was the custom to chuse bishops at a public meeting of the bishops and barons, the king himself being present at the solemnity, who claimed a right of investing the bishops by delivering to them the ring and the pastoral staff. It is true, the popes endeavoured to gain the election of bishops to themselves; and this occasioned great struggles and contests between the Roman pontiffs and our kings. At length, after various disputes between king John and the pope, the former, by his charter A. D. 1215, granted the right of election to the cathedral churches. A statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. settles the election of bishops as follows: "The king, upon the vacancy of the see, was to send his Conge d'eslire to the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, and in case they delayed the election above twelve days, the crown was empowered to nominate the person by letters patent. And, after the bishop thus elected, had taken an oath of fealty to the king, his majesty, by his letters patent under the broad seal, signified the election to the archbishop, with orders to confirm it, and consecrate the elect. And lastly, if the persons assigned to elect and consecrate, deferred the performing their respective offices twenty days, they were to incur a *præmunire*." But a statute of Edward VI. made a change in the manner of electing bishops, and transferred the choice wholly from the deans and chapters to the crown. The preamble in the first place alledges the inconveniences of the former manner of electing, from the circumstances of delay and expence: After which it is said in the preamble, "that the said elections are in very deed no elections, but only by a writ of *conge d'eslire* have colours, shadows, and pretences of election: that they serve to no purpose, and seem derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, to whom only appertains the collation and gift of all archbishopricks and bishopricks, and suf-

fragan bishops, within his highness's dominions." This statute therefore enacts, that "for the future no *conge d'eslire*, shall be granted, nor any election be made by the dean and chapter, but that the archbishoprick or bishoprick shall be conferred by the king's nomination in his letters patent." But this alteration made by the statute of king Edward is no longer in force; and the custom of sending down the *conge d'eslire* is restored.

Upon the vacancy of a bishop's see, the king grants a license, under the great seal, to the dean and chapter, to elect the person, whom by his letters missive he hath appointed; and they are to chuse no other. The dean and chapter, having made their election accordingly, certify it under their common seal to the king, and to the archbishop of the province, and to the bishop thus elected: then the king gives his royal assent, under the great seal, directed to the archbishop, commanding him to confirm and consecrate the bishop thus elected. The archbishop then subscribes his fiat confirmatio, and grants a commission to the vicar general to perform all the acts requisite thereto: who thereupon issues out a summons to all persons, who may object to the election, to appear, &c. which citation is affixed on the door of Bow church. At the time and place appointed, the proctor for the dean and chapter exhibits the royal assent, and the commission of the archbishop, which are both read, and accepted by the vicar general. Then the new bishop is presented by the proctor to the vicar general; and, three proclamations being made for the opposers of the election to appear, and none appearing, the vicar general confirms and ratifies the choice of the person elected; who takes the oaths of supremacy, canonical obedience, and that against simony.

Till this act of confirmation is performed, the bishop elect may be rejected, because there may be reasons assigned why he should not be made a bishop; which is the reason of the above mentioned citations, and proclamations.

After confirmation, the next thing to be done is consecration; which the archbishop performs by the imposition of hands and prayer, according to the form laid down in the Common-Prayer-book. Which done, the bishop is complete as well in relation to spiritualities as temporalities. Justice Doderidge, in his argument of Evans and Ascue's case, says, there is a spiritual marriage between the bishop and his church, which is begun by election, contracted by confirmation, and consummated by consecration.

A bishop of England is a peer of the realm, and, as such, sits and votes in the house of lords. He is a baron in a three-fold manner, viz. Feudal, in regard of the temporalities annexed to his bishoprick; by writ, as being summoned by writ to parliament; and by patent and creation. Accordingly he has the precedence of all other barons, and votes as baron and bishop. But, tho' their peerage never was denied, it has been contested, whether the bishops have a right to vote in criminal matters. This right was disputed as early as the reign of Henry II. and we find this decision of the controversy; archbishops, bishops, &c. in like manner as the rest of the barons, ought to be present at the judgments



ments in the king's courts until it come to diminution of members, or to death. The reason, which the canonists give, why bishops should not be present in cases of blood, is, because they contract an irregularity thereby. Yet archbishop Cranmer, being one of the privy-council to Edward VIth, signed the warrant for the execution of Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral of England. And the archbishop of Canterbury was the first in commission at the trial of Mary, queen of Scots. And, in the earl of Strafford's case, in the reign of Charles Ist, when Williams, archbishop of York, declared his opinion, that the bishops ought not to be present at the passing of the act of attainder, it was looked upon as betraying a fundamental right of the whole order. At present, the bishops have their vote in the trial and arraignment of a peer; but, before sentence of death is passed, they withdraw, and vote by their proxy.

The jurisdiction of a bishop, in England, consists, in collating to benefices; granting institutions on the presentation of other patrons; commanding induction; taking care of the profits of vacant benefices for the use of the successors; visiting his diocese once in three years; in suspending, depriving, degrading, and excommunicating; in granting administrations, and taking care of the probate of wills: these parts of his function depend on the ecclesiastical law. By the common law, he is to certify the judges, touching legitimate and illegitimate births, and marriages. And to his jurisdiction, by the statute law, belongs the licensing of physicians, chirurgeons, school-masters; and the uniting small parishes; which last privilege is now peculiar to the bishop of Norwich.

The bishops courts have this privilege above the civil courts, that writs are issued out from them in the name of the bishop himself, and not in the king's name, as in other courts. The judge of the bishop's court is his chancellor, antiently called *Ecclesiæ Causidicus*, the Church Lawyer.

The bishops of Scotland anciently exercised their episcopal functions wherever they were, there being no distinct dioceses in that kingdom till the reign of Malcolm IIIrd, about the year 1070. Whilst episcopacy prevailed in that kingdom, the form of church government stood thus: In every parish, the cognizance of some offences belonged to the session, a judicature where the minister presided *ex officio*. But, if the case proved too intricate, it was referred to the presbytery, a superior judicature, consisting of a certain number of ministers, between twelve and twenty. The moderator of this assembly was named by the bishop. Above all, was the convocation, in which the archbishop of St Andrews presided. And, besides these, every bishop, for the causes of testaments, &c. had his official or commissary, who was judge of that court within the diocese. The bishops of that kingdom were likewise lords of parliament.

In the reign of Henry IIrd, A. D. 1177, the Scotch bishops and abbots obliged themselves by oath to own the archbishop of York for their metropolitan, and consented that their successors should repair to York for consecration. But,

in the reign of Edward IVth, A. D. 1471, the pope made the church of Scotland independent of the see of York, induced to it by a complaint of bishop Graham, that, when England and Scotland were upon terms of hostility, the Scotch bishops had no opportunity of having recourse to their metropolitan, and bringing appeals to him.

The ecclesiastical government of Ireland hath been from antient time by bishops, consecrated either by the archbishop of Canterbury, or by one another. But in the year 1152, as we find in Philip of Flattebury, "Christianus, bishop of Lisimore, legate of all Ireland, held a famous council at Meath, where were present the bishops, abbots, princes, dukes, and magistrates of Ireland; and there, by authority of the pope, with advice of the cardinals, and consent of the bishops, abbots, and others there met together, four archbishopricks were established in Ireland, Armagh, Dublin, Cassil, and Tuam."

The bishop of the Isle of Man is a baron of the Isle. He has this peculiar privilege, that, if any of his tenants be guilty of a capital crime and is to be tried for his life, the bishop's steward may demand him from the lord's bar, and try him in the bishop's court, by a jury of his own tenants; and, in case of conviction, his lands are forfeited to the bishop. When the bishoprick is vacant, the lord of the isle nominates a person, and presents him to the king of England for his royal assent, and then to the archbishop of York to be consecrated. After which he becomes subject to him as his metropolitan.

The next officer to the bishop in precedency, is the dean, who with great propriety may be called the master of the cathedral, or president of the chapter. His office is just what the deacon's was in the antient church, for his duty is to govern every thing of a domestic nature belonging to the cathedral. He sits as president among the canons and prebendaries. His name is first mentioned in all leases granted by the chapter, and in the king's writs which are directed for the election of a bishop. They are frequently advanced to bishopricks, or at least their office is considered as leading to it.

As there are two foundations of cathedral churches in England, the old and the new, the new erected by king Henry VIII. so there are two ways of creating deans. Those of the old foundation, as the deans of St. Paul's, York, &c. are raised to that dignity, much after the manner of bishops; the king first sending his warrant, the chapter electing, and the king confirming the election. Those of the new foundation, whose deaneries were raised upon the ruins of priories and convents, such as the deans of Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Winchester, &c. are donative, and installed by a shorter course, namely, by the king's letters patent, without any election or confirmation.

There are cathedral churches, which never had a dean, and in which the bishop is head of the chapter, and in his absence, the archdeacon: such are the cathedrals of St. David and Landaff. There are also deans without a chapter; such as the dean of Battle in Suffex: and there are deans without a jurisdiction; as the dean of the chapel royal,



royal, &c. A dean, without a chapter, has a jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical matters, arising in the several parishes within his peculiar. Rural deans, who, originally, exercised jurisdiction over deaneries, and afterwards became only the bishop's substitutes, to grant letters of administration, probate of wills, &c. are now quite laid aside, and their office is lost in that of the archdeacons and chancellors.

A dean and chapter are the bishop's council, to assist him in the affairs of religion, and to assent to every grant, which the bishop shall make to bind his successors; and as a deanery is a spiritual dignity, a man cannot be a dean and prebendary of the same church.

Though ecclesiastical bodies, in cathedrals, are very antient in England, yet it does not appear, that they had any jurisdiction peculiar to themselves during the Saxon times. Sir Edward Coke says, there were chapters, as the bishop's council, before they had distinct possessions, and that the bishops parted with some of their possessions to them, and so became patrons of the prebends of the church.

In the reign of king Charles I. a remonstrance was presented to the parliament, by the Presbyterian party, setting forth the great revenues, and the little use of deans and chapters. And, the same year, so fatal to episcopacy and the hierarchy, the commons voted, that all deans, deans and chapters, prebendaries, canons, &c. should be abolished, and their lands employed to the advancement of learning and piety.

The next officer in the church of England is, the archdeacon, and he may be called the bishop's vicar, or substitute, as he acts great part of what was the duty of the bishops formerly; and though archdeacons, in these last ages of the church, have usually been of the order of presbyters, or priests, yet antiently they were no more than deacons; as the name imports. But how the archdeacon came by his honour, and after what manner he was invested, is a matter of some dispute among learned men. Salmatius, and some others, are of opinion, that originally he was no more than the senior deacon. Others think, the dignity was always elective, and in the breast of the bishop: and St. Jerome plainly asserts, that the office went not by seniority, but by election.

The office of archdeacon was always a place of great honour and reputation; for he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; by which means he commonly gained such an interest, as to get himself chosen, before the presbyters, to succeed the bishop. His business was, 1. To attend the bishop at the altar, and to administer the cup, when the bishop celebrated the eucharist. He was to order all things relating to the inferior clergy, such as to appoint readers, acolythists, sub-deacons, &c. 2. He was to assist the bishop in managing the church revenues, assigning their several portions to the poor, orphans, &c. Upon which account, Prudentius, describing the offices of St. Laurence, whom he makes to be archdeacon of Rome, among other things, assigns him the keys of the church's treasure, and the care of dispensing the oblations of the people: and he introduces the Heathen persecutor demanding of him those treasures; which

he promising to do, in a short time brought before him the poor, the lame, the blind, and the infirm, telling him, those were the riches, which he had in his custody. 3. Another part of his office was to assist the bishop in preaching, and in ordaining the inferior clergy. 4. He was also invested with the power of censuring deacons, and the inferior clergy, but not presbyters. 5. As to his jurisdiction, it will admit of a dispute, whether it originally extended over the whole diocese, or was confined to the city or mother-church. In the middle ages of the church, there is no question but his power extended over the whole diocese. 6. Valefius observes, that the archdeacons were likewise called *Cor-Episcopi*. This may seem at first only a corruption of the *Chorepiscopus*, because, in latter ages, the power of the antient *Chorepiscopi* dwindled into that of the archdeacons. But when it is considered, that the deacons antiently were called the bishop's eyes, ears, mouth, or heart, it will appear very probable, that the archdeacon was called, by way of eminence, *Cor-episcopi*, i. e. the bishop's heart.

How long this office has existed in England, cannot well be known; but probably long before the Norman conquest. At present there are sixty of them, because some bishopricks being large, it is necessary there should be in them more than one. The office is not altogether a sinecure, but it is not much unlike it, and sometimes we find the bishop of a diocese acting the part of archdeacon in another. It does not prevent them from holding other livings, even at present, nor is a dispensation necessary. Some of them have been advanced to bishopricks, without having any other dignity in the church; and at present they are to summon the clergy to meet them at some particular place, where they hear a sermon, and deliver a charge. On these occasions, a free gift is bestowed upon the archdeacon, and he makes presentation either to the bishop or the spiritual court, of every thing he finds amiss. It is his duty to examine candidates for the ministry. This part of his duty, however, generally devolves on the bishop's chaplains.

The rectors and vicars of parishes are the next to be considered. The rectors are those who have the whole emoluments of the livings without any deductions. On the other hand, the vicars are such as whose livings were either subject to cathedrals, or to religious convents. Many of both are presented by the king, and others by the lords of manors. By the constitution of the church of England, no clergyman, who is an incumbent, and has the tithes, is obliged to preach more than one sermon on Sunday; but prayers are to be read in the afternoon. This was the reason why a new order of the clergy took place about the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and these were called *Lecturers*. They were at that time mostly composed of Puritan ministers, who scrupled to read the prayers, on account of the ceremonies. They were men of sour tempers, full of austerity, excessively proud, and continually abusing such of the bishops as were fond of the ceremonies. Their followers were among the lower ranks of the people, over whom they exercised an unlimited power. Many



of the ladies, however, were their adherents, and the noblemen, disaffected to government, took them into their families as tutors to their children.

When Dr. Laud was advanced to the see of Canterbury, he resolved to change many things in the Protestant church of England, and he began with putting an end to the lectureships. Nothing could have been more iniquitous, for the people paid for the lecturer, who was not provided for them by law.

At the restoration, 1660, lectureships were restored, and they have continued on the same footing ever since. And here it is necessary to observe, that as these lecturers are paid by the people of the parish, so their choice or election falls on the housekeepers in general. They have no right to demand any thing; but we hope there are few men of piety, whether churchmen or Dissenters, who will refuse them so small a pittance, especially as they discharge their duty, trusting in the benevolence of the parish.

There is one complaint frequently made by the parishioners against the ministers of their parishes, and that is, that although they pay their lecturers, yet the incumbent can at any time refuse him the pulpit. That the incumbent has a right to do so by law, cannot be disputed; but it has been considered as extremely hard, by several well meaning pious men, that as the law has made no provision for sermons in the afternoon, so when the people are willing to pay a preacher, it is rather cruel to hinder them.

It is undoubtedly the duty of the rector of every parish to deny his pulpit to a man of a scandalous life, whose character has been blackened by the most enormous crimes; but we really believe, the people seldom, if ever, chuse such persons, but quite the reverse. Some small differences in sentiments should not induce the minister of a parish to disoblige his people; for in such cases he will be but little esteemed by them; and if preachers are not esteemed, their public ministrations will have but little effect on the hearers. We cannot comprehend every thing, but in all religious disputes, we ought to take care that the people may not be confused in their notions, because confusion in these matters generally leads them to Deism.

The last order of the clergy, and such as have no benefices annexed to their titles, are the chaplains, and these by statute, 21 Henry VIII. are to be kept by particular persons. The act, however, contracts the number in the following manner: An archbishop is allowed to have, eight; a duke, six; a dutchess, two, besides the six her husband has, and she has a right to retain two after she is a widow, and although she should marry again; a marquis is allowed, five; and an earl the same number; the lord Almoner, two; a viscount, four; a baron, three; the widows of viscounts and barons, two each; a bishop, three; the chancellor, six; chief justice, one; clerk of the closet, two; master of the rolls, two; comptroller of the household, two; dean of the chapel, two; a knight of the garter, three; secretary of state, two; treasurer of the household, two; and the wardens of the cinque

ports, one. By 25 of Henry VIII. every judge of the king's-bench, and common-pleas, the chief baron of the exchequer, the king's attorney and solicitor-general, is permitted to retain one chaplain, who shall be attendant on his person, and may have one benefice without being resident on it. And by statute 33 of the same king, the groom of the stole, the treasurer of the king's chamber, and the chancellor of the dutchy, are allowed to retain one chaplain each.

Before we conclude this account of the church of England, it is necessary we should say a few words concerning the convocation; for altho' that court has never been permitted to do any business during the last sixty years, yet it still meets on the second day of every session of parliament. It is an assembly of the clergy of England, by their representatives, to consult of ecclesiastical matters, and consists, like parliament, of an upper and lower house. In the upper-house, all the archbishops and bishops sit, and in the lower, the inferior clergy, who are represented by their proctors; consisting of all the deans and archdeacons, of one proctor for every chapter, and two for the clergy of every diocese, in all one hundred and forty-three divines, viz. Twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four prebends, and forty-four proctors of the diocesan clergy. The lower-house chuses its prolocutor or speaker, and presents him to the archbishops and bishops of the upper-house. His business is to take care that the members attend, to collect their debates and votes, and to carry their resolutions to the upper-house.

The lower house of convocation was formerly called together by two distinct writs. The first was the parliamentary, or king's-writ, to the bishops of every diocese, summoning them to parliament, with a clause in it, requiring each chapter to send one of their body, and the clergy of each diocese two proctors, to represent them in parliament; and whence some have been of opinion, that the clergy sat, together with the laity, in parliament, till the reign of Henry VIII, when they fell under a præmunire, by submitting to Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, and forfeited their seats there. It is certain, the lower house of convocation, in the next reign, apprehended they had a right to sit in parliament, and therefore petitioned the upper house, to intercede with the king and protector, that they might be restored to the same. This was again attempted in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and in that of king James I; but still without success.

The second writ, by which the clergy were assembled together, was called the provincial writ. By the first writ, they were a meer state convention, and not a church synod; and the intent of their meeting was, to consult about their civil rights, and to grant a portion of their estates towards the support of the government. But, the clergy not looking upon themselves as obliged to obey this lay-summons, archbishop Winchelsea prevailed with king Edward II. to discharge them from it: and from that time, when the king issued his parliamentary writ to the bishops, he sent another to the archbishop, to summon all his provincial bishops to the convocation.



tion. This second writ was to secure their obedience to the former, and to make the assembly more canonical, as meeting by virtue of a summons from their archbishop. This writ is now ordered by the lord chancellor, and transmitted by him to the archbishop of Canterbury, who issues thereupon his mandate to the bishop of London, as dean of his province.

The clergy, assembled in convocation, had the power of giving away their own money, and taxing themselves; a power, which they continued to exercise from the reformation till the 15th year of Charles II; from which time they receded from that customary right, and were for that reason discharged from two of the four subsidies given by themselves, and then in arrear: and it was for this reason, that from the time before-mentioned the rectors and vicars, who were to be taxed for their spiritual preferments, were allowed to vote in elections for knights of the shire, that they might still be virtually taxed by themselves.

The power of the convocation is limited by a statute of king Henry VIII. They are not to make any canons, or ecclesiastical laws, without the king's license, nor, when permitted to make any, can they put them in execution, but under these restrictions.

1. Such canons must not be contrary to the king's prerogative.

2. They must not contradict any statute, or the common law.

3. Nor must they alter any known custom of the realm.

They have the examining and censuring all heretical and schismatical books, persons, &c. but there lies an appeal to the king in chancery, or to his delegates. The clergy in convocation, and their servants, have the same privileges as members of parliament.

The reason why the convocation is not permitted to sit, was originally owing to the unhappy disputes, that began after the revolution, between the high-church party and those who favoured moderation. In the latter end of queen Anne's reign, these disputes were not only carried on with an unbecoming heat, but some of the disputants went almost stark mad. Mr. Dodwell wrote a book, to prove that the human soul is mortal, but becomes immortal by baptism; so as the ceremony is performed by those ministers, who have received episcopal ordination. This book was levelled against the Dissenters, but it was answered by the churchmen. Dr. Atterbury attempted to prove that the convocation had a power equal to that of the parliament, but he was learnedly answered by Nicholson, bishop of Carlisle. And Dr. Sacheverell did not content himself with giving all the Dissenters to the devil, he actually called all those of his own brethren hypocrites, who were not equally violent with himself. The whole nation was in a flame, the people were driven to a state of religious insanity, the Dissenters had their meetings pulled down, and the moderate part of the clergy were in danger of sharing the same fate. This occasioned the making the riot act, and such was the madness of the people, that a club of high churchmen in a public-house, went to another public-house in Salisbury-court, where there was a club of low-

church, or moderate men, and pulled the house down to the ground. For this offence, some of the rioters suffered death, and of course their families were ruined.

The learned Dr. Hoadly represented to his majesty George I. that such tumults would never cease while the convocation was permitted to do business, because their disputes tended to inflame the minds of the people. These things having been taken into consideration, it was resolved on in council, that the convocation should still be summoned to meet, but on the day of their meeting they should be adjourned. We have been the more explicit concerning these matters, because we could wish the reader to know as much as possible.

The last thing to be treated of is, the discipline of the church of England, or the means by which good order is kept up and delinquents punished.

In all civil establishments of religion, there must be a power lodged somewhere, and in general this is vested in the clergy, except in the church of England, where the proceedings against offenders are carried on, in what is called the bishops or spiritual court. The proceedings in these courts are carried on by the bishop's chancellor, who is generally a doctor of the civil law; but if he happens to be a clergyman, he gets another to act for him, who is called his official. Adultery, blasphemy, refusing to pay tithes, traducing the characters of their neighbours, together with many other gross immoralities, are cognizable in this court.

The proceedings begin by citation, which issues from the court, and is delivered by an officer, called Aparitor. If the person who receives the summons, treats the order with contempt, then he is liable to be excommunicated, and he can be arrested for the plaintiff's costs. And even supposing he should be able to pay the bill of costs, yet he cannot get admitted into the church again without doing penance. Excommunicated persons are much in the same condition as if they had been proscribed. They cannot have their children baptized; they cannot be admitted to the communion; they cannot sue in any action in law, so as to obtain property; they cannot be admitted to swear as evidences in a court of justice; they cannot marry; and, in a word, the sentence is dreadful, for it even denies the excommunicated person the common rites of Christian burial. The proceedings in these courts are very expensive, and it is dangerous to be concerned in them; but they are calculated to teach people not to offend.

The public examination of the children is a necessary part of the discipline of the church of England, and it is much to be wished that it was more attended to than it is.

The catechism of the church of England is drawn up, after the primitive manner, by way of question and answer. Originally it consisted of no more than a repetition of the baptismal vow, the creed, and the Lord's prayer: but king James I. ordered the bishops to add to it a short and plain explanation of the sacraments; which was accordingly performed by bishop Overal, then dean of St. Paul's, and approved by the rest of the bishops.

This



This catechism is universally allowed to comprehend a summary of the Christian doctrine; it being so short, that the youngest children may fix it in their memory, and yet so full, that it contains all things necessary to be known and practised in order to salvation.

The times appointed for catechizing are Sundays and holidays. By the first book of king Edward VI. it was not required to be done above once in six weeks. But, upon Bucer's objecting to the interval of time as too long, the rubric was altered, but expressed notwithstanding in indefinite terms, leaving it to be done as often as occasion requires. Indeed, the fifty-ninth canon enjoins every parson, vicar, or curate, upon every Sunday and holiday, to teach and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish, in the catechism set forth in the book of Common-Prayer; and that under pain of a sharp reproof for the first omission, suspension for the second, and excommunication for the third.

In the other parts of the discipline of the church of England, the minister is obliged to visit the sick, and to baptize such children as are in danger of dying without the benefit of that ceremony. In refusing to perform any of these ceremonies, he is liable to be informed against in the spiritual court, and may be suspended from his living by the bishop. It is, however, not a very easy matter to proceed against clergymen in these matters, and perhaps the fewer disputes take place between the ministers and the parishioners the better. This should always be attended to, that no offence be taken against religion. Clergymen are not to enjoy any more benefices with cure of souls than one, unless they obtain a second by a dispensation from the lord chancellor. However, they may, at the same time, enjoy sinecures in cathedrals.

The holding pluralities of livings has been much complained of, as inconsistent with the institution of the Christian church, and much has been written on the subject by Dr. Newton on the one hand, and Mr. Wharton on the other. It is certain, that it was not known till the middle ages of Christianity. England is the only Protestant country where it is permitted, and non-residence has been a continual bane of contention. The late Bp. Burnet, in his charge to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury, mentioned an expression made use of by one of the ancient fathers, when a young man came to be or-

clained, and who wanted to hold two livings; the good bishop asked him how he was to discharge the duty of both? He answered, he would do the duty of one himself, and the other could be done by a substitute. "Yes, answered the bishop, you may get the duty done by a substitute, but you will be damned in person." This had such an effect on Mr. Kelsey, a pious clergyman, that he gave up one of the two livings he enjoyed, and Dr. Burnet had so much regard for him on that account, that he made him his archdeacon, in order to set an example to the rest of his brethren.

In all these matters of dispute, we shall not concern ourselves; because, where there is such a general toleration as we enjoy, there can be but little room to complain. There is not a Protestant church in the world, but what will own its imperfections. If this was not the case, then we might, like the Roman Catholics, pretend to the belief of infallibility, a notion which we utterly disclaim.

Upon the whole, no Protestant church has produced greater scholars, better writers, or more pious Christians, than that of England; and where the means of grace are to be found, it is our fault if we do not use them in a proper manner. However the rigour of the ecclesiastical law may appear to some, yet the innocent need not be afraid of it; and as for non-residents in parishes, if they are culpable of a fault, the people are no losers in general thereby, because they generally find substitutes or curates, who perform the duty for the hearers. Thus, where there is no loss, there should be no complaint, and this should reconcile us to all those circumstances, which sometimes create diversity of opinions. The members of the church of England live in peace with those who differ from them in religious sentiments, leaving every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. They are not led away by those prejudices, which took place in former times; they consider their Protestant brethren travelling to heaven as well as themselves, and therefore they are much to be honoured. Long may true religion flourish among them; may their ministers become an ornament to their profession, and the people an honour to the gospel; and, to use the words of the apostle, "Let every one who nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."



# The HISTORY of CALVINISM.

THE next religious profession in order among Protestants, is that of Calvinism, established first at the little Republic of Geneva, afterwards in several of the Cantons of Switzerland; and professed by almost one half of the people in France, before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, 1685. In 1560, it was established in Scotland, as will be mentioned afterwards, and it is now the national religion of the Seven United Provinces; and throughout most of the American provinces this system is professed.

In giving an account of this religion, we shall be extremely impartial, and shall point out how far the public profession of Calvinism differs in one place from another, beginning with the life of its illustrious founder.

John Calvin was born at Soissons, a city of France, June 6th, 1509. His father's name was Gerrard Calvin, who gave his son a liberal education.

From the grammar-school, he sent him to Paris, and placed him with Maturinus Cordarius, a man well esteemed both for probity and learning.

His father, from the beginning, designed him for the study of divinity, which he judged him to be much inclined to, being religiously addicted from his childhood. He procured a benefice of the bishop for him, in Soissons, in which place John, before his ordination, preached divers sermons to the people. But this purpose of his was afterwards altered; for his father, seeing the study of the law was the surer step to riches and honour, altered his mind, and his son, growing into acquaintance with a certain kinsman of his, was by him instructed in the true religion, whereupon he applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures, and began to abominate the superstitious services in the Popish church.

Whilst he was employed in these studies, he neglected not that of divinity, so that he preached divers sermons in a neighbouring town. But, whilst he was thus busied, news came to him of his father's death, which called him back into his own country. Having settled his affairs there, he went to Paris, being now about twenty-four years old. After a few months stay at Paris, he grew acquainted with all that professed the reformed religion; and amongst the rest, with Stephen Forgeus, a famous merchant, who afterwards sealed the truth with his blood.

From henceforward, at the earnest request of all those that held their private meetings in Paris, he laid aside all other studies, and wholly applied himself to that of divinity. At this time Nicholas Cope was rector of the university at Paris; who, being to make an oration on All-saints day, at the instigation of John Calvin, spake of religion more purely and clearly than he used to do. This the parliament of Paris was angry at, inasmuch that they cited him before them; but,

as he went, some of his friends advised him to take heed of his adversaries; whereupon he returned home, and immediately after left France and went to Basil.

The officers, sent by the parliament, searching for Cope, went into Calvin's house, who, by chance, not being at home, they ransacked his study, and amongst his papers, found many of his friends letters, which had like to have endangered the lives of many. But it pleased God to divert that storm, by the prudent and pious diligence of the queen of Navarre, the only sister of king Francis, a woman of admirable wit, and exceedingly tender of the professors of the reformed religion. She also sent for Mr. Calvin to her court, used him very hospitably, and heard him gladly. But, Mr. Calvin finding Paris too hot for his abode, went to Xantonge, where, sojourning with a friend, at his request, he drew up short admonitions, which were dispersed amongst certain priests, to be taught to their people, that so they might, by little and little, be drawn to search out the truth.

About the same time, observing that there were many in France that knew, and were convinced of the truth, and yet indulged themselves as if it were enough that they reserved their hearts for Christ, though they were present at the Popish services, he published two elegant epistles: one, to exhort the flying idolatry; the other, on the Popish priesthood. But whilst he, Calvin, was thus employed, he met with grievous seditions at home.

The gospel indeed was entertained, and Popery abjured in Geneva; but many were not reformed from the profane and scandalous courses which they had learned of the Popish clergy; and the antient feuds amongst the chief families were not yet laid aside. These, at first, were gently admonished, and, when that prevailed not, more sharply reprehended; and, when yet they continued stubborn, and the city, by the factions of private persons, was divided into parties, Farrel, Calvin, and Carodus, openly professed that they could by no means administer the Lord's supper to persons who were at such enmity amongst themselves.

Upon this occasion, the Syndics, which were chosen for that year at Geneva, who, for the time, are the chief magistrates, assembling, the captains of the seditious persons so far prevailed, that these three worthy servants of Christ were commanded, within two days, to depart the city. When this decree was brought to Calvin, he said: "Truly, if I had served men, I should have had but an ill reward; but it is well that I have served him who doth always perform to his servants what he hath once promised."

Calvin went to Basil, and thence to Strasbourg; where, by the desire of the senate, he was made professor of divinity, which place he discharged with great applause of learned men; and by the



consent of the senate, planted the French church there, and settled discipline in it. Calvin settled in another place, and a new church was erected.

At this time, cardinal Sadolet, a man of great eloquence, seeing the flock deprived of such able and vigilant shepherds, thought it a fit time to ensnare them; for which end he wrote letters, directed to his dear friends, as he called them, the senate, council, and people of Geneva, in which he omitted no arguments, whereby he might persuade them to return into the bosom of the Romish church. There was no man in Geneva that would undertake to answer him; so that probably these letters would have done much mischief, but that they were written in a foreign language. But when Calvin had read them; forgetting all the wrongs which had been done him, he returned an answer so speedily and eloquently, that the cardinal, despairing of accomplishing his end, wholly gave over his design.

Mr. Calvin continued at Strasbourg to the year 1541. in which the emperor Charles V. assembled two diets, the one at Worms, the other at Ratisbon, for composing the differences about religion: at both which Mr. Calvin was present, to the great advantage of the churches, and where he was most lovingly entertained by Philip Melancthon, and Gaspar Cruciger. He also had much private conference with them about the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and they could not but approve of his opinion therein. The city of Geneva began to call for Farrell and Calvin; but when, by no means, they could recover Farrell, they used all their endeavours to procure Calvin; and for that end, sent ambassadors to Strasbourg. The senate of Strasbourg were exceedingly unwilling to hearken to it; and Calvin himself, abhorring to enter into new troubles, and finding great success attended his ministry at Strasbourg, did absolutely refuse to return. Besides, Bucer, and the other pastors, did profess their great unwillingness to part with him.

But the Genevians still pressing hard for him, Bucer at last thought their requests should be condescended to. This falling out just at the time when Calvin, with Bucer, was going to the diet at Ratisbon, his return was delayed for a time; when they chose Peter Viret: and, indeed, this made Mr. Calvin far more willing to return, when he saw that he was to have such a colleague.

Mr. Calvin went to Geneva, September the 13th 1541, being singularly welcomed by the people, and especially by the senate, who acknowledged the wonderful mercy of God towards them, in restoring him to them. And whereas the senate of Strasbourg had decreed, that, after a time, he should return to them again; that of Geneva would never give it over, till they had reversed that decree, which at last, was yielded to by those of Strasbourg, yet with this proviso, that the pension, which they had settled upon him, should still be continued to him. But Mr. Calvin could never be persuaded to receive it, caring for nothing less than for riches. Mr. Calvin, being thus restored to his church, and perceiving that the city needed such bridles, he

professed that he could not comfortably exercise his ministry amongst them, except, together with the doctrine of the gospel, they would embrace the Presbyterian government, for the well regulating of the church. Hereupon elders were chosen, and a model of government was drawn up.

His ordinary labours were these: every other sabbath he preached twice; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, he read his divinity lectures: every Thursday he assisted in the consistory for the ecclesiastical discipline. On Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing hard places of the scriptures; answered many adversaries to the truth; wrote many letters to sundry places. So that we have cause to wonder how it was possible for one man to undergo so many businesses.

Besides his forementioned labours, he had also the charge and business of a family, and many foreign employments; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the Christian world, he was sought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly, to hear him preach: so that, at the same time, there was an Italian church, an English church, and a Spanish church, and the city seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

In 1542, Mr. Calvin met with many afflictions, some at home, but especially by the fury of the adversaries of the truth abroad in France and Italy, whence they drove away many professors of the gospel, for the comfort of whom he laid himself out exceedingly, writing many encouraging letters every way, both to those that were escaped, and to those that yet remained in the lion's jaws.

In 1545, was that abominable and cruel edict which the parliament of Aquitaine set forth against the poor Waldenses of Merindol, Cabriers, and those parts; whereby unheard-of cruelties were exercised, not against some few, but against all of them, without any distinction of age or sex.

Some of those that escaped, flying to Geneva, Calvin was the more afflicted for them, and careful of them, because, a little before, he had written consolatory letters to them, and sent them faithful pastors, and had also, where they were in danger before, preserved them by his intercession to the German princes.

In 1546, one of the senators, in a public assembly of the people, blamed Calvin as one that taught false doctrine, suborned, as was supposed, by two of the college of pastors, both of them being drunkards, and, therefore, fearing the severity of the laws. But Mr. Calvin made little account of this. Yet the man who accused him was called before the senate, and, his cause being heard, was condemned for slander; and those two drunken ministers, who had set him on, were removed out of their places.

The year 1547 proved far worse; indeed, that age saw not a more calamitous time than it was: the churches of Germany seemed to be utterly subverted, the Protestant princes taken, and cities yielding up themselves after so great labours used, and so great difficulties passed through, in planting the gospel amongst them. With what grief Mr. Calvin was afflicted for the desolations



desolations of the churches, is not easy to express, especially, if we consider that great affection which he bore to them, though far remote from him, which indeed was no other than if he had supported them all upon his shoulders. Indeed, he was wonderfully grieved when he heard of those holy men, his worthy friends Philip Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, &c. in so great danger, that they seemed nearer death than life.

In the midst of these contentions, the church of Geneva did wonderfully increase and Mr. Calvin was very solicitous to entertain and provide for such as were banished for the name of Christ. In the year 1550, the church of Christ enjoyed peace, and then it was decreed in Geneva, that the ministers, not only in their sermons, which many neglected, and others heard with small profit, but, from house to house, should divide the city amongst them, and require of every family an account of their faith; by which means it is scarce credible what benefit accrued to the people.

At this time a grievous persecution rising at Paris, it was a great concern to Mr. Calvin; many being taken when they were assembled in St. James's-Street, for the celebration of the Lord's supper, being about eighty in number, the rest escaping by the benefit of the night; who, the next morning, were led to prison, loaded with scorns and reproaches, though some of them were noble women of good account.

There were also some false witnesses furnished against them, when the credulous multitude were too apt to believe; there were, therefore, seven of them brought forth to be burned, amongst whom there was a noble woman, who, with six others, shewed admirable patience; and whereas they were accused of promiscuous whoredoms at their meetings, a learned man, who had lately been their pastor, easily confuted those lies; and the German princes, interceding in their behalf, which Mr. Calvin procured with admirable celerity, the tempest was, in a good measure, blown over.

A. D. 1559, was famous for the league entered into between the two most potent kings of Spain and France, strengthened by affinity betwixt them, which was likely to prove fatal to Geneva. In the mean time Calvin, though sickly, laboured hard, comforting the afflicted churches; as also by his frequent and fervent prayers, craving help of God. Whilst all things were full of terror, the king of France, in the great marriage-solemnity which was made for the confirmation of the peace, in his running at tilt, received his death wound, and that by the hand of the captain of his guard, by whom, a little before, he had apprehended and imprisoned several senators.

At this time the Bohemians sent two of their brethren to Calvin, to desire his judgement about some matters of religion, whom he lovingly satisfied, exhorting them also that they would enter into a nearer conjunction with other reformed churches. At the same time also, queen Mary being dead, and queen Elizabeth succeeding, many of the French relying upon her piety and

humanity, fled for refuge into England, with the consent of that reverend divine Edmund Grindal, bishop of London; and craved leave of her, that one might be sent from Geneva, to plant a French church there.

Towards the latter end of this year, king Francis, of France, died suddenly, and that in such a juncture of time, when all things seemed desperate. King Charles IX. a child, was scarce entered on his reign, when, by a herald, letters, subscribed with his name, were brought to Geneva, wherein he complained that many were sent from thence, who infected his kingdom, desiring that they might be presently called back; threatening, that otherwise he would revenge the injury.

Calvin, being hereupon sent for by the senate, answered in his own, and in his colleagues names, that, at the request of the churches of France, they had exhorted certain men who were found in the faith, and of a holy life, that they should not be wanting to lend their help to their country in so holy a cause; and that this they had done, not to disturb the kingdom, but that the people might be taught the gospel of peace; and, if they were accused for any thing further than this, they were ready to answer their accusers before the king: so this business went no further.

In the year 1562, God gave peace and liberty to the French churches, by a public edict of the kings: but not long after the king of Navarre, presently after the duke of Guise had committed that abominable massacre at Vassy, began a civil war, which continued many years after, to the miserable devastation of France. It cannot be spoken how much Calvin was afflicted therewith, which so far increased his disease, that it was easy to divine, that it would not be long before he would be translated to a better life; yet did he not desist from exhorting and comforting every one, nor from preaching and reading his ordinary lectures.

In this manner Calvin continued to practise the duties of his function, till he sunk under a variety of infirmities, and at last died on the third day of June, 1563, much beloved by the people of Geneva, and much esteemed by all the Protestant churches.

His works are numerous, and amongst them is a commentary on the bible, written in elegant Latin. But those which chiefly demand our notice, are, his institutions of the Christian religion. Calvin had been brought up to the study of the civil law of the Romans, and therefore he considered, or imagined, that every science should be reduced to a system. Thus he drew up his famous institutions of the Christian religion, on the same plan as that laid down by the emperor Justinian, and followed by all the Civilians. It is certain, that systematical learning gives people a clearer notion of the truth, than any other methods that can be made use of; but still it is equally certain, that systems may be too slavishly attended to. If systems are considered as mere matter of speculation, and not imposed as absolutely binding on the conscience, they may be innocent enough; but when they are imposed as the real sense of the word of God,



God, they sometimes wound the tender conscience, and lay a stumbling block before the weak and well meaning.

It is acknowledged by Bp. Burnet, Mr. Brandt, and other writers, that all the Protestant reformers embraced the same notions with St. Austin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa. That Luther did so, appears evident from his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; and that the English reformers were of the same opinion, appears from perusing the thirty-nine articles. Calvin, however, was the first person who reduced the sentiments of St. Austin into a system, and those who will read his works in a dispassionate manner, will find that he has done justice to that celebrated father. That Austin was opposed by all the Greek fathers in his time, is certain, but this does not concern us at present. All we have to do, is to point out those grand distinguishing marks by which the doctrine of St. Austin is known, and the systematical manner, into which it was reduced by Calvin, and, in some measure, though not in every thing, still adhered to by those people called Calvinists.

And, first, they assert that God made all things in a state of perfection, and entered into a covenant with our first parents, that they should enjoy eternal life, in consequence of their obedience to the law, which he had prescribed as the rule of their conduct: That had they continued to obey this law, they would have become immortal as the angels, and death could have had no dominion over them. But should they transgress this law, then they were to be subject to all the miseries of this life; to death itself, both temporal and eternal. That in consequence of our first parents disobeying this command, the Divine malediction was to descend to all their posterity, and the earth was to be cursed for their sake. That is, they were not to receive those instantaneous productions which the garden of Eden afforded, but they were to labour hard in order to procure a subsistence.

Secondly, that our first parents did forfeit the Divine favour, by eating the forbidden fruit, and having been declared guilty by the Almighty Lord God of Providence and Grace, they were excluded from his favour, and all their descendants were involved in the general dreadful calamity. This fall of our first parents, not only involved us in their guilt, but in the ordinary way of generation, conveyed to us a natural propensity to evil. All the faculties of the human soul were disordered, that glorious fabric which God had erected after his own image, was in a manner reduced to a heap of ruins, and man, who had come pure from the hands of his maker, became, by the domineering slavery of his passions, like one of the beasts that perish. This was the origin of evil (we speak in the words of the Calvinists) and from that dreadful period, there has been little but sin in the world. All the evils that have taken place, have been caused by the fall of man; he has become obnoxious to his maker, and the beasts of the field, over which he was made the universal Lord, are now become his enemies; when he fell he was without hope, because he knew the eternal mandate

would hold good, for God is the fountain of truth and cannot lie.

Thirdly, it was asserted by St. Austin, and embraced by Calvin, that no man had it in his power to turn to God when he pleased, but that he must wait for the operation of efficacious grace. This sentiment has occasioned much controversy; and although there are some expressions in the apostolical epistles that give countenance to it, yet they should be read with much caution. Our notion of God should always be founded on the principles of moral rectitude; but here we are led into an amazing difficulty, when we come to consider what moral rectitude is. Human nature objects, that it is inconsistent with the Divine attributes, to exact obedience from the man who has it not in his power to perform it, and those feelings peculiar to men as rational beings, teach them, that the merciful Lord of the universe, cannot act the part of a tyrant.

On the other hand, it asserted, that God has a right to dispose of his creatures in what manner he thinks proper, and that he may exact obedience without giving any reason for so doing. And here the words of the prophet Isaiah are brought in to support the sentiment. "My ways are not as your ways, nor my thoughts as your thoughts." It is certain, that omnipotence cannot be limited, and it is blasphemy in men to set bounds to the Divine perfections. Our Lord says, "Ask and it shall be given you, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And again the prophet Isaiah says, "Let the sinner forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord who will have mercy, and our God who will abundantly pardon." In these, and in many other expressions in the sacred scriptures, there seems to be no privation of the will implied. There are, however, objections against this, in support of the original sentiment.

Thus it is said, that "No man can come unto me, except the father which sent me draw him." In our humble opinion (for we will not dictate to any one) these words do not refer to the privation of the human will, but they seem to be an allusion to those words of the prophet, "I will allure them into the wilderness, and there will I speak comfortably to them." The alluring goodness of God, leads men to repentance; for what disobedient son would not obey his father if he was to treat him with tenderness? It is said several times in scripture, "None ever sought God in vain," and therefore let every one make a proper use of those powers given them, and then most certainly God will command his blessing.

The next article in the systematical plan of Calvinism, which deserves our notice, is that of predestination. Like the article concerning the freedom of the human will, it has been much animadverted on, and perhaps little understood. We cannot, under the present head, take notice of it in its utmost point of view, being obliged to confine ourselves to the sense in which St. Austin broached it, and how it was retained by Calvin.

We are certain, that the sacred scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, give some  
 fore



fort of countenance to the doctrine of predestination; but the grand question is, does this predestination apply to individuals, or is it only the ordinance of God at large? It has been contended that it should be taken in the former sense, and the sentiment has been founded and supported on the following principle.

“God looking down upon the human race, saw that all mankind would be disobedient to his commands, and therefore he fixed what should be their inevitable fate. He ordered it so, that these people should never be able to make a proper use of the means of grace, so as to lead them to eternal happiness; or at least these means should not be conveyed to them in an efficacious manner. And yet, at the same time, it was asserted, that the clergy should teach the people to comply with the plan laid down in the gospel, without considering that at the same time they were denied the exercise of the freedom of the human will.” Calvin seems to have considered the doctrine in the following light.

He believed that God had fixed an eternal purpose to save some part of the human race, and to reject the others; but as that was a secret which no human being could know, consequently it was the duty of ministers to exhort all their people alike. This last sentiment is much favoured by several expressions in the sacred scriptures, and particularly in the New Testament, and probably it is in consequence thereof, that some of the genuine Calvinists exhort their people to duties, without prying into the divine decrees. That God knows what shall happen to his creatures in this world, cannot be denied; but that he lays an impulse upon their wills, has been disputed. We do not chuse to enter into this controversy, for we are certain, that there is enough in the sacred scriptures to give satisfaction to every humble enquirer, and make men wise unto salvation.

It must be acknowledged, that the Divine Being sees all that passes in the course of this life, and has it, as it were all before him, from the beginning of time, till the commencement of eternity. To deprive God of prescience, is to rob him of one of his attributes; but then we may believe that God knows, without saying that he lays a restraint on our rational powers. Dr. Edwards of New Jersey has written with great judgement on this subject, and such was the effect of his treatise, that it induced lord Kaimes to alter the second edition of his discourses on religion and morality. But no writer we know of ever came up to the learned lord Stair.

That nobleman, who had seen much of the world, and served the crown fifty years, in one of his meditations, says, “That to believe in the prescience, or foreknowledge of God, is the same thing as to believe in predestination; for if God foresees what will happen and does not change it, then the effect is the same as if he had appointed it.” And he adds, that there is a comfort in believing a doctrine which sets the omnipotence of God in such a grand point of view. “Did my gracious God (says his lordship) create me and send me into this world? Did he bring me under the light, and within the sound of the everlasting gospel? Did he give me power to embrace that

gospel? And will he suffer me to perish? No: I will say with Luther, I can trust my soul with God.”

The next article in Calvinism, and that which distinguishes it from Arminianism, is particular redemption. That is, that Christ died to save only a select number of the human race. This naturally follows the doctrine of absolute predestination; for if God has appointed that a certain number of the human race shall be saved, and no others, consequently Christ could only have died for that number, and the efficacy of his death could not reach any farther.

The nature of this work leads us into the necessity of taking notice of every disputed point in religion; but still we could wish the reader to judge for himself. That Calvin taught that there was such a thing as particular redemption, cannot be denied; for this is plain throughout the whole of his institutions. And yet this celebrated reformer seems to have thought otherwise at some times; for in his commentary on the parable of the king's making a marriage feast for his son, he says, that the man who had not the wedding garment was condemned by the evidence of his own conscience, because he might have had it if he chose; and this may serve to shew, that men had a power to comply with the terms offered in the gospel. Thus we find how difficult it is to keep to the positive words of a system, while the sentiment is disputable. It is certain, that there may be different conclusions drawn from many intricate passages in scripture, and in all such cases we should be humble, without prying into the secrets of the Almighty.

Another, and a very important article in St. Austin's system, is that of final perseverance, which was embraced by Calvin. There are many passages in the sacred scriptures, that may be understood as not only favouring this doctrine, but even enforcing it. Thus it is said, “the path of the just man is a shining light, that shineth more and more until the perfect day.” And again, “Those whom he loved, he loved to the end.” Nay, there are many other expressions stronger in support of the doctrine than those above quoted, and there are others that appear to imply quite the contrary. Thus it is said, “let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.” Many great and pious men have believed, that although God will not forsake his people who love and serve him, yet they may forsake him, and become objects of his displeasure. This seems to have been the opinion of the elegant and pious Dr. Watts, when he says,

Unshaken as the sacred hill,  
And firm as mountains be;  
Firm as a rock the soul shall rest,  
That leans, O Lord, on thee!

The greatest objection made to this doctrine, is, that it leads to carnal security, keeping men off that holy caution and strict guard which should regulate all their actions. It is further objected, that it fills the mind with pride, by teaching people to believe, that themselves are more worthy of the Divine favour than others. Perhaps there is too much truth in this; for surely we may trust in



the Divine veracity, without running into presumption.

Mr. Neale, in his account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, has recorded an anecdote, which we shall consider as true, because it comes from the pen of such a candid writer. He tells us, that when Oliver Cromwell lay on his death-bed, he was attended by the most eminent divines of the independent persuasion. Amongst these was Dr. Thomas Godwin, then president of Magdalen College, Oxford. This gentleman, whose writings are dull and tedious, seems to have been a great favourite of the protector's; for Cromwell asked him seriously, "whether there was a falling off from grace." Godwin said there was not; then replied Cromwell, "I am certain I once had grace." And in these sentiments this man died.

To conclude, these disputed points are exceedingly dangerous, when handled without caution and moderation; but they have been treated with respect by the wise of all denominations. They have created much confusion, and yet one would imagine there was no necessity for any thing of that nature. God has revealed enough for us to know, in order to make us happy, both in time and in eternity, and therefore it is irreverent, as well as indecent and impious in us to enquire into secrets, which to know can be of no service to us, nor even make us wise unto salvation.

The wit of the profane, the malice of the satirical, and the laugh of the debauchee, have been all united to ridicule those notions which St. Austin broached, and Calvin taught. This will appear from an attentive consideration of the following verses of Mr. Dryden.

But here the doctors eagerly dispute,  
Some hold predestination absolute:  
Some clerks maintain, that heav'n at first foresees,  
And in the virtue of foresight decrees.  
If this be so, then prescience binds the will;  
And mortals are not free to good or ill;  
For what he first foresaw, he must ordain,  
Or his eternal prescience may be vain.  
As bad for us if prescience had not been:  
For first, or last, he's author of the sin.  
And who says that, let the blaspheming man  
Say worse, ev'n of the devil, if he can.  
For how can that eternal pow'r be just  
To punish man, who sins because he must?  
Or, how can he reward a virtuous deed,  
Which is not done by us, but first decreed?  
I cannot bould this matter to the bran,  
As Bradwardin and holy Austin can:  
If prescience can determine actions so,  
That we must do because he did foreknow?  
Or that foreknowing, yet our choice is free,  
Not forc'd to sin by strict necessity.  
This strict necessity they simple call  
Another sort, there is conditional.  
The first so binds the will, that things foreknown,  
By spontaneiry, not choice, are done.  
Thus galley-slaves tug willing at their oar,  
Content to work in prospect of the shore;  
But would not work at all if not constrain'd  
before.

That other does not liberty restrain;  
But man may either act, or may refrain:

Heav'n made us agents free to good or ill,  
And forc'd it not, tho' he foresaw the will.  
Freedom was first bestowed on human race,  
And the prescience only held the second place.  
If he could make such agents wholly free,  
I'll not dispute, the point's too high for me:  
For heav'n's unfathom'd pow'r what man can  
found,

Or put to his omnipotence a bound?  
He made us to his image; all agree,  
That image is the soul, and that must be,  
Or not the maker's image, or be free.  
But whether it were better man had been  
By nature bound to good, not free to sin,  
I wave, for fear of splitting on a rock.

Having said thus much concerning the doctrinal principles of the Calvinists, we must now proceed to their worship. All the reformers pretended to simplicity, but all did not attain to it. Of this we have a striking instance in the Lutherans, who have retained many of the Popish ceremonies. On the other hand, the church of England kept in the middle, between the two extremes, while the Calvinists attempted to strip religion of all those gaudy ornaments which it had borrowed from superstition. In Geneva, where Calvinism was first propagated, in Holland, in some of the German provinces, and indeed every where but in England and Scotland, their form and manner of worship is the same. There may, indeed, be some few differences, but they are of such a trifling nature as not to be worthy of notice. At Geneva and in Holland, as well as in all the provinces of Germany, and Switzerland, where Calvinism is professed, the service is conducted in the following manner.

The minister goes into the reading desk, and having told the people to lift up their hearts to God, begins with a short prayer, begging for the Divine Presence to be with them, during the whole of the worship. This being over, he reads two or three chapters out of the Old or New Testament, according to his own discretion, and then a psalm or hymn is sung.

He then reads the Ten Commandments, which are followed by the Apostles Creed, and another hymn or psalm is sung afterwards. And here it is necessary to observe, that in most of the Calvinistical churches abroad, they have organs, together with some other sorts of instrumental music.

This part of the service being over, the minister goes into the pulpit and repeats an extemporary prayer for the whole state of mankind in the world, and then a discourse follows, which is either a sermon on a particular text, or a paraphrase of some passage in the sacred scripture. The sermon being over, another hymn is sung, and after which the congregation are dismissed with a blessing.

With respect to the sacrament of baptism, it is as amongst us, administered to their infants, but they do not use the sign of the cross, nor have they any godfathers, or godmothers, every father being obliged to stand sponsor for his own child. On which occasion he binds himself to see it brought up in the fear of God.

In the sacrament of the Lord's supper, they are



are not confined to any rule with respect to the mode of administration, nor have they any altars. Some of the communicants receive it kneeling, some sitting, and others standing. This allowance granted to tender consciences, is much to be commended; for what may appear trifling to one man, may have a most formidable appearance to another.

The Calvinists abroad, that is, on the Continent of Europe, likewise observe several holy days, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, with some others; but they do not pay any superstitious regard to them. However, we find in the acts of the general assembly of the church of Scotland 1594, something remarkable on this subject. King James told the general assembly of the clergy, that "the people of Geneva kept their Christmas and their Pasch; and pray, said he, what warrant have they for it? It is nothing but will-worship, and like the service of the church of England, it is an ill said mass in English." James, however, changed his sentiments afterwards, and became a persecutor of those very people whose piety and religion he had extolled.

In the discipline among the Calvinists, there is something that bears a near affinity to the ancient church. Every congregation has its own minister, and under him are a certain number of respectable persons, called Elders. These elders are ordained by the imposition of the hands of the minister, and their business is to visit the sick from house to house, and to pray with them.

They are to be men of fair characters, against whom no complaint has been preferred, and they are to examine, in the absence of the minister, all those who desire to come to the communion. They are to give notice to the ministers of all such persons as lead scandalous and immoral lives, that they may be cut off from the congregation of the faithful.

They are to take care that no part of their own conduct shall give such offence, so as to bring the gospel into disrepute; and they are to be at all times ready to assist the minister with their advice. This order among the Calvinists seems to have come in the room of the presbyters in the ancient church, who were always to assist the bishop, both by their council and otherwise. These men are not elected for a time, as churchwardens are in England, but they are ordained for life, and nothing can set aside the exercise of their office, but some crimes of a scandalous nature.

The next order of officers in the Calvinistical churches abroad are deacons, whose business it is to visit the poor, and distribute as much money as the church allows for that purpose. They are elected by the people and appointed by the minister; they are to carry the elements of bread and wine round to the communicants; they are to see that the widows and orphans are provided for in a proper manner, and that Christian parents bring up their children in the fear of God. They are to give a faithful account to the minister and elders in what manner they have disposed of the money committed to their care; and they are, by their conduct, to set an example before all those who belong to the congregation.

They are to be extremely cautious into what company they go, and they are to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

The first time we hear or read of deacons in the Christian church is in Acts vi. and as to their office, it seems to have succeeded that of the Levites among the Jews, who were to be ministers and servants under the old law. The following account of the ordination of primitive deacons will, no doubt, give some satisfaction to our readers.

The ordination of a deacon, in the primitive church, differed from that of a presbyter, both in the form and manner of it, and also in the gifts and powers conferred thereby. The ordination of the former might be performed by the bishop alone, who put up his prayer in general, "that God would make his face to shine upon that his servant, who was then chosen to the office of a deacon, and fill him with his holy spirit and power, as he did Stephen the martyr; that he, behaving himself acceptably, uniformly, and unblameably in his office, might be thought worthy of an higher degree, &c."

As to the office of deacons, the most common and ordinary was, to be attendant on the bishop of presbyters in the service of the altar, to take care of the holy table, and all the ornaments and utensils belonging to it. In the next place, they were to receive the offerings of the people, and to present them to the priest, at the same time, reciting the names of those that offered. In some churches, but not in all, the deacons read the gospel, both before, and at the communion-service. At Alexandria, the archdeacon only reads the gospels, and, in some churches, on high festivals, the bishop himself; as at Constantinople, on Easter-day. But it was something more peculiar to the office of deacons, to assist the bishop and presbyters in the administration of the eucharist: at which their business was, to distribute the elements to the people, who were present, and carry them to those, that were absent. But they were not allowed to consecrate them at the altar; as appears from the testimonies of Hilary, Jerom, and the author of the constitutions; who assign as a reason, that deacons were reckoned no priests, or but in the lowest degree. As to the sacrament of baptism, it is evident, they were permitted, in some cases, to administer it solely; as appears from Tertullian, Jerom, and the council of Eliberis.

Another part of the office of deacons was, to be a sort of monitors and directors to the people, in the exercise of their publick devotions in the church. To which purpose they made use of certain known forms of words, to give notice when each part of the service began.

The deacons had a power to preach, by license and authority from the bishop, but not without it: which was likewise the case with relation to the power of reconciling penitents, and granting them absolution; this privilege being allowed them only in cases of extreme necessity, when neither bishop nor presbyter was at hand to do it. It may be reckoned also among their extraordinary offices, that they were sometimes deputed by the bishops to be their representatives and



and proxies in general councils. But, in provincial synods, they were allowed to give their voice, as well as the presbyters, in their own name.

There are two things more to be observed concerning the office of deacons, in church assemblies. The first is, that they had a power to rebuke and chastise those, who behaved indecently in the church. The other is, that, before the institution of the inferior orders in the church, such as sub-deacons, exorcists, catechists, &c. the deacons were employed in performing all the offices, which were afterwards committed to those orders.

But, besides these offices, which properly belonged to the service of the church, the deacons had employment out of the church. One of these was, to be the bishop's sub-almoner, and to take care of the necessitous, such as orphans, widows, virgins, prisoners, and all the poor and sick, who had any title to be maintained out of the publick revenues of the church. Another of these offices was, to enquire into the morals and conversation of the people, and to make their report thereof to the bishop. Upon this account, the deacons were usually stiled the bishop's eyes, and ears, his mouth, his right hand, and his heart; because, by their ministry, he took cognizance of mens actions, as much as if he himself had seen or heard them; and because, by them, he sent orders and directions to his flock, and by them distributed to the necessities of the indigent.

For this reason, there being a great variety of business attending the office of a deacon, it was usual to have several deacons in the same church. In some, they were precisely to the number of seven, in imitation of the first church of Jerusalem. But this rule was not observed in other churches, the number of deacons being indifferent, as the business of each church required. In that of Constantinople particularly, the number was so great, that we find them limited to an hundred, for the service of the great church, and three others only.

The qualifications, required in deacons, were much the same as those required in bishops and presbyters; except that, in their age, there was some difference. Deacons might be ordained at twenty five years of age, and not before; whereas bishops and presbyters could not be ordained till thirty.

The ceremony of the ordination of deacons, in the Romish church, is briefly this. The candidate prostrates himself before the bishop, who confers on him the holy ghost, laying his right-hand only on his head, to signify, that he does not receive it so fully as the priest. An Acolyth puts on him the stole and dalmatica; after which the bishop presents him with the book of the gospels: the ceremony concludes with the prayers of the bishop and people. It is the deacon's office to incense the officiating priest or prelate; to lay the corporal on the altar; to receive the paten or cup from the sub-deacon, and present them to the person officiating; to incense the choir; to receive the pix from the officiating prelate, and carry it to the sub-deacon; and, at the pontifical mass, when the bishop gives the

blessing, to put the mitre on his head, and to take off the archbishop's pall, and lay it on the altar.

The Maronites of mount Libanus have two deacons, who are meerly administrators of the temporalities. Dandini, who calls them *il signori diaconi*, tells us, they are secular lords, who govern the people, set in judgment on all their differences, and treat with the Turks concerning the taxes, and other matters.

In England, deacons are not capable of any ecclesiastical promotion, not so much as to be admitted to a donative; all benefices requiring the incumbent to be in priest's orders. Yet he may be a chaplain in a family, curate to a beneficed clergyman, or lecturer to a parish-church. A man may be ordained deacon at twenty-three years of age, *anno currente*; but it is expressly provided, that the bishop shall not ordain the same person both a deacon and a priest in the same day. The form of ordaining deacons declares, that it is their office to assist the priest in the distributing of the holy-communion; in which, agreeably to the practice of the antient church, they are confined to the administering of the wine to the the communicants.

St. Paul requires, that deacons should be chaste, sober, and blameless; that they should be neither great drinkers, nor given to filthy lucre; that they should hold the mystery of faith in a pure conscience; that they should be well approved, before they are admitted to the ministry; that they should be the husbands of one wife, and take care of their houses and families.

The last thing to be attended to is, their government. In Geneva, and in Holland, they have their presbyteries and synods, but no general assemblies as in Scotland. Political states are jealous of political disputes, and therefore they take care that the clergy shall meet as seldom as possible together. Had this rule been attended to in the middle ages of Christianity, perhaps we should not have had so many violent disputes as we have at present.

All offences of a common, ordinary nature, are first considered by the minister and the elders, and if the delinquent does not chuse to comply with their decision, he may appeal to the presbytery. If after their decree, he thinks himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the synod, whose sentence is binding. But there are no civil penalties inflicted upon the delinquent as in England, for he is only excluded from church communion, and church privileges.

Such is the nature of the Calvinistical religion on the continent of Europe, and when it is considered how nearly we are connected with its professors, it will naturally point out that we should consider them as brethren. Did they persecute to death Servetus? The church of England has burnt Protestants who had been declared Heretics. Are they without episcopal ordination? the church of Scotland knows nothing of bishops. Do they reject the ring in marriage? This does not deserve our notice; for to take up the idea of the ingenious author of a tale in a tub, Peter kept all his gaudy ornaments upon him; Martin stripped off a few, but still left his cloaths



in a decent manner; but Jack went farther, and pulled off both the lace and the cloaths. It is certain, that the Calvinistical religion, as professed on the continent of Europe, affords all the means of grace, and opens the way to eternal

happiness. In that form of religion, many pious Christians, many eminent divines, have been brought up, and where God has bestowed his blessing on the appointed means, let man be silent.

## *The HISTORY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND.*

WE have already, in our account of Calvinism in general, considered the nature of those sentiments, concerning which there has been so much dispute. We have stated the objections made against them, with the answers that have been offered. We have shewn in the most candid manner from whence those disputed sentiments took their rise, and unwilling to enter into controversy, we have referred them to history. We have considered the Calvinists in a general point of view, as particularly established in some nations in Europe. We shall now consider them as a national church, begun by infinite wisdom, supported by Almighty power, regulated by unerring providence, and at present one of the glories of the Protestant world. And here we are sorry to observe, that although the people of England are united under one government with those of Scotland, yet there are many of the former utterly ignorant of the religion of the latter. Nothing is more common in England than to call the people of Scotland Dissenters, whereas they have their own church established by law. Nay; so firmly is the church of Scotland established, that it cannot be overthrown, unless there is a total revolution.

This will appear evident, when we consider in what manner the king of Great Britain swears to protect, defend, and support that church. The moment the death of the king is made public to his successor, the heir takes his place in council, and it is intimated to him, that he cannot be proclaimed till he has sworn before their lordships that he will maintain the church of Scotland as by law established. This oath is administered in the Scottish fashion, by the king's holding up his right hand, and solemnly swearing, that he will do nothing to injure the church of Scotland, but support her in all her rights and privileges. A copy of this oath is recorded in the books of the privy council, and then a messenger is dispatched to Edinburgh, who gives it in to the court of session, where it is read, and ordered to be recorded in the lords register office.

Here we find a vast privilege bestowed on the church of Scotland, beyond that of England; for in England the king does not swear to maintain the church till his coronation. This privilege was claimed by the people of Scotland, in that convention of estates, 1689, which declared

the throne vacant, and voted in William and Mary. It was again insisted on by the whole nation of Scotland, at the union 1707. It was claimed, not as a favour, but as a right, and the king of Great Britain can no more dispense with it, than he can with any of the fundamental laws of the constitution. We have been the more explicit on this subject, that our readers may be made acquainted with it, and that they may know every particular; for, as a celebrated author says, "We should not only learn every thing, but we should learn every thing well."

We shall now proceed to consider this church in a manner altogether different from those who have gone before us; for we can assert, that the history of this church was never yet properly written, though often attempted.

In the treating of it, we shall lay down the following principles, to direct us in the narrative.

First, a general view of the history of that church.

Secondly, a more particular state of it since the reformation.

Thirdly, its various forms of worship during that period.

Fourthly, its various forms of confessions in that time.

And Lastly, its present state in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government.

And first, with respect to a general view of religion in Scotland.

\* Religion, according to reading, report, and experience, is the first consideration that attracts a man's attention in Scotland. But, when we speak of religion, we do not mean that propensity for agitating controverted points of divinity, which has possessed the clergy of most countries and ages; but we mean that plan of doctrine and discipline, which, in a well regulated state, ought to be adapted to the constitution of the government, without regard to the dreams of bigots, or the talk of enthusiasts. Now it is impossible to understand the present state of religion in Scotland, in the sense of the words which we have laid down, without a review of their ecclesiastical constitution; and by that review we shall be enabled to form a pretty clear idea of their ancient government, not only in their church, but their state.



The introduction of Christianity into Scotland, was by monks, who were without the means of transmitting orders of any kind to their successors, in the manner which the churches of England and Rome now prescribe. The name of the person who was at their head, was Regulus, said to be a Greek: They were driven on the coast of Scotland by accident, and after his death, they of themselves, elected and ordained another to preside in their principal church Kilrimont, now St. Andrews, without applying to the court or church of Rome. That this was the case, unquestionably appears from the canons of the council of Calcuith in England, in the year 816, the fifth of which prohibits any Scotch clergyman from exercising his functions in England, because, say the makers of the canon, it is uncertain to us by whom he is ordained, or if he is ordained at all. In like manner, the sixty-fifth of the Capitularia of the French king, is concerning the Scots who call themselves bishops, and ordain certain persons without the licence of their superiors.

We know it may be pretended that the Scots spoken of here were the Irish, and even the learned have a vulgar notion, that when the word Scots occurs at this time, the Irish are understood; and in a few, but a very few, instances of higher antiquity, we admit the fact to have been so; but at the time here-mentioned, there can be no doubt but that the North British Scots were meant.

That their religion was void of many errors, and superstitions which then prevailed; that their manners were blameless, their zeal indefatigable; their piety unaffected, and their submission to their superiors, such as became good Christians and subjects, could be proved by many unquestionable cotemporary authorities, which can have no room here. They went by the name of Cul dues, or Culdees, which is not, as the Scotch historians ignorantly imagine, a contraction of the words Cultoris Dei, but two antient Pictish or Celtic words; Cul, a Hood, from whence we have the word Cowl, and Due, Black, because of their wearing black hoods; so that the people of the country distinguished them by that appellation.

The plainness, virtue, and piety of the Culdees, gave offence to the church of Rome, whose corner stone is founded upon a succession of priesthood, derived from bishops depending upon the pope; and pope Celestine sent one Paladius, with a large train of followers, to preside over the Scots, about the year 430. Every one knows, what impression high pretensions and great pomp have upon weak minds. Paladius soon formed a party amongst the chief inhabitants, who received his clergy, and believed in the name of the pope. This occasioned a schism; the Culdees were favoured by the Pictish princes, and the Romanists by the descendants of the antient Celts, who had been settled before the Picts were, in Scotland; and to whom the Picts gave the reproachful term of Scots. This name was then appropriated to many of the northern adventurers, in different parts of Europe; and, undoubtedly, was derived from the Scyths, the maternal nation of all those various clanned barbarians, who, at that time, deluged Europe.

As they were themselves Celts, when a part of them landed in Scotland, they naturally fell in with the old Guidels, or the antient Caledonians, who were Celts likewise: and their singularity of language and manners, soon cemented a friendship between them. The Picts, on the other hand, who had pushed the Guidels westward, in the same manner as the Romans had pushed the Picts northward, were the descendants of the Belgic Gauls; and though they were likewise of Celtic original, yet their communications had occasioned a great difference in their language and manners from the Guidels, whom we may term the Aborigines: whereas the Belgic Gauls, the ancestors of the Picts, had not been settled in Britain above fourscore years before the invasion of it by Julius Cæsar. As the Picts, about the time of the landing of the Scots, undoubtedly professed Christianity, it was easy for the Culdees to cement a friendship with them. The degeneracy of the Pictish princes, giving the old inhabitants vast advantages, the Culdees sometimes suffered great persecutions, till Alexander the first, one of the wisest and best of the kings of Scotland, wanting to abolish all invidious distinctions amongst his subjects, restored the Culdees, about the year 1118, to their primitive lustre, though he could not to their sanctity of manners. This was a severe blow to the interest of the church of Rome in Scotland: and she omitted no practice to procure an exclusion of the Culdee ordination. They, however, kept their ground, and their chief pastor, who continued to be of their own choice, and to hold his seat at St. Andrews, was dignified with the name of Scotorum Episcopus, bishop of the Scots; but that denomination was afterwards changed into Escop. Alban, bishop of Albany.

David, the brother and successor of Alexander, having great connections with England, was eaten up with superstition, and suffered a Romish legate to hold councils in the most southerly parts of Scotland, and prevailed with Robert, then the chief of the Culdees, to receive a coadjutor from the bishop of Chester, and to appropriate the revenues of the other Culdees, to defray the expence of extravagant buildings at St. Andrew's, the stupendous remains of which are still visible there. This revived the interest of the Romanists in Scotland, and David, finding the Culdees to be too well established for him to think of exterminating them, sought only to persuade them to accept of papal ordinations and consecrations, which never had as yet been admitted of amongst them. The more sensible, however, amongst the Culdees, were not to be either flattered or frightened out of their rights and properties, and continued to make a vigorous opposition to the Romanists, though by that time several other sees, filled with Popish bishops, had been erected in Scotland. But the Culdees, who were now only a handful, found it impossible to make head against the ambition of the popes, favoured by the weakness of their own princes.

In the year 1250, their right of ordination and consecration came to be questioned, and the pope appointed the abbot of Dumfermling, and another ecclesiastic, to summon the chief Culdee, whom the record does not stile bishop, but Prepositus, Provost, to appear before them at the church



church of Inverkeithen, to answer for the crime of rebellion against the see of Rome, and to enquire whether the Culdees had a right to celebrate divine offices. That is, they were to enquire into the right that the Culdees had to confer orders, and celebrate divine ordinances. It appears, however, from the same record, that Adam Malkarwiston, the head of the Culdees, and his brethren, refused to submit to this tribunal; nor do we find any thing decisive was done till the year 1273, when one Wishart, after receiving episcopal orders at Scoon, was thrust by the pope and the king of Scotland, Alexander the third, upon the Culdees. He was succeeded by Frazer and Lamberton, against whose elevation the Culdees made a vigorous resistance; but their head being ill enough advised to appeal to the see of Rome; pope Boniface the eighth, confirmed Lamberton's election, and the Culdees, notwithstanding all their struggles, were never afterwards permitted to have any voice in the election of a bishop of St. Andrews.

Such of the historians of Scotland, who were really Protestants, were ignorant of the facts we have laid down in this short review; and they are stifled by the Papists and Popish Protestants.

The dispute, however, between the Culdees and the Romanists had the happy effect, that the laity, especially those of the greatest power, of Scotland, never could be reconciled to the latter; and the papal power had less influence with them, than it had amongst any people in Europe, before the time of the reformation: therefore the wisest of their kings were always sure of being supported in the frequent and vigorous oppositions they made, not only to the power, but to the visits of papal agents.

The first prince of the Stuart family, who deviated from that wise policy, was James the fifth, who, to a thorough hatred of England, which was his family's ruling passion, joined cruelty and bigotry, vices till then unknown to the blood of Stuart; but a misconception of his own and his people's interests with regard to England, served materially to pave the way for the reformation. His Dowager, who succeeded him in the administration, a weak bigotted woman, governing Scotland by French magistrates, French soldiers, and French councils, rendered the reformation a measure of necessity as well as choice.

The kings of Scotland had always been bounded in their prerogative, not so much by the positive laws of their country, as by the unlimited exercise of power, which the feudal constitutions gave to the great landholders over their dependents, whom they stiled their vassals. These great landholders, as we have seen, had always hated the Romish bishops, whose power rested solely upon the regal authority: and Scotland is the only nation in Europe, into which the reformation was introduced without opposition from any lay subject. Nay, what is still more remarkable, while England and other nations were reforming by slow, imperfect degrees, the Scots reformed all at once, so thoroughly, from the errors of the church of Rome, that all the deviations, that have been since made from their original reformation, have been in favour of popery.

But this reformation, glorious as it was in some respects, was not without lamentable consequences in other. For zeal lighting upon ignorance, and interest prompting riot, the whole was a scene of confusion, and effected by agents so totally illiterate, that the Scotch presbyterian clergy continued long distinguished for their ignorance, and for not having produced one man of learning, or of eminence in letters. This was the more extraordinary, as they had all the means of erudition in their possession, and their incomes, in general, were not only greater, and less precarious, than those of the foreign Protestant clergy, who made great figures in learning; but than those of the English, the most learned in the world.

Many of the Scotch Roman Catholics, at the time of the reformation, made great figures in Europe by their learning, and the reformers succeeded in their attempts by a conduct and character diametrically opposite. But in this nothing was affected, for they were really as ignorant as they appeared to be; and bigotry in them, being destitute of knowledge, they relapsed into the most dangerous abuses of what we may call practical popery. The churchmen usurped a power not only over the consciences, but even the persons and estates, of the laity; their excommunications were attended, if possible, with worse consequences than those of Rome, for they always inferred the loss of all property; in many cases, that of liberty; and in some, that of life itself.

The nobility of Scotland, who, till the union of the two kingdoms, had perhaps the truest notions of public liberty of any set of men in the world, found themselves, by this frantic conduct of their clergy, in the case of Actæon. They were ready to be torn to pieces by the very dogs they had so hounded out upon others, and who seldom returned without their prey; and, to save themselves, they were obliged to resume the shape of men, which they had for political ends discontinued for some time after the reformation. Mean while, the part they had to act was dangerous; for the ambition of the court, and of the clergy, though pointed different ways, was equally threatening to public liberty. James the first, Charles the first, and Charles the second, hated not only the Presbyterians, but all moderate Protestants, worse than they did the Papists; while the Presbyterian clergy were ever willing to prefer the most horrid scenes of civil war to a submission either to the king or the nobility.

The power of the latter, however, carried it for a moderate episcopacy, founded, in a great measure, upon the plan of the Culdees; for we do not find, in general, that their bishops thought it necessary to have recourse for their consecration, either to Rome or to England. The madness of Laud influenced Charles the first to break this excellent scheme, by introducing many poperies into the public worship, which the common people looked upon as Popish, and, throwing off all restraint, they reverted to the extreme from which they had been reclaimed; for from the year 1640 to the year 1660 the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland exercised over the laity a power more than Papal, which the nobility for the sake of public liberty, endangered by the practices



tices of the court, and attacked by the power of England, were once more obliged to submit to, till the restoration took place.

Had it not been for this frantic behaviour of the clergy, who had thereby forfeited all esteem with the nobility and great landholders of Scotland, the Scots never could have been brought to have received Charles without terms. It is true, they made an effort, and sent deputies for that purpose, but they betrayed the people of Scotland, as Monk did those of England, and the ministers of Charles ever after alledged, in vindication of their despotic administration, that their master, being restored without terms, had a right to govern, as he pleased, a people, who, having been rebels to his government, now subsisted only through his clemency. The Scots were not united among themselves so well as to dispute this doctrine, and the odium, into which the clergy had brought themselves with all the civilized sensible part of the kingdom, made the abolition of Presbyterianism there go down without a struggle.

The earl of Clarendon knew too little of the temper and disposition of the Scots, and was too much wedded to certain formalities without the essentials of episcopacy, to make a right use of a juncture so critical for the interests of his master. The episcopacy which was restored, was indeed more moderate than that contended for by Laud, for the people were not offended by the use of the book of Common-Prayer; and their public service differed very little, if any thing, from that of the Presbyterians. Many faults, and those irretrievable, however, were committed in the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, which was very different from that in England, where many great and eminent confessors for the cause of monarchy and loyalty, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, were yet alive, and had a title to the highest ecclesiastical preferments.

In Scotland, excepting a few in the northern parts, the clergy had avowed themselves to be the enemies of monarchy and episcopacy; they had acted accordingly, and Sharp, with some of the more moderate amongst them, had won the confidence of many of the nobility, by promising, as one of the deputies from the clergy, to insist upon the continuance, and at the same time the restriction, of Presbyterianism in Scotland. But Sharp deceived all his constituents, and he not only accepted of the primacy of Scotland, but consented that he and his brethren should be consecrated in England.

But neither this step, nor the restoring bishops to their seats in parliament, could have produced any considerable disaffection amongst the Scots, either to episcopacy or to the family of the Stuarts, had it not been that most of the men, made choice of for bishops, were a set equally profligate and illiterate; and they, who were not, were men bred to books without either inclination or talents for public business, even in their own functions. The whole episcopal order in Scotland was thus exposed to hatred and contempt: To hatred, not only on account of their apostacy and treachery, but on account of the cruelties they countenanced against the Pres-

byterians; which were such as would have disgraced the reign of a Nero or Domitian; and to contempt, on account of their putting themselves upon the same footing with the old nobility, without possessing one good quality that could entitle them to notice far less to elevation.

Mean while, the nobility and the men of sense in Scotland loved episcopacy, though they hated prelacy, but the court could not be brought to disjoin them. This produced a few ill-judged insurrections in the west, which were easily suppressed, for the nation in general hated Presbytery, and the success of the government was crowned by scenes of the most horrid cruelties, abetted and impelled by the prelates. Those cruelties were defended by Sir George Mackenzie, a great lawyer, and lord advocate or attorney general for Scotland, but a mere fanatic both in religion and politics. It became now the avowed principle at the council board in England, that the king in Scotland was above law, and might govern it, as he actually did, by a military force. The same doctrine was recommended to the council board of Scotland, where divisions run so high, that each party sought to strengthen itself by an implicit obedience to the will of the court and of the bishops.

This was the critical period that effected the revolution under the prince of Orange. The Scots, in general, saw themselves in a real state of slavery under the most worthless and contemptible of men, and this consideration superseded all others. The men of spirit amongst them applied more early, than the English did, to the prince of Orange; and the consequence was, that the revolution met with less difficulty from the Scotch, than it did from the English parliament.

The crown being settled, religion came next under debate, and the inclination both of court and parliament was to have continued it upon the same footing it was on before. But the connection, which the prelates knew to subsist between king William and the enemies rather of their persons than of their order, made them distrust his sincerity. They thought that king James might yet retrieve his affairs by the power of France, and by the Highlanders; who, had their general, the Viscount of Dundee, survived the defeat which he gave to the government's troops at Gillicranky, would certainly have changed the face of affairs in Scotland. They considered, that if king James should be restored, after their submitting to king William, they were to expect no favour; and that should he not be restored, many of them would be brought to a severe account for their illegal conduct in the last two reigns. All these, and other motives influenced them to stand out against the revolution, and as the necessity of the juncture could admit of no delay, Presbytery, but not of that bloody tyrannical kind that was abolished at the restoration, was again restored by act of parliament in Scotland.

But the same case happened after the revolution, that had happened at the reformation. The few clergymen in Scotland, who by their learning were qualified for their functions, were episcopists,



episcopists, who influenced by their bishops, and the prepossessions in which they had been educated, disclaimed king William's title to the crown; and thus the government was obliged to fill up the vacant churches with men, who had nothing to recommend them, but zeal against the exiled family and the outed clergy. The nation, however, in general, was discontented with the restoration of Presbytery; the episcopalians formed a strong party, the men of the greatest fashion and interest in Scotland became their followers, and they of Presbyterianism were thereby so mortified, that excepting in some trifling instances, their conduct, ever since the revolution, has been excellently adapted to that plan of civil power which ought to be pursued in a free country: nay, we should be wanting to that sincerity we profess, if we did not give it as our opinion, that the established clergy in Scotland have done more than any one set of men (the legislature excepted) in Britain, to keep the crown in the family of Hanover.

Mean while, though it may perhaps seem unfair to attribute a virtuous conduct to an interested motive, we cannot help saying that the very existence of their order depended upon that attachment, since nothing is more certain, than that before the last rebellion in 1745, the nation in general was much more inclined to episcopacy than to Presbyterianism, and it is incredible to believe with what spirit the former was supported both amongst the jurant and nonjurant part of their persuasion. The extinction of the rebellion, however, left the established church in triumphant possession of every thing they could claim, but that which they could not recover, we mean the hearts of the people.

This, we are afraid, was owing to the degeneracy of discipline; which must always happen in any body of men where the individuals are vested with a parity of power. The Roman senate long held out against it by means of the censorship, and private virtue will ward it off for some time: but it happens unfortunately for the Scotch clergy, that their constitutional powers are very limited, and their influence was owing to that authority which they had over the minds of the people, prepossessed with an opinion of their virtue. When that opinion was gone, their authority vanished; and they had nothing but power to trust to. However, we are not to imagine, that there are not in the established church of Scotland many divines whose virtues would do honour to any church: but we are afraid, their numbers are not sufficient to revive the veneration of the people for their order.

This appeared eminently upon the extinction of the rebellion, when, encouraged by their public services, they came to a resolution of applying to the legislature for some favours that really seemed very reasonable, but in the opinion of the people pointed towards an augmentation of their own livings. To our knowledge, the ministry was extremely well disposed towards them: but so incredible an opposition arose to them from people of all ranks in Scotland, that when they were ill enough advised to push the affair into parliament, the ministry did not think it prudent to support them, and the spirit of opposition was

carried so far against them, that they lost every reasonable point they aimed at, merely through a prepossession that they intended to aim at what was unreasonable.

The bounds of this volume will not suffer us, though we could easily enter into a detail of the causes, why the Scots, a people that formerly believed in their clergy, hold them now so cheap. The want of discipline, as we observed before, is the obvious cause, and that is occasioned, in a great measure, by a superficial education, by which the younger part of the clergy learn just as much as to have a contempt for all learning that requires pains and application. Thus some of them commence Deists, and some Enthusiasts. The abilities, whether natural or acquired, of both are pretty much alike; and the complexion of the man generally determines the walk into which he strikes, whether it be that of enthusiasm, or irreligion. The former resigns all freedom of thinking, the latter abuses it: the one carries zeal into bigotry; the other, liberty into licentiousness: and, in both, ignorance is the ruling principle. Instead of studying that sound philosophy, which reconciles religion to reason, the one part of them cons over the shallow observations of Shaftsbury, the illiterate remarks of Chubb, the false reasoning of Collins, and the second-hand objections of Bolingbroke to the Christian religion. The other part of them disclaim all what we call human learning, and though not less contemptible than the former, yet they are less dangerous, as long as the power is so circumscribed as it is.

We are obliged to be the more plain concerning these things, because people in general are apt to believe either too much or too little. Thus if a Scotchman is an enthusiast in favour of his church, he will tell you with an unblushing boldness, that their church could never have any errors in it. On the other hand, the libertine, or profane person, will tell us, that the clergy in Scotland are all hypocrites, but we shall take more notice of this afterwards. In other respects there are many valuable things in the church of Scotland, but we must write of things as they are, without considering what they should be.

We come now, secondly, to consider the circumstances of that church in a more enlarged point of view, and likewise from historical evidence, to bring every circumstance open to public view.

In England, the reformation was gradually carried on; in Scotland it was sudden. The Romish clergy, knowing that their young queen had been educated in France, they had great hopes of their religion being supported by her in all its cruelty. This made them attempt to despise the antient nobility, whose spirits were too high and too proud to brook the affront, especially as it came from men of obscure birth, who had nothing to recommend them besides their church livings. Mr. Knox was invited over from Geneva, where he had resided several years as an assistant to Calvin and Beza. This was in 1558, and the nobility making choice of such a man as Knox, is a strong proof of their good sense. He was a man of a bold, intrepid spirit, who feared



nothing, and consequently became the happy instrument in the hand of Providence, of introducing the reformed religion among a rude people. The bigotry of Mary of Guise, the queen-regent, obliged the nobility and gentry to form themselves into societies for their own preservation, and these were called the lords of the congregation. The queen-regent drew up an army in order to give them battle, but finding herself too weak, and her men of the same opinion with the lords, she promised to grant them a toleration till the parliament should meet.

Had the queen kept her promise, things might have been conducted in a more moderate manner than they were, but just about that time (1559) her brothers, the cardinal and duke of Guise, the avowed enemies of the reformation, planned the league of Cambray, by which an association was entered into to extirpate the Protestant religion. A copy of this was sent over to the queen-regent, who not doubting but she would be supported by a train of Papists, ordered several clergymen to be burned alive for preaching the Protestant doctrines. This exasperated the lords of the congregation, who had the whole body of the country people on their side, and they marched through Fifeshire with Mr. Knox along with them. The queen went eastward from Stirling-castle to give them battle; but she was too weak. She then had recourse to her former practices of amusing them with false promises; but they would not trust her. They marched northward to Perth, a town situated on the river Tay, very near the borders of the Highlands. There was a Carthusian convent, where king James I. was murdered, 1436. It is certain, that the reformers had no intention at first to commit any violence, but provocation drove them almost mad.

A few days before they came to Perth, two men had been burned alive, and one woman drowned, for no other crime besides that of eating a capon on a Friday. The people saw what was to be their fate if the clergy were to exercise a coercive authority, not only over their consciences, but also over their persons. It would have been prudent in the Romish clergy to have left the town for a few days, especially as they knew they were hated by the people; but just as if they had courted their own destruction, one of the priests ordered the chapel door of the convent to be set open, and began to say mass. This was considered as an insult offered to the lords of the congregation, upon which their followers tore the priest's robes from off him, brought out all the utensils of the chapel, and made a bonfire of them in the street. The town was now in an uproar, the people were exceedingly exasperated against the priest, and in a few hours the whole convent was levelled to the ground.

The army then marched westward to Stirling, near to which they demolished the mitred abbey of Cambus Keneth, and indeed every cathedral and collegiate church, or convent wherever they came, except at Glasgow, where the towns people bore arms and defended their cathedral. The queen-regent took shelter in the castle of Edinburgh, where she died soon after, probably of a broken heart, on being told of the

devastation that had been made among the relics of antient superstition.

From Glasgow the reformers marched eastward to Edinburgh, and happened just to come into that city, while the priests were preparing to begin a procession, in honour of St. Giles the titular saint of the city.

The priests went into the high church as it is called, to bring out the image of the saint, but some unlucky rogue had stolen it away. Vexed with the disappointment, they borrowed an image from another church, which was carried about in procession, and the people called it in derision, *Young St. Giles*. The procession being over, the mob tore the priests vestments to pieces, mounted St. Giles on the back of a jack ass, led him to the Grass-market, the common place of execution, where his saintship was tied to a stake and burnt.

Just about this time, when Scotland was in a state of confusion without a sovereign, their young queen being then in France along with her husband Francis II. that monarch was killed in a tournament, and Mary was left a widow, about the nineteenth year of her age. Application was made to her to call a parliament, to settle disputes concerning religion, and writs were sent over to Scotland for that purpose, before she herself arrived.

This parliament met at Edinburgh, August 24, 1560, and by it the Protestant religion was established by law, although the queen, who arrived the next year in Scotland, refused to give her assent to it. This act, however, was always considered as the basis of reformation in Scotland, and although another act passed in 1567, yet there was so much studied ambiguity; such vague expressions, and such appearance of duplicity, that those of the reformed religion saw through the intended deception, and insisted that the first act should be the security of their religion.

At the same time that the parliament met in August 1560, a general assembly of the clergy were summoned to meet in the high church of Edinburgh, of which assembly the famous Buchanan was president, tho' he was no more than a layman. But these were violent times, and there was no regularity. This was the first assembly of the church of Scotland, and its decrees were important. Thirteen of the mitred abbots attended as members of this assembly, and the rest were formed by some priests, who were willing to embrace the reformation, and by some zealous men, who had commenced preachers without being ordained to that office. It was agreed, that they should embrace in some part the discipline of the church of Geneva, but then it was difficult to find out in what manner the external government of the church was to be conducted. It could not be by presbyteries and synods, because they had not a sufficient number of ministers, and as for episcopacy they abhorred it. They took a middle line, for they sent as many ministers as they had, to the most capital towns, and in the country parts, they appointed persons whom they called readers, who were to read the scriptures as often as the people came to church.

Above



Above these they appointed another set of men, who had no ordination at all, and these were called superintendants. They were but few in number. Spotiswood was appointed to superintend all those counties which lie southward of Edinburgh. Winram, who had been formerly sub-prior of the convent of St. Andrews, was appointed superintendant of Fife and its neighbourhood. Mr. Erskine, a lawyer, was appointed to superintend the counties lying north of the Tay, as far as the county of Murray. Mr. Willocks, who had been formerly an augustin monk, was appointed superintendant of Glasgow, and the western counties; and Carswell, a Franciscan friar, was sent to Argyle and the isles. The duty which these superintendants were to perform, was of a very important nature. They were to visit every parish in their bounds, and they generally preached at least twelve times every week. They were to enquire into the conduct of the clergy and the readers, and see that churches should be provided with ministers, as soon as any could be procured. They were to hold synods for church discipline, but when the general assembly met, they were to take their places as ordinary ministers, and to submit to church censures with those of the lower order. Here was a sort of moderate episcopacy, and an episcopacy suitable to the state of Scotland in that age.

The superintendants were likewise to preside at all ordinations of the clergy, which may serve to shew that the Scots at that time did not pay any regard to a *Jure Divino*; or, in other words, a divine right conferred by orders. Their characters were blameless, their labours abundant, and they were revered, while they were beloved by their people. Whenever there was a vacant congregation, they endeavoured, as far as lay in their power to supply the want of a minister, and under their nourishment, as men who wished well to the interests of Christianity, the church of Scotland grew and flourished. The sooner they could provide ministers for vacant churches, their labour decreased of course, and altho' most of them were advanced in years, yet they thought no hardship too great, so as they could promote the interest of their fellow Christians.

Such was the state of the church of Scotland till the year 1570, when a new revolution, though of a short duration, took place, which flowed from avarice, and was maintained by ambition. The Scottish reformers, like all those who undertake to set up new religions, had made a public declaration of their own disinterestedness, but they soon found that the benevolence of their people was not sufficient to support them. On the other hand, the nobility, embracing such a favourable opportunity, laid hold of the greatest part of the church lands, and left the clergy to starve. To treat men with inhumanity, who are set up as the public guides in religious exercises, is unjust, cruel, and impious; and what encouragement could these men have to prosecute their studies, and teach the people, while they were left to starve? The clergy saw their folly, and the nobility triumphed over their weakness.

There was, however, a necessity of saving appearances, of putting on the garb of the hypocrite when truth was in a manner extinguished. A motion was made in one of the parliaments, that the superintendants were beginning to grow old, and therefore it would be much better to appoint bishops in the different dioceses, but that they should still be subject to a general assembly. Accordingly, some old friars were appointed to these offices, without knowing for what reason. The nobility, however, had their own interests in view; for their design was, that these men should have the name of bishops, while they themselves enjoyed their emoluments.

As they had no more than a name, they were called *Tulchan bishops*, a term that we must explain to the reader. The word is Saxon, and signifies deception. When a calf in Scotland is taken from the cow, in order to be weaned, they dress an image resembling the young one, which they put under her teats, to make her let go her milk. This image is called *Tulchan*, because it represents what it is not.

As this form of church government took its rise from unjustifiable motives, so it could not be supposed that it would last long. The parity of power in the general assembly gave the members an opportunity of censuring the bishops, and Douglas, who had been promoted to the see of St. Andrews, was degraded. Indeed these *Tulchan* bishops had no power, but they were tools in the hands of a brave but ambitious nobility. They were despised by the very persons who had set them up, and they were considered as time-serving creatures by the people. Their ministry was not attended to, and every general assembly called them to an account for their conduct.

During the whole of this period, the kingdom of Scotland was, as it were, drenched in blood, owing to their unhappy civil dissensions. Almost all the inhabitants were Protestants, and yet dividing themselves into two parties, they supported different interests. One of the parties took part with their unfortunate queen, who was then a prisoner in England; and the other supported the aristocracy of Scotland.

The power of the nobility had been strengthened by a succession of minorities; and when we consider that the king was then no more than an infant, we need not be surprized to find that the high spirits of the Scottish nobility led them to despise monarchy, and trample upon municipal institutions. It is certain that they did so, but that leads us to consider a more important period of the history of the church of Scotland, which, in some measure, gave rise to the present form it now enjoys. The event could not be ascribed to a single cause, it was owing to many. The pride of the nobility, the ignorance of the clergy, the minority of the sovereign, the unsettled state of affairs in the nation, the disputed points between the contending parties, all conspired towards bringing about an event, which although small in its first appearance, yet was, in the end, great in its consequences.

The nobility continued to support the nominal bishops, although they were in general men of



of so pliant tempers that they lost all credit with the lower ranks of the people. The king was an infant, the nobility were employed in cutting each others throats, the clergy were starving, and discipline was neglected; so that every thing bid fair to promote an ecclesiastical reformation in the then Protestant church of Scotland.

In the year 1574, Mr. Andrew Melvill, returned to Scotland from Geneva, where he had spent some years under the tuition of the famous Theodore Beza. If we take the character of this man from the episcopalians, it is very striking indeed. Mr. Sage says, "He was a man by nature fierce and fiery, restless and ungovernable. Education in him had not sweetened nature, but nature had soured education, and both these conspiring together, formed a true original; a piece composed of pride and petulance, of malice and mischief; he could make as free with the scepter as with the crozier, and could treat with the same contempt, the purple and the lawn sleeves.

On the other hand, the Presbyterians in Scotland have represented him in a light quite the reverse. It is certain, he was a man of some learning, and as for his attachment to the religion of Geneva, it is a speculative notion, which must be left to every one's own private judgment.

No sooner had Melvill returned to Scotland, than he was appointed one of the professors in the University of St. Andrews, and minister of a parish. This naturally called him to the general assembly of the clergy, where he harangued in favour of the discipline of Geneva; which he represented as superior to all others. It took mightily with the people, but it was opposed by the nobility, who, to colour their sacrilegious use of the church's money, wanted to retain the poor Tulchan bishops.

The controversy, however, was carried on full six years, till at last the Presbyterian party carried it in a general assembly of the clergy held at Dundee 1580. King James VI. of Scotland was then only fourteen years of age, but he took the government upon himself. It is certain, he loved the Presbyterians, and would never have quarreled with them, had not their intolerable insolence forced him to it. They not only presumed to dictate to him as a Romish confessor does, but they even abused him openly in their own churches; and, to use the words of Dr. Robertson, who is himself a Presbyterian minister, "The pulpit was disgraced, by being used as a vehicle to revile the sovereign, and stir up contention among the people." One Black, preaching in the chapel-royal at Edinburgh, told his sovereign, *à kings were the De'il's bairns*; that is, all kings were the devil's children. Of these indecent expressions Dr. Robertson observes, that the preacher deserved the most severe chastisement; but the king only banished him out of the country, along with six others.

The reformed clergy, in all countries, brought along with them intolerant principles; and thus, when the king of Scotland was petitioned to support the Protestant religion, it was implied that he should extirpate the Roman Catholics. James seldom went into a church but he was insulted; and one time, because he refused to dis-

miss his kinsman, the earl of Lenox, from his presence and banish him from the country, the clergy stirred up the people at Edinburgh, who besieged the king in the parliament-house, crying out, in the words of the Old Testament, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon, the day shall be either theirs or ours." The king would have been barbarously torn in pieces, had not the earl of Mar come down from the castle with a party of soldiers and rescued him.

This usage exasperated James so much against the Presbyterians, that he never loved them afterwards. He began to abridge their power, and curb their insolence, by giving up all his share of the crown lands that had formerly belonged to the bishops, and appointed thirteen ministers to assume that name, but still they had no episcopal ordination. They were not *Tulchan* bishops, because they had revenues; but still they were without power, and their ministry was confined to single congregations. Things continued going on in this manner till the death of queen Elizabeth, 1603, when James succeeded to the crown of England. Then it was that this prince resolved to introduce the episcopal form into his antient kingdom of Scotland, but he proceeded with great moderation, always bestowing the bishops lands on such men as were most esteemed for their abilities.

It does not appear that James ever thought of causing the Scottish clergy to be episcopally ordained till he was persuaded thereto by Boncraft, archbishop of Canterbury; nor indeed did this prince see the scheme wholly reduced to practice. It is true, three of the Scottish bishops were sent up to London and consecrated, and on their return they consecrated their brethren; but most of the clergy refused to be re-ordained by them, and still kept their churches.

In 1616 James went down to Scotland and held a general assembly of the clergy at Perth, where, by a small majority, he got the following articles declared to be binding on the church of Scotland.

First, that the cross should be used in baptism. Secondly, that confirmation should be used. Thirdly, that Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday should be observed. Fourthly, that the sacrament at the Lord's Supper should be received kneeling. And Lastly, that baptism should be administered in private to infants. These are commonly called the five articles of Perth, and they were the same year confirmed by a small majority in the Scottish parliament, but it gave great offence to the people, and to the majority of the clergy.

It is perhaps from this period, that we must date the original of the civil wars. The clergy who hated the ceremonies were very popular; they prayed for two hours together before sermon, and the sermon itself was seldom less than five hours at a time. This inflamed the passions of the people, who admired them, because they spent most of their time in abusing the king and traducing the bishops. They ingratiated themselves with the ladies, who are generally the most easily caught by the priests, and they pretended that they frequently got answers to their prayers from heaven. Many of the poor old women who were not ad-

dicted



dicted to enthusiasm were desired to pray, and bring an answer to one of the pious ladies. Some of the ladies were women of high rank, and their husbands, who were no great friends to the bishops, were easily brought to join with them. The ministers, during the summer, had private meetings with their friends, and plans were laid to irritate the people against episcopacy.

In this manner things went on till 1633, when Charles I. went down to be crowned at Edinburgh, attended by Laud. Lindsey, archbishop of Glasgow, who came to assist at the coronation, hated the ceremonies, and Laud thrust him away from him with contempt, because he was not dressed in the pontifical habits. A parliament was called to enforce the observation of the Perth articles, and when the clerk-register had collected the votes, he declared that there was a majority against the motion. The clerk was seconded by lord Balmerino, the earl of Cassils, and some other noblemen, which so much enraged the king, that he demanded the roll of the names, and declared that there was a majority in favour of the bill. Accordingly the act passed, and then the king ordered the chancellor to command any person who contradicted him to come forward to the bar, and swear that what Cassils had said was true. By the law of Scotland, to say that the king tells a lie, is high-treason, so that none would venture to do it, and the act was recorded.

Charles returned to England, but left the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, meditating a dreadful revenge. They had their meetings in private every summer, and having heard that a common-prayer-book was to be sent them from England, they dispatched some of their agents to London, to prevail upon their Puritan brethren to say all they could in favour of the liturgy, for they knew that if ever it should be sent to Scotland, it would answer all they had in view, namely, to extirpate the bishops, and oblige the king to grant themselves the emoluments of the church. All their wishes were gratified; for in 1636, Laud sent down the prayer-book, which was to be read publicly in the churches of Edinburgh, on the Easter Sunday of the next year, 1637. In the mean time, a great number of the Presbyterian ministers held a private meeting at Edinburgh, and it was agreed, that one Janet Geddis, a zealous woman, should take her seat near the reading desk, and knock down the dean if he came to read the book. The chancellor, who at that time was Spotiswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, the great officers of state, the judges of the court of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh all attended in the high church of that city, in order to hear the new service book read, which was just a copy of the English liturgy.

No sooner had the dean begun the service, than Janet Geddis took up the stool on which she sat, and at one stroke knocked him down in the reading desk, calling aloud at the same time, "Out, fye, you false thief, do you say mass at my lug." As much as if she had said, "Go out for shame, you false thief, do you intend to say mass in my hearing." Ward, speaking of this transaction, says,

How Janet Geddis, that shrewd quean,  
Pelted for reading it, the dean.

The whole congregation was in an uproar; the dean was carried out almost dead, the bishop of Edinburgh had his robes torn, and would have been murdered, had not a nobleman present taken him into his coach; with great difficulty the chancellor made his escape, the judges were insulted, and the prayer-book was burnt by the populace at the Cross. It was attempted to be read in one more of the churches of Edinburgh, but met with the same fate.

The country was now in an uproar, all ranks of people assembled, and the chancellor Spotiswood went up to London with an account of these things to the king. The king ordered the prayer book to be discontinued, and sent down to Scotland the duke of Hamilton, to call a general assembly to be held at Glasgow. In Scotland there are sixty-eight presbyteries, each of which sends three ministers and two elders to the general assembly, and the universities send five, so that the whole number amounts to four hundred and sixty-five. The author of this has perused the records of that assembly, and finds that nine out of ten of the ministers, were such as had been long disaffected to episcopacy, and the elders were noblemen and gentlemen of high rank, who hated the bishops. From such men, the episcopal clergy had every thing to fear, and the presbyterians every thing to hope. They met at Glasgow, and Henderson, one of the most learned Presbyterian ministers, was chosen president, or, as they call him, moderator. The duke of Hamilton recommended unanimity and moderation, telling them at the same time, that the king would grant them every reasonable request so as they did not attempt to injure the established church; but they had higher objects in view, and therefore the first thing they did was to summon all the bishops to appear before them.

It was not to be supposed that the bishops would obey such an order, and therefore they proceeded to excommunicate the whole of them, declaring, at the same time, that their order was contradictory to the word of God, and to the constitution of the church of Scotland. Such proceedings being contrary to law as it then stood, because their proceedings looked with impudence in the face of several acts of parliament; duke Hamilton came to the assembly, and in the king's name dissolved them, declaring that it would be high treason for them to sit any longer. He might as well have declared it to be high-treason in them, either to eat or drink, for they had the populace on their side, whose consciences they domineered over, and whose passions they could turn to what purposes they pleased.

Accordingly, they continued to sit till they had overturned the whole frame of episcopacy, and then marched an army into England to support the Puritans; who had the same views as themselves. The king was obliged to pacify them, and next year he came to Edinburgh, where he called a parliament, and ratified all their proceedings. But soon after this, the English having taken up arms, the king erected the



royal standard at Nottingham, and the civil wars begun, of which we shall at present take no farther notice, than that the Scots had an active hand in them. Their clergy, who disliked the bishops, greedily swallowed their revenues, and reigned like arbitrary tyrants.

The provocation given by the Scottish clergy to Oliver Cromwell, was in all respects unsufferable, and therefore, while they were sitting in their general assembly at Edinburgh 1652, he sent one colonel Cotterel with two regiments of dragoons, who dispersed them, and beat the rogues march behind them, till they were out of the west-gate of that city. During the reign of the protector, they were prohibited from meeting, except in their presbyteries and synods, for Cromwell knew how to deal with those like himself. At the restoration, presbytery was abolished, and established again at the revolution as we have noticed before; but we must now proceed to take notice of other particulars relating to this church, which at present makes such a distinguishing figure in the island of Great Britain, for the erudition of its clergy, and their faithful discharge of their duty.

We come now in the third place, to consider the various forms of worship that have taken place in the church of Scotland, since the reformation, down to the present time. The revolutions, indeed, are neither great nor numerous, but still they command our attention. It cannot be supposed, that in the infant state of the reformed church of Scotland, that the form of worship could be regular, and yet notwithstanding this, we find that natural principles, and a regard to some parts of Divine Revelation, induced the Scottish reformers to follow almost entirely the antient practices as observed before the time of the emperor Constantine the Great. We have a form, in what is commonly called John Knox's liturgy, but that did not obtain long. It was adapted for the readers, and it died with them. They began by reading the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, with the Creed, and then there was a prayer before sermon, which always concluded with the Lord's-Prayer. This form seems to have continued till 1580, when Presbytery was established, and then things took a different turn. Before that time, there were but few sermons preached in Scotland, for the clergy were so ignorant, that they knew but little of the sacred scriptures; some of them were enthusiasts, and others were men who had no learning at all, and a third sort were those who had formerly been Romish priests. From such a medley, little good could have been expected, and the divisions that took place in the country, and which in a manner unhinged the basis of morality, induced the people to forget all those obligations they were under to themselves, to their neighbours, and to God. The worship in that church was performed sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and confusion in the state occasioned confusion in the church.

When Presbytery took place in the church of Scotland 1580, although conducted by a parcel of insolent, bigotted, unlearned zealots, who knew nothing of toleration, with respect to matters of

conscience, yet the leaders had the good sense to point out an uniform practice of religious worship. They ordered, that the public service of the church should be conducted in the following manner:

While the people were assembling in the church, the reader, or as they call him, the precentor, read two or three chapters out of the Old or New Testament, and in the choice of these, they were left to their own discretion. The congregation being assembled, the minister came into the pulpit, and repeated a short prayer, after which he read the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments, but the people made no responses. This part of the ceremony being over, the minister delivered a discourse, which had some relation to the subject matter of the sermon that was to follow, and then he prayed for the general state of the world and of the nation. The text was then read, and the sermon preached, after which a psalm was sung, and a prayer followed, the service for the time being concluded by the general blessing. It is certain, that such a form of worship was very plain and simple, and in many respects consistent with the nature of the antient church, and both the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians complied with it, without making any objections till the Westminster assembly 1645. That form of worship varied in some measure from the other that had gone before but in few things of a material nature.

These were times of popularity, when the prejudices of the common people run high, and when the clergy were willing to keep them in good humour. The Scottish clergy had at that time an unlimited power over the consciences of their people, and they endeavoured to introduce an external form of worship, which differed no more from the old, than that of a temporary compliance with temporary superstition. The clergy of Scotland, however, did not all at once embrace this change in their form of worship, but some of the zealots carried it to the other extreme. Instead of that rational form of worship which had taken place before, they introduced many innovations, which even exceeded all those laid down in their common directory for public worship. It is true, that this innovation was contrived by the general assembly of divines at Westminster, and there are many things in it very rational, and consistent with the practice of the primitive church; but still many of the preachers did not conform themselves to it. In all respects, and under every occurrence, where the circumstances of the times gave them an opportunity, they varied from the prescribed form. Thus some of them used the Lord's-Prayer at the conclusion of their devotions, and others did not. Some of them, instead of reading the scriptures, made long discourses to their people, and during the whole space of time that took place from the death of Charles I. till the restoration, they never prayed for the civil government, although that duty is enjoined in their directory; for what man could ever dispute the force of that duty, unless he was deprived of reason.

The directory for the church of Scotland is comprised in words to the following import, and although



although they do not admit of any forms, yet we shall find that they have something formal. That directory is here set down, and we shall have occasion to take notice afterwards, how far it was complied with at the revolution, and how it is attended to in that country at present.

When the congregation is to meet for public worship, the people, having before prepared their hearts thereunto, ought all to come, and join therein; not absenting themselves from public ordinances, through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, take their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other.

The congregation being assembled, the minister, after solemnly calling them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

In all reverence and humility, acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord, in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear, and in their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near him; with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work, and humbly beseeching him for pardon, assistance, and acceptance in the whole service then to be performed; and for a blessing on that particular portion of his word then to be read; and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The public worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it; forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading or citing; and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other undecent behaviour, which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves, or others in the service of God.

If any through necessity be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themselves to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the assembly in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Reading of the word in the congregation, being part of the public worship of God, wherein we acknowledge our dependence upon him, and subjection to him, and one means sanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the pastors and teachers.

Howbeit, such as attend the ministry, may occasionally both read the word, and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the Presbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, but none of those which are commonly called Apochrypha, shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each tes-

tament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters are short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requisite, that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's-day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the fervent reading of such scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers; as the book of Psalms and such like.

When the minister who readeth, shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither preaching or other ordinances be straightened, or rendered tedious; which rule is to be observed in all other public performances.

Besides the public reading of the holy scriptures, every person that can read, is to be exhorted to read the scriptures privately, and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read, and to have a bible.

After reading of the word, and singing of the psalm, the minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sincerity before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin with shame and holy confusion of face; and to call upon the Lord to this effect.

To acknowledge our great sinfulness; first, by reason of original sin, which, besides the guilt that makes us liable to everlasting damnation, is the seed of all other sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of the soul and body, doth defile our best actions, and were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace, would break forth in innumerable transgressions, and the greatest rebellions against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And next by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many ways accessory. Which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of the holy, just, and good law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined, and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously against the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of his own holy spirit to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, forbearance and long suffering, but standing out against many invitations, and offers of grace in the gospel, not endeavouring as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives.

To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness, or not endeavouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise



cise of godliness in the power thereof; and that the best of us have not so steadfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought, and to mourn over such other sins as the congregation is particularly guilty of; notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenants, and other special obligations to the contrary.

To acknowledge and confess, that as we are convinced of our guilt, so out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgements inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgements in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where are weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all sufficiency of that only one oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ at the right hand of his father, and our father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of God, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins, and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

That the Lord would vouchsafe to send abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, seal unto us by the same spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation, comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirit, and bind up the broken-hearted; and as for secure and presumptuous sinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, to pray for sanctification by his spirit; the mortification of sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over us, the quickening of our dead spirits with the life of God in Christ, grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation, and callings towards God and men, strength against temptations, the sanctified use of blessings and crosses, and perseverance in faith, and obedience unto the end.

To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fullness of the Gentiles, the fall of Anti-christ, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad, from the tyranny of the Anti-christian faction, and from the cruel

oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk: for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches; especially upon the churches and kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant, and for our plantations in the remote parts of the world: more particularly, for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove heresy, schism, profaneness, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of grace, heal all our breaches and divisions, and preserve us from the breach of our solemn covenant.

To pray for all in authority, especially for the king's majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil council, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole church, and of all his kingdoms; for the preservation of the queen, the religious education of the prince, and the rest of the royal seed; for the comforting of the afflicted queen of Bohemia, sister to our sovereign, and for the restitution and establishment of the illustrious prince Charles, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to all his dominions and dignities; for a blessing upon the high court of parliament, (when sitting in any of these kingdoms respectively) the nobility, the subordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry and all the commonality; for all pastors and teachers, that God would fill them with his spirit, make them exemplary holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithful and powerful in their ministry; and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all his people pastors according to his own heart; for the universities, and all schools, and religious seminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in learning and piety; for the particular city or congregation, that God would pour out a blessing upon the ministry of the word, sacraments and discipline, upon the civil government, and all the several families and persons therein; for mercy to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress; for seasonable weather and fruitful seasons, as the time require; for averting the judgements that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and such like.

And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church, and the acceptance of our persons through the merits and mediation of our great high priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our souls to have fellowship with God in the reverent and conscionable use of his holy ordinances; and, to that purpose to pray earnestly for his grace and effectual assistance to the satisfaction of his holy sabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to ourselves, and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches and excellency of the gospel this day celebrated and enjoined.

And, because we have been unprofitable hearers



ers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning, to pray that the Lord who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as nothing in comparison of him: and that we, tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is we may be also, and enjoy the fulness of those joys and pleasures, which are at his right hand for evermore.

More particularly, that God would in a special manner furnish his servant, now called to dispense the bread of life unto his household, with wisdom, fidelity, zeal and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion in evidence and demonstration of the spirit and power; and that the Lord would circumcise the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love and receive with meekness the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls, make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and saving hearing; that so Christ may be so formed in them, and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity, to the obedience of Christ, and their hearts established in every good word and work for ever.

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary public prayers; yet so, as the minister may defer, as in prudence he shall think meet, some part of these petitions, till after his sermon, to offer up to God some of the thanksgivings, hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his sermon.

Preaching of the word, being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed, according to the rules for ordination, that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the oriental languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity, by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the holy scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of believers, and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other gifts of edification, which, together with reading and studying of the word, he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and approve in his private preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his sermon is to be

some text of scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion; or suitable to some special occasion emergent; or he may go on in some chapter, psalm, or book of the scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place of general sentence of scripture.

If the text be long, as in histories and parables it sometimes must be, let him give a brief sum of it: if short, a paraphrase thereof, if necessary: in both, looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine, which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning, with too many members of division, nor to trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, First, that the matter be the truth of God: Secondly, that it be a truth contained in, or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence: Thirdly, that he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places of scripture confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and, if need be, somewhat insisted upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

The arguments or reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations of what kind soever, ought to be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearers heart with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from scripture, reason or prejudice of the hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or answering vain or wicked cavils, which, as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to rest in general doctrine, although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special use, by application to his hearers: which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man, will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and if that any unbeliever or ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrines, he may, when convenient, confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in



hand, and other places of scripture, or from the nature of that common place of divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: But if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly, and endeavour to satisfy their judgements and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he sees cause, to teach also the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehension, and public admonition, which require special wisdom, let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also shew the danger his hearers are in, to be overtaken and surpris'd by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particularly against some special troubles and terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial, which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the holy scripture, whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgements threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong, that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such uses, as by his residence, and conversing with his flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable: and amongst these, such as may most draw their souls to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended as being found by experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the peoples understandings and memories.

But the servant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry.

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of sounds and words, sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical, or other human writers, antient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully, looking at the honour of Christ,

the conversion, edification, and salvation, of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest in their sins.

4. Wisely, framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing with it his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all such gesture, voice and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good. And,

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teaches is the truth of Christ: and walking before his flocks as an example to them in private; earnestly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overseer; so shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold comforts of his labours, even in his life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more ministers in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more specially apply himself to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

The sermon being ended, the minister is

To give thanks for the great love of God, in sending his son Jesus Christ unto us; For the communication of his holy spirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed therein, as namely, election, vocation, adoption, justification, sanctification, and hope of glory; for the admirable goodness of God, in freeing the land from Antichristian darkness and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances: for the reformation of religion; for the covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

To pray for the continuance of the gospel, and all ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty.

To turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon, into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

To pray for preparation for death and judgements, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. To intreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of our spiritual sacrifice, through the merits and mediation of our great high-priest and Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ.

And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the church.

And



And whereas at the administration of the sacraments, the holding public fasts and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings; it is requisite to express some what in our public prayers, as at all times, it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the churches, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament and kingdom: Every minister herein is to apply himself in his prayer, before or after his sermon to those occasions; but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him in piety and wisdom, to discharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a psalm be sung if with conveniency it may be done. After which, unless some other ordinance of Christ that concerneth the congregation at that time be to follow, let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.

Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use, and ends of this sacrament: Shewing

That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal: That the water in baptism representeth and signifieth, both the blood of Christ, which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual, and the sanctifying virtue of the spirit of Christ, against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature: That baptizing or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood, and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ; that the promise is made to believers and their seed, and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, interest in the covenant and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the church under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before. That the son of God admitted little children into his presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, for of such is the kingdom of God; that children by baptism are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers, and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh. That they are Christians and covenanted holy before baptism, and therefore are they baptized. That the inward grace and virtue of baptism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered, and that the fruit and power thereof, reacheth to the whole course of our life; and that outward baptism is not so necessary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect the ordinance

of Christ, when and where it may be had.

In these or the like instructions the minister is to use his own liberty, and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

To look back to their baptism: to repent of their sins against their covenants with God, to stir up their faith, to improve and make the right use of their baptism, and of the covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls.

He is to exhort the parent,

To consider the great mercy of God to him and his child; to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himself and child, if he be negligent: requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty.

This being done, prayer is also to be joined with the word of institution, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use, and the minister is to pray to the following effect:

That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances, would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless his own ordinance of baptism at this time; that he would join the inward baptism of his spirit with the outward baptism of water; make this baptism to the infant a seal of adoption, remission of sin, regeneration and eternal life, and of all other promises of the covenant of grace; that the child may be formed into the likeness of the death and resurrection of Christ, and that the body of sin being destroyed in him, he may serve God in newness of life all his days.

Then the minister is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to say, calling the child by his name,

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As he pronounceth these words, he is to baptize the child with water: which for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks and pray, to this or the like purpose;

Acknowledging with all thankfulness that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of his love in Christ: that in his truth and special providence, he daily bringeth some into the bosom of his church, to be partakers of inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of his dear son, for the continuance and increase of his church.

And praying, that the Lord would still continue, and daily confirm more and more this his unspeakable favour: that he would receive the infant now baptized, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into his fatherly tuition and



and defence, and remember him with the favour that he sheweth to his people, that if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would be pleased to receive him up into glory; and if he live and attain the years of discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by his word and spirit, and make his baptism effectual to him, and so uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by the power of God thro' faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The communion, or supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: But how often, may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered we judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Where this sacrament cannot with conveniency be frequently administered, it is requisite that public warning be given the sabbath day before the administration thereof; and that either then or on some day of that week, something concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof be taught, that by the diligent use of all means sanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feast.

When the day is come for administration, the minister having ended his sermon and prayer shall make a short exhortation;

Expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this sacrament; together with the ends and use thereof, setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby, in this our pilgrimage and warfare. How necessary it is that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: How great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

Next he is in the name of Christ on the one part, to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table, shewing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgement unto himself; and on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace, than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table, assuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshing and strength, to their weak and wearied souls.

After this exhortation, warning and invitation, the table being before decently covered and so conveniently placed, that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it; the minister is

to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him, the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him and given, it may be distributed amongst the communicants: The wine also in large cups; having first in a few words shewed, That those elements otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer.

Let the words of institution be read out of the evangelists, or out of the first epistle of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, ch. 11. ver. 23. "For I have received of the Lord, &c. to the 27 ver. which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing of the bread and wine be to this effect;

With humble and hearty acknowledgement of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us; and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies, to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ and all his benefits are applied and sealed up unto us, which notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

To profess that there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life.

Earnestly pray to God the father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his spirit in us, and so to sanctify these elements both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us.

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable affections answerable to such an holy action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say in these expressions, or other the like, used by Christ or his apostle upon this occasion.

According to the holy institution, command and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks, I break it and give it unto you. There the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to the communicants: Take ye, eat ye, this is the body of Christ which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of him.



In like manner, the minister is to take the cup, and say in these expressions, or other the like, used by Christ, or the Apostle, upon the same occasion ;

According to the institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup, and give it unto you ; here he giveth it unto the communicants : This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many : Drink ye all of it.

After all have communicated, the minister may in a few words put them in mind

Of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament, and exhort them to walk worthy of it.

The minister is to give solemn thanks to God, for his rich mercy and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them in that sacrament, and to intreat for pardon for the effects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of his good spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation.

The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered.

The Lord's-day ought to be so remembered before hand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be an holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every person or family by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry, and by such holy exercises, as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

That all the people meet timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship ; and not depart till after the blessing is pronounced.

That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meeting of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons, especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard, and catechising of them, holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight.

Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of public interest in every common wealth, yet because such as marry are to

marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the word of God at their entering into such a new condition, and of the blessing of God upon them therein ; we judge it expedient, that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only ; and they, such as are within the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity, not prohibited by the word of God. And the parties are to be of years of discretion, fit to make their own choice, or upon good grounds to give their mutual consent.

Before the solemnizing of marriage between any persons, their purpose of marriage shall be published by the minister three several sabbath-days in the congregation, at the place or places of their most useful and constant abode respectively. And of this publication, the minister, who is to join them in marriage, shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of such their purpose, if the parties be under age, the consent of the parents or others under whose power they are, in case the parents be dead, is to be made known to the church officers of that congregation to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first marriage. And in after marriages of either of those parties, they shall be exhorted not to contract marriage, without first acquainting their parents with it, if with convenience it may be done, endeavouring to obtain their consent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free consent, nor deny their own consent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of marriage hath been thus published, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the minister having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to solemnize it in the place appointed by authority for public worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year except on a day of public humiliation, and we advise that it be not on the Lord's day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister is to pray for a blessing upon them to this effect :

Acknowledging our sins whereby we have made ourselves less than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all our comforts earnestly in the name of Christ to intreat the Lord, whose presence and favour is the happiness of every condition, and sweetens every relation, to be their portion, to own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the honourable estate of marriage, the covenant of their God. And that as he hath brought them together by his providence, he would sanctify them by his spirit, giving them a new frame of heart, fit for their new estate ; enriching them with all graces, whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares,



and resist the temptations which accompany that condition as becometh Christians.

The prayer being ended, it is proper that the minister do briefly declare unto them out of the scripture

The institution, use and ends of marriage, with the conjugal duties, which in all faithfulness they are to perform each to other, exhorting them to study the holy word of God, that they may learn to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage cares and troubles sanctifying God's name in a thankful, sober, and holy use of all conjugal comforts, praying much with and for one another, watching over, and provoking each other to love, and good works, and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life.

After solemnly charging of the persons to be married before that great God, who searcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause by precontract or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage; that they now discover it: The minister, if no impediment be acknowledged, shall cause, first, the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these or the like words:

I N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say these words.

I N. do take thee N. to be my married husband, and I do in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then without any further ceremony the minister shall in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God's ordinance, and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect:

That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant mercy, in and through Christ Jesus.

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

It is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in public, but privately, and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove and comfort them, upon all reasonable occasions, so far at his time, strength, and personal safety will permit.

He is to admonish them, in time of health to prepare for death; and for that purpose they are often to confer with their minister about the estate of their souls: and in times of sickness to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably before their strength and understanding fail them.

Times of sickness and affliction, are special

opportunities put into his hand by God, to minister a word in season to weary souls: because then the consciences of men are, or should be more awakened, to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then, to load them more with sore and heavy temptations. Therefore the minister being sent for, and repairing to the sick, is to apply himself with all tenderness and love, to administer some spiritual good to his soul, to this effect:

He may, from the consideration of the present sickness, instruct him out of scripture, that diseases come not by chance or by distempers of body only, but by the wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God to every particular person smitten by them. And that whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, and for trial and exercises of his graces, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he suspects him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity of those graces; as also the covenant of grace, and Christ the son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remission of sins by faith in him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt or temptation, that is upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them, of the filth and pollution which the soul contracts, by them and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them; and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered, to awaken his conscience and rouse him out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that being lost in himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he has endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to serve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities, or if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the sufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in him.

It may be also useful to shew him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because sin, the sting of death, is



is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himself entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: So that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom such are such, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Advice also may be given to beware of an ill grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven, so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for mercy in the sole merits and meditation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged himself never to cast off them, who in truth and sincerity come unto him. Care also must be taken, that the sick person be not cast down into despair by such a severe representation of the wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollified by a seasonable propounding of Christ and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the sick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the minister, desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect:

Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual, the miserable condition of all by nature as being children of wrath, and under the curse, acknowledging that all diseases, sicknesses, death, and hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof: imploring God's mercy for the sick person through the blood of Christ, beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him his holy spirit to create and strengthen faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidence of his love, to arm against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end:

That if God shall please to add to his days, he would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance, and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

And if God hath determined to finish his days by the present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour and all sufficient Redeemer.

The minister shall admonish him also, as there shall be cause, to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies, to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satisfaction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, the minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person, to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for sickness, death, and judgement, and all the days of their appointed time, so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life shall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony.

And because the customs of kneeling down and praying by, or towards the dead corps, and other such usages in the place where it lays, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious: and for that praying, reading, and singing both in going to, and at the grave have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit we judge it very convenient that the Christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion; and that the minister as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or differences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased whilst he was living.

When some great and notable judgements are either inflicted upon a people or apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, public solemn fasting, which is to continue the whole day, is a duty that God expecteth from the nation, or people.

A religious fast requires total abstinence not only from all food, unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken yet very sparingly to support nature when ready to faint; but also from all worldly labour, discourses and thoughts, from all bodily delights, although at other times lawful, rich apparel, ornaments and such like, during the fast, and much more from what ever is, in the nature, or use, scandalous or offensive; as garnish, attire, lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex, which we recommend to all ministers in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove as at other times, so especially at a fast without respect of persons, as here shall be occasion.

Before



Before the public meeting, each family and person apart, are privately to use all religious care; to prepare their hearts to such a solemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in public reading, and preaching of the word, with singing of psalms fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty; but especially in prayer to this or the like effect:

Giving glory to the great majesty of God, the creator, preserver and supreme ruler of all the world, the better to affect us thereby with a holy reverence and awe of him. Acknowledging his manifold, great and tender mercies, especially to the church and nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before him. Humbly confessing of sins of all sorts, with their several aggravations: Justifying God's righteous judgements, as being far less than our sins do deserve; yet humbly and earnestly imploring his mercy and grace for ourselves, the church and nation, for our king and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, according as the present exigent requireth, with more special importunity and enlargement than at other times. Applying by faith the promises and goodness of God for pardon, help and deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deserved, and for obtaining blessings which we need and expect, together with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto the Lord.

In all these, the ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts upon serious, and through premeditation of them, that both themselves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby: especially with sorrow for their sins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister's observation and experience tell him are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the public duties, the minister is in his own and the peoples name, to engage his and their own hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is amiss among them, and more particularly such sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new obedience then ever before.

He is also to admonish the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day and of their whole life, in re-inforcing upon themselves and their families in private, all those godly affections and resolutions which they professed in public, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find that God hath smelt a sweet savour

in Christ for their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgements, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jesus Christ.

Beside solemn and general fasts enjoined by authority, we judge that at other times congregations may keep days of fasting, as divine providence shall administer to them special occasions. And also that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for fasting or other public duties of worship.

When any such day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation, after private preparations, being assembled, the minister is to begin with a word of exhortation to stir up the people to this duty for which they are met and with a short prayer for God's assistance and blessing, as at other conventions for public worship, according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it and more affected with it.

And because singing of psalms is of all other the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent psalm or psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading some portion of the word, suitable to the present business.

Then let the minister who is to preach, proceed to further exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the present work; after which let him preach upon some text of scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The sermon ended, let him only pray, as at other times after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the church, king, and state, if before the sermon they were omitted, but enlarge himself in due and solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks; with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshing.

But the minister, before their dismissal, is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing, and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful, and enlarged further to celebrate his praises in the midst of the congregation



gregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the public meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor, and in the like manner upon the day of public humiliation, that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testifications of Christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family.

In singing of psalms, the voice is to be tunable and gravely ordered: But the chief care must be, to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm-book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

Thus we have here a complete directory for public worship, and when all the circumstances are considered, an unconcerned person will be surprised that such a composition should be drawn up by a body of men, differing in many sentiments concerning the externals of religion, but all agreeing in the essentials. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that this directory comes nearer to the primitive form, than any of those in the reformed churches abroad; but this leads us to take notice, in the third place, of their various confessions of faith from time to time.

The church of Scotland, at the reformation 1560, had no regular confession of faith, nor articles of religion, but as to fundamental points, they were like the rest of the Protestant world. That is, they held all those sentiments as genuine, that were embraced by the church of Geneva, and in the church of England, except so far as the articles of that church relate to church government.

In 1561, Mr. Knox and some other divines, drew up a confession of faith, which continued to be the uniform standard of doctrine of the church of Scotland, till 1645, and this system, containing forty-three articles, was constantly subscribed both by Episcopalians and Presbyterians. In all these articles, where the subject matter is disputable, the Scottish reformers have conducted themselves with great modesty, and much more so than the Westminster divines. In their account of predestination, they speak with the same moderation as the church of England;

and although the whole is consistent with the doctrine of St. Austin, yet it is not carried to an extravagant height, nor are dogmatical assertions made use of.

This system of religion was so well esteemed, that no fault was found with it by the people of Scotland till the famous Westminster assembly, when some of the members, who were violent in their tempers and high in their notions, objected to it as favouring the Arminian scheme, which was really false, there not being one article in it but what every Calvinist might subscribe. This antient Protestant confession of faith is but little known in the present age, except by those who are curious in searching into such matters. It is, however, a noble composition, and is worthy of those men, who, although but little acquainted with human learning, yet had the fear of God, and the love of true religion implanted in their hearts.

There is one thing very remarkable, namely, that when episcopacy was established 1662, not one word was mentioned concerning a system of articles. Perhaps there never was such a blunder committed before. An established church without a system, is like a body without a soul. And yet this want of articles in the episcopal church of Scotland was never called in question till 1682, when the test act was proposed, and carried through parliament, by the influence of the duke of York. This infamous act was expressed in words to the following purport, or import. Every person was to swear that he would support the Protestant religion as by law established. Here was a studied ambiguity, calculated to serve the ends the Roman Catholics had in view; and nothing could have induced the people of Scotland to give their consent to it, had it not been the terrors they were under of coming once more under the severity of Presbyterian discipline.

The oath was taken by some of the nobility, but when it was proposed to the earl of Argyle, he asked, what was the religion by law established? The bishops of Scotland were at that time poor, ignorant, worthless men; but this question put them to what they had never done before, namely, *the blush*. It was then proposed in council, that a system should be fixed on, and after many debates, that of 1561 was made choice of. The Presbyterians did not object so much to the form of the old confession, as they did to its moderation, and as for the Episcopalians, many of them treated all sorts of religion with contempt. But this was not all: There was an ambiguity in the words of the act, which seemed to have been studied by some very artful person. Thus by the words "Protestant religion," it was not said whether it was episcopacy, or presbytery. This seems to have been contrived to irritate all those who were of the Presbyterian persuasion; but the snare was laid equally for the virtuous amongst the Episcopalians. The act appointing the reformed religion as the establishment of Scotland was never signed by queen Mary, and therefore when it was said, "by law established," the Papists had it still in their power to insinuate that there was no religion but theirs established by law. The sensible part of the Episcopalians saw through the deception,



tion, and the oath was rejected by them, while the Presbyterians treated it with abhorrence.

The horrid murders that took place in Scotland, in consequence of this act, are well known to all those who are properly acquainted with the history of that country. But then it should be considered, that the duke of York was a merciless tyrant, and the Scottish bishops were mean, obsequious wretches. It is true, this system which had been embraced by the church of Scotland under all her forms for at least eighty-five years, was acknowledged by the Episcopalians till the revolution, and by some of them afterwards. But this leads us to consider their second system, which was framed by the assembly of divines at Westminster, was the formula of doctrine for the church of Scotland till the restoration, and has been so ever since the revolution.

This system is a compilation of those doctrines, which were propagated by St. Austin, and embraced by most of the Protestant reformers. The sentiments are striking and the language is engaging. It is divided into thirty-three articles, all of which we shall take notice of.

The first article relates to the holy scriptures, and points out the necessity of Divine revelation, to bring men to a state of happiness, where the light of natural reason fails. It enumerates all the books of the Old and New Testament; it disclaims all reliance on church authority, or traditions, and allows nothing to be the foundation, or ground work of our faith and obedience, but the truths contained in the sacred scriptures.

The second article asserts the doctrine of the trinity in unity, a sentiment that most Christians agree in, excepting a few English dissenters. This article is well expressed, and all the positions are supported by such texts of scripture as are incontradictory. And here it may not be improper to observe, that this article of the Christian faith was never called in question till the middle of the fourth century.

The third article relates to predestination, and here the notion is carried much higher than it is in the seventeenth article of the church of England. It is certain, there are some very unguarded expressions in this article, and others that clearly point out a forced construction put upon scripture. The greatest fault in this article is, that the assertions are too positive and dogmatical. The persons who framed them, seem to have looked upon themselves as infallible, or otherwise they would never have pretended to dictate to their fellow creatures in matters of no manner of importance.

The fourth article is one of those which is acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the world, unless they are Atheists, or Epicureans. This article asserts, that the world was created by Almighty power, and that all the three persons in the ever blessed trinity were concerned in it. It is certain, that no object can make itself, no being form its own existence. There is in this article, a line drawn between natural and revealed religion, a circumstance too seldom to be met with in modern systems of divinity.

In a regular course, the fifth article relates to providence. Some parts of this article are rather harsh, and many of the expressions unguarded; but in general there is something noble and grand

in the whole. God is here acknowledged to be the sovereign Lord of the creation, and consequently has a right to dispose of his creatures in what manner he pleases. The article concludes by taking notice, that the same Providence which takes care of the world, exercises the same care over the church of God.

The sixth article relates to the fall of man, and all the sentiments in this article are expressed with care and precision. There are few people in the world who will deny the existence of original corruption; for common experience points it out. Why should men be so prone to sin if there is not a contamination in the nature? Why should all the faculties be corrupted if there was not an original cause? The case is plain and obvious, and agrees with the doctrine of the church of England.

The seventh article relates to the two covenants, namely, those of works and grace. This article asserts, that the covenant of works was a conditional engagement, entered into by the great Jehovah and our first parents, concerning personal obedience. The covenant of grace was an engagement entered into by God on the one part, and his son on the other, to redeem our fallen race. The words in this article are stiff and affected, and there are some very ambiguous expressions made use of. This, however, is not so much to be imputed to the framers of the articles, as to the tempers of those people with whom things were conducted. God in his goodness promotes the interests of his creatures, and he loves that all his subjects should do the same.

The eighth article relates to Christ, as a mediator between God and man. This is one of the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; for what necessity could there have been for Christ's taking our nature upon him, unless it was by his mediation to make up that breach which sin had procured. It is through Christ, as a mediator between offended power and offending sinners, that we must look for acceptance. The Papists, although they pray to angels and saints, yet allow Christ to be the Supreme Mediator. Nay, nothing is more common than to hear an Arian mentioning Christ as a mediator, although at the same time he attempts to rob him of his glory.

The ninth article relates to the freedom of the human will, and is much the same as that in the church of England, only that it is more full and expressive. It is grounded on all those passages of sacred scripture, which point out the omnipotence of God; but it is certain that many of these passages relate to the general purposes of God, and not to the condition of individuals. We shall not, however, meddle with the controversy, but leave every reader to judge for himself.

The tenth article follows the ninth of course, and relates to effectual calling, or, as it is commonly expressed, efficacious grace in bringing men to a sense of sin, and a knowledge of the necessity they are under of being justified thro' the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

The chain of principles in this compendium is so regularly interwoven, that the actual justification of a sinner follows immediately in the eleventh article after effectual calling. And here, in conformity with all the Protestant churches at the



the reformation, it is asserted that no man can be justified before God so as to be saved eternally, but through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Certainly it is the safest way for a man to trust for salvation in the righteousness of Christ, rather than in any thing done by himself. It is in the words of the old Proverb, "Erring on the safe side." For surely the man who has a low and humble opinion of himself, will be the most ready to do good works; so that if the sentiments concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness should not be true, yet he will be able to obtain salvation on the score of his own merits.

Adoption of course follows, by which is meant, sinners being adopted or admitted as the children of God, and heirs of his glory. The term is borrowed from the civil law of the Romans, which permitted a man who had no children to make choice of one, whom he called by his own name and left him his estate. In such cases, no law suit could be entered into by the collateral relations, the adopted person being to enjoy the whole secure and unmolested. As this supposed a right of possession among the Romans, as well as a right of disposal, so adoption in a Christian sense imports God's absolute power and freedom to bestow his mercies, favours, and blessings wherever he pleases.

The thirteenth article is concerning sanctification, which naturally follows adoption. It is certain, that without holiness or good works, all pretensions to justification and adoption are vain. It is, however, a most melancholy consideration, that the most zealous professors of religion are the worst of men. The man who is justified and adopted into the family of God, is holy, humble, meek, charitable, and virtuous; whereas the bold hypocrite who tires heaven with his prayers, and talks to people of his experiences, is only ripening for hell.

The fourteenth article is concerning saving faith, and here the doctrine of the appropriation has been held forth as a leading principle. It is certain, that this was in general the notion embraced by the reformers throughout Europe, and it follows exactly the doctrine of St. Austin. In the church, before the time of Austin, faith was considered as a firm belief that Christ was what he is represented in scripture; namely, the second person in the ever blessed trinity, God and man; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, and that he arose again and ascended into heaven. To believe this, was all that was required of the ancient Christians, only that they were to depart from all sorts of iniquity. St. Austin, however, introduced the notion, that there was a necessity for the appropriating act, and in this he has been followed by the reformers. Mr. Hervey defines the appropriating act in the following words, "Christ is mine, grace is mine, pardon is mine, and why? because I feel sanctifying operations in my heart." Perhaps Mr. Hervey was right, for surely the man who feels within himself an inclination to do good, must have the grace of God in his heart. By those, however, of enlarged sentiments, faith has been logically defined in the following words.

1. Faith is the belief of something being true, in consequence of a firm persuasion that the person who related the fact could not tell a lie.

2. But God is the author of Divine Revelation.

3. Therefore, to believe the Old and New Testament to be true, is saving faith.

The fifteenth article is concerning repentance, which must always make a part of religion, where men believe themselves to be sinners. There are no Christians that we know of, who deny the doctrine of repentance, only that some whom we shall have occasion to mention afterwards, believe that it flows from the freedom of the human will, whereas the article before us asserts, that it is effected by Divine grace. The Arminians say, that repentance goes before faith, and the Calvinists insist that it follows after.

The sixteenth article is concerning good works, which is what may be called an excrescence. We have already considered the article on sanctification, and in the name of common sense, do not good works flowing from faith in Christ Jesus become sanctification. What is sanctification, is it not the effect of every duty flowing from evangelical principles? The church of England has treated of good works and sanctification as one and the same, and we will freely acknowledge, that to separate them is little better than insanity. We must acknowledge, however, that the hypocrite makes use of the word sanctification, while the true Christian glories in good works without trusting in them.

The seventeenth article relates to the final perseverance of the saints, which is one of the grand articles in that system which St. Austin taught, and which was reduced into a system by Calvin. It is certain, that when we consider the state of human nature, the pride of men, and their ill-grounded expectations, this article will appear to us clogged with dangerous consequences. Thus the person who believes he cannot fall from grace, is apt to be so vain in his own conceit as to neglect moral duties. Perhaps this is the greatest error in modern religion, and we can almost venture to affirm, that it has laid the foundation for crimes. While men are on their guard, God will be with them; while they indulge themselves in security, they will be in danger.

The eighteenth article is little more in words than a repetition of the last. It is on the assurance of salvation. Whatever men may believe, whatever they may embrace as their own private sentiments, they ought to be extremely cautious how they make them public to others. Ask a man whether he is sure of salvation, and perhaps the boldest professor will decline answering in the affirmative.

The nineteenth article relates to the law of God, and this is plain and expressive. It distinguishes the law of God into different parts, as first, that made with, or given to Adam, which has commonly been called the moral law, though with great impropriety. Secondly, the ceremonial law, by which through sacrifices and other significant types, the whole gospel dispensation was pointed out. Thirdly, the fundamental law of the Romans, which related to the security of civil property, as well as the preservation of life; and



and lastly, the law of Christ which, comprehends all that is useful in any of the others.

The twentieth article is concerning liberty of conscience, and here we are sorry to observe that there is a studied ambiguity runs through the whole of it. It is remarkable, that above forty years after the reformation, the Protestants should have retained intolerant principles. To consider this article in a superficial light, it would seem that the framers of it had been friends to ecclesiastical and civil liberty, but a person who is acquainted with reason, cannot be deceived with such flimsy pretences. The whole article has been drawn up by a very artful person, who seems to have been no stranger to the school of Loyola.

The twenty-first article relates to the Christian sabbath, or Lord's day, and it is certain, that this was a duty observed by the primitive church, except by such as were slaves to Heathen masters. In this article the sentiments are clearly expressed, and point out all those duties which the sincere Christian should practise. This much is certain, that if the religious observation of the sabbath was more attended to than it is, it might be of great service to the world in general. There is something that has a heavenly appearance, in men setting apart some of their time for religious duties. One day in seven is observed by the Mahometans, one by the Jews, and one by the Christians.

Article twenty-second relates to oaths or vows, and here the authors have adhered very strictly to the scriptural sense. It is certain, that the form of swearing in England does not carry along with it, that solemn dread which should be upon the minds of the people. But here the duty is explained in a clear, comprehensive, expressive manner.

The twenty-third article relating to the civil magistrate, is very ambiguously expressed. This much is certain, that the framers of the article delivered sentiments which contradicted their own practice. They were, at that time, in a state of rebellion, and yet they here express themselves as loyal subjects.

The twenty-fourth article relates to marriage, and when we consider every thing in it, we shall find that it is, in all respects, consistent with the moral law of nature, and the gospel of Christ. There are some strong invectives against people despising the marriage state, and perhaps it would be much better for the people in the present age were they to attend more to this sentiment.

The twenty-fifth article relates to the universal church, and this is much the same in substance, as the article on that subject in the church of England. It disclaims all pretensions to infallibility, and declares the pope of Rome to be antichrist. It asserts that Christ is the head of the church, in opposition to all those whom they call Erastians, who give that power to the civil magistrate.

The twenty-sixth article concerns the communion of saints as united to Jesus Christ their living head. This is an important article of the Christian faith, and in it that doctrine is clearly expressed. It is certain, that all believers on

this earth, may be said to be in a state of communion, like children of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance. As they all partake of the same effects of the death of Christ, and are all to enjoy his presence for ever, so there is nothing more necessary than that they should be united.

The twenty-seventh article relates to the sacraments, and although the sentiments of the person who framed it are the same with those of the church of England, yet the Westminster divines have explained themselves with greater precision. Like the church of England, they here declare that there are but two sacraments, and that they are only visible signs of inward invisible grace.

Article twenty-eight is on baptism, and here these divines have kept in the middle between the two extremes. The article asserts, that it is a great sin to delay baptism, and much more so to despise it; but abhorring the Popish notions, as well as those embraced by some Protestant churches, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation.

The twenty-ninth article is on the Lord's Supper, and the same sentiments are retained in it as in the church of England, only that there is no ambiguity, the whole being expressed in the clearest manner.

The thirtieth article relates to church censures, which will be taken more notice of when we come to treat of the discipline of the church of Scotland.

The thirty-first article relates to synods, or councils, and here it is necessary to remark, that although the Puritans condemned the twentieth article of the church of England, which gives power to the church to appoint rites and ceremonies, yet here we find the same sentiment advanced, and, indeed, in a much more ambiguous manner, than in the church of England.

The thirty-second article relates to the state of men after death, and the resurrection. There are two things necessary to be attended to in this article:

The first of which is, that the framers of it disclaim the notion that the souls of people sleep from the time of their death, till the resurrection. This notion is at present embraced by many of the English Dissenters, who seem to be glutted with liberty and fond of novelty.

The second thing in this article, is the common opinion, that the souls of the righteous go into heaven at death, and the souls of wicked men into hell. It is very surprizing, that any man who has read Luke xvi. should ever run away with such an absurd notion, that human souls either go to heaven or hell at death. The express words in that chapter assert, that there are two states, one for the righteous, and the other for the wicked.

The Heathens, as appears from the sixth book of Virgil, thought thus, and Christ speaks of such a separate state, as afforded an opportunity for the happy and miserable to see each other. This was the sense of the primitive church; for as Christ had taken our nature upon him, and as he was not glorified himself till he ascended into heaven,



ven, consequently our happiness will not be complete till our bodies and souls are united.

The thirty-third and last article is concerning the general judgement. This is an article of natural religion, and is strongly enforced by divine revelation; the natural principle on which it stands, is the inequality of the distribution of justice and mercy in this world. Our notions of God are, that he is just, and that he will reward virtue and punish vice. Now, as vice often reigns triumphant, while virtue is depressed, it is consistent with the Divine attributes, that God should appoint a day for a general retribution. However, concerning this article, Divine revelation has not left us in the dark; for Christ himself has assured us, that he will come in glory to give to every one according to his works. And Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, speaking on this subject in the court of Areopagus, said, "He hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness." Acts xvii. 32.

Such are the articles contained in that formulary drawn up by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and at present embraced by the church of Scotland. It is certain, that it contains a complete and methodical system of Austin's opinions and Calvin's doctrines. It is equally certain, that there are sentiments in it which were not known in the Christian church, till the fourth century. With respect to the civil power, it has a studied, or rather a forced ambiguity, but this must be ascribed to the spirit and temper of that age when it was compiled. When this system was drawn up, a copy fairly engrossed on vellum, was deposited in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, where the members of both houses gave their assent to it; for the parliament was at that time without a king. The parliament of Scotland ratified this confession 1649, but it was abolished at the restoration. In 1690, it was established as the fundamental articles of religion in the church of Scotland; and, at present, every professor in their universities, every probationer, and every minister, previous to his ordination, must subscribe it. It is not, however, imposed on the civil magistrates, nor in Scotland are there any sacramental tests.

The church of Scotland has two catechisms, both drawn up in the same manner, only that the one is a composition to be read, the other is a simple catechism to be got by heart. Both these catechisms are divided into a more regular plan than any perhaps in the universe. They consist only of three parts, namely, first, what the scriptures teach us to believe concerning God; secondly, an account of that duty which God requires of man; and, lastly, an illustration of all that the churches should attend to in this life.

The shorter catechism of the church of Scotland, is one of the most beautiful compendiums of Calvinistical divinity that ever was written. The sentiments are striking, the language is nervous, though adapted to the meanest capacities, and the doctrines are such as in general may be supported by scripture. The questions are drawn up in such an easy manner, that the

weakest capacity may return the answers in an easy manner; and they are so connected together, that they seem to resemble the links of a chain; for remove the answer to one of the questions, and you discompose the whole.

Having said thus much concerning the fundamental articles of their religion, we shall now endeavour to lay before the reader the present state of their church in all its different parts.

And first, with respect to its government.

The church of Scotland is at present, and has been ever since the revolution, governed in the following manner: In every parish there is at least one minister, and sometimes two, but where there are two, they are equal in power; for no individual minister in the church of Scotland has authority over another. In every parish, besides the minister, there are a few reputable men chosen, whom they call elders. The number of these men are according to the extent of the parish, and they are solemnly ordained for life. Their business is to visit the sick and pray with them in the absence of the minister; to take care that parents bring up their children in a proper manner; to enquire into all acts of immorality, and make a report thereof to the kirk session.

The kirk session is composed of the minister and those elders, and they meet at least once every week, and in country places most commonly on Sundays after the service is over. They enquire into every complaint against any of the parishioners, and if it is for fornication or adultery, they inflict the following censures upon them.

There is in every parish church a seat erected in a most conspicuous part, where the offender must sit three several Sundays, and receive as many rebukes from the minister; but from this sentence the offender may appeal to the presbytery, of which we shall speak afterwards.

The lowest order of officers in the church of Scotland, are their deacons. These men, like the elders, are in number according to the extent of the parish. They are always reputable housekeepers, and their duty is to enquire into the state of the poor, to administer to them the alms of the congregation, but they are not permitted to sit in any church judicatures.

The presbytery is composed of the ministers of a certain district, which, according to the situation of the country, may be from ten to sixteen parishes. From each parish an elder goes as well as the minister, and they meet once every six weeks. They hear all appeals from the church session, and they elect ministers to represent themselves in the general assembly.

An appeal from the presbytery lies to the synod, which is composed of the whole members of three or four presbyteries, and they meet twice in the year, and review the proceedings of the presbyteries. In both these meetings the president, or, as they call him, moderator, is always chosen from among the ministers. He proposes the questions and collects the votes; and both in presbyteries and synods attorneys are allowed to plead.

Above all these is the general assembly, which properly



properly speaking, may be called the parliament of the church of Scotland. This council is composed of three hundred and forty-five members, being ministers and elders, together with commissioners from the universities. They have, ever since the revolution, met at Edinburgh in the last week of May; and the king sends down a commissioner to represent his person. When the commissioner arrives at Edinburgh, he walks in procession to the high church, where a sermon is preached by the moderator, or president for the last year. Divine service being over, the assembly meets in an aisle belonging to the church, where there is a throne covered with crimson velvet. The commissioner takes his seat on the throne, and three steps below him is the president for the last year, with the clerk, who is always a minister, at a table before him. The commissioner, who is, during his office, styled his grace, receives the commission from the bag-bearer, and delivers it to the moderator, who reaches it to the clerk.

The clerk reads the commission first in Latin, and then in English. It is always to the following import. It begins with a declaration of his majesty's love and regard for the church of Scotland; an acknowledgement of the favours his family are under to that church; and this is followed by an exhortation, that they will promote the interest of virtue and morality, that they will send able teachers among the poor Highlanders, that they may be brought up in the fear of God as useful members of society. The commission being read and recorded, two candidates are named to be moderator, and the majority of votes carries the election. The new moderator then goes up to the chair and constitutes the assembly by prayer.

As soon as prayer is over, the high commissioner delivers a speech from the throne, concerning the state of the nation, and recommends to them peace and unanimity, and rejoices in having been honoured to represent his majesty's person in such a learned and reverend assembly. After this he withdraws, and the first thing done is to draw up an address to his majesty, which is given to the commissioner, who transmits it to the secretary of state. The next thing done by them is to grant a warrant on the exchequer to pay one thousand pounds towards supporting the charity schools in the Highlands, and then they proceed to chuse their committees, which, in general, is the business of the first day.

Next day they enter upon such business as was left unfinished the preceding year, and every member has leave to speak to the question proposed. Council, who must all be advocates, are permitted to plead in all matters of dispute; so that what a learned author says is true, namely, that the general assembly of the church of Scotland is the school of eloquence.

The commissioner may come as often as he pleases to the assembly, but he must not interfere in their debates, nor has he so much as a vote. The business before the assembly is either by appeals or original actions, which are prosecuted by summons. The appeals are of various sorts, and such as perhaps may have been carried

from the kirk session through the presbytery and synod.

The original actions are of a more important nature, and for the most part relate to the settlement of ministers. From the reformation to the year 1649, the patrons of parishes presented ministers to vacant churches, but from that time, to the restoration, they were elected by the people.

From the restoration to the revolution, the right of patronage returned to its old form, but at the revolution, when presbytery was established 1690, the right of patronages was abolished. At the union 1707, it was enacted, that the revolution settlement should continue; but the whigs, having by their ambition, pride, and avarice, forfeited all claims to the royal favour, queen Anne, in 1710, changed her ministry, and made choice of such persons as were then called high churchmen.

These men hated the church and people of Scotland, not only on account of the simplicity of their religion, but likewise because they were endeavouring to do all they could towards suppressing popery, and bringing the present family to the throne. In order, therefore, to please the Jacobite party, and provoke the members of the church of Scotland, a bill was brought into parliament to restore the right of patronages. Some of the Scottish members opposed this bill, well knowing the fatal consequences that would attend it, by provoking the people and dishonouring religion. Others, however, had more interested views; and as for the English members, they gave themselves no concern about it, so that the act passed with very little opposition.

It is impossible to describe the discontent that took place among all ranks of people in Scotland when this act took place, and notwithstanding it must be mentioned to the honour of the Scottish nobility, that it was many years before they availed themselves of this privilege. In time, however, they did, and it has occasioned much mischief. But the conduct of the church of Scotland on these occasions, has been really praise worthy. The patron must present the probationer to the Presbyteries within six months, and if they find that he is not qualified, they will reject him. On the other hand, when they do find him qualified, but at the same time, likely to be obnoxious to the people, so as to render his ministry ineffectual, they do all they can to persuade the patron to send another, who is likely to be more useful. Nay, in some cases, the Presbyteries will remonstrate, and refuse to proceed to the ordination, and this brings many appeals before the general assembly, but from their decision there is no appeal.

Besides the general assembly, there is another court, which may be called the privy council of the church of Scotland, because it is composed of a few deputies, who prepare business for the next assembly; tho' they can make no acts of their own, but only draw up papers and enquire whether the Presbyteries have obeyed the orders of the assembly. This court is called the commission of the assembly, and meets at Edinburgh as often as they please, for they have no fixed times. They consist chiefly of such as are most celebrated for



for their learning, wisdom, piety and such other qualities as may enable them to discharge all those duties incumbent upon them, as the fathers and guardians of the established church.

The young clergy in Scotland have few tempting objects before them, besides that pleasing one, namely, to seek to win the hearts of their people. When the young gentlemen have finished their studies at the university, they are examined by the presbyters of the bounds where they were born, and it is done in the following manner:

The candidate having considered a theses, or head in divinity, delivers in a critical explanation of it, and answers all the objections usually made against it. He then delivers in Latin a critical discourse on one of the Hebrew psalms; after which, on the next day, he delivers a discourse in English, in the form of a sermon, both critical and practical. These examinations take up several days, and on the last of these comes the grand questionnaire trial, in which every minister has a right to ask what questions he pleases; and if satisfactory answers are given, the young student receives a licence to preach in any church in Scotland to which he may be invited; but he is not to administer the sacraments till he is ordained, nor is he to be ordained till he obtains a parish living.

When a minister dies, or is removed from one church to another, the presbytery meet in the bounds where the church is in, and appoint one of themselves to go and preach once to the people, and he affixes a paper on the church door, declaring it vacant. If no person is presented by the patron in six months, then the right falls to the presbytery; but in such cases they always give up their right to the people. When one of these probationers is presented or elected, he must attend the next meeting of the presbytery, where he undergoes a second examination, and performs the same exercises as before. He must likewise bring a certificate of his moral conduct, and then one of the presbytery goes with him to the church door, and reads a paper which he fixes up, intimating, that if any person can, within forty-two days, mention any thing against him, they are to come and prove it, otherwise they will proceed to his ordination. If no objection is made, then the presbytery meet at the parish church where the probationer is to be ordained.

One of the ministers preaches a sermon on the nature and duty of the ministerial office, and another delivers a discourse on the necessity and regularity of ordination. The candidate then repeats his confession of faith, which consists of his notions concerning the chief heads in divinity. He then declares before them, that he will not deliver any thing that is contrary to the Westminster confession of faith; and subscribes it, as an oath, in a book kept for that purpose.

Then one of the ministers prays, and the candidate kneeling down in the middle of the congregation, all the members of the presbytery lay their hands upon his head, the moderator acquainting him, that he is ordained to the work of the ministry, after which they all give him the right-hand of fellowship, as a brother. This part of the ceremony is followed by the congregation singing an hymn or psalm, after which

the moderator or president goes up to the pulpit, and delivers a discourse to the new ordained minister, exhorting him to consider what a charge he has taken upon him; to be tender and affectionate to his people, not plaguing and perplexing them with new doctrines, but inculcating the solid truths of the gospel; and, by his own example, to teach them as much as by his doctrine. To be careful to instruct the youth; to visit the aged and infirm; to be careful of what company he keeps, lest he should bring a blemish upon his character. He is to consider himself as if he was married to his people, that, like an affectionate father, a tender husband, or a faithful shepherd, to behave, in all lawful things, to every one, that he may bring up his people in the fear and worship of God, so as to prepare them for everlasting happiness. He is to teach him further, that he is to live in peace and harmony with his brethren the clergy, and pay a proper obedience to all the ordinances of the church.

On the other hand, he is to exhort the people to consider their pastor as one placed over them by Divine Providence, according to the plan of the gospel, and that they are to attend to his ministry as if he had been one sent from God. And this is not a presumptuous expression; for whatever is done according to what is enjoined in the word of God, may justly be said to come from God.

Thus every minister under the New Testament, if regularly ordained, though perhaps in various forms, comes from God; and let his conduct afterwards be ever so bad, yet this does not affect the graces, that God will bestow in consequence of his ministry, to those persons who never imagined him to be an hypocrite. The people are to be told, that it is their duty to receive his instructions with cordiality, to be meek and humble, not to enter into any disputes with him; but to consider him not only as a man of the same passions with themselves, but likewise as one who is to give an account of his conduct at the judgement-seat of Christ.

The next thing to be considered in the church of Scotland is her worship; and we have already taken notice that it has varied little since the reformation till the revolution. Although there were many changes in the government of the church of Scotland from the reformation till the Westminster assembly 1645, yet there were no changes in the worship till that time; for the mad attempt to establish the liturgy, was momentary in its own nature, but dreadful in its consequences. We have already treated of the manner in which the people of Scotland worshipped God in public till the revolution, and since that time no changes of a material nature have taken place; for although they have not a liturgy, yet it may be justly said of them, that things are done decently and in order.

The service always begins with singing, and sometimes the minister reads the psalm before it is sung; but in some congregations it is read by the clerk, whom, according to the antient form, they call the precentor.

The psalm being over, the minister desires the people to join with him in prayer and supplication.



tion. This prayer seldom exceeds ten minutes, which perhaps is as long as any prayer should be, unless people would tell God idle tales.

The prayer being over, the minister reads part of a chapter, and then makes several reflections on every verse. This they call the lecture, and it generally takes up half an hour. This is perhaps the best method that could have been contrived to instruct people in the Christian religion, and it is owing to this that the people of Scotland know more of religion than any others in the world. In Scotland, it is common for a young minister to begin either with a particular book in the sacred scriptures, and sometimes with the whole New Testament, which he goes over regularly. In general, he meddles no farther with criticism than is necessary to illustrate such passages, and explain such things as the people may be unacquainted with. But the practical reflections exceed every thing that can be imagined in the whole system of the civil establishments of religion; for by these, men are taught to know what use they should make of the scriptures, and by carrying home and repeating them to their children, they train them up as it were in the nursery of grace.

The lecture being over, two or three verses of a psalm are sung, after which the minister prays a few minutes, and then he begins the sermon, which seldom takes up more than half an hour. Their sermons consist of, first, an explication of the context, with the sense of the text itself; secondly, a doctrinal proposition, as drawn from the words themselves; thirdly, an illustration of the doctrine in a few leading general heads, and then he concludes with a few practical inferences. The sermon being over, the minister prays for the whole state of the world, and then a few verses of a psalm are sung, after which he dismisses the people with the common blessing. This is the service during the forenoon, but in the afternoon it is only one half as long, because there is then no lecture.

In some of the remote parts of the country, where the ministers are more zealous in the discharge of their duty than in the great towns, they assemble the people a third time together, during the summer season, and recapitulate to them the heads of all that has been declared to them before, in the preceding part of the day. Then the people are enabled to remember almost every thing they have heard.

We come next to the administration of the sacrament of baptism, which is carried on the same manner as mentioned in the directory. They have, however, varied a little from the rules of that compendium, in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper. We have already seen how it was to be in the directory, but the frequency of its administration, which, by the constitution of the church of Scotland, was to be only four times in the year, was considered by many of the more zealous of the clergy, after the revolution, as injurious to their order, by taking away some of the solemnity, which they looked upon as inseparably connected with the church order.

During the violent persecution that took place in Scotland, in the reign of Charles II. the Presbyterian ministers were mostly proscribed,

and therefore they met on mountains, or in woods, and their sermons consisted of violent invectives against the civil government and the bishops. They found that the best way to inflame the passions of the people, was to celebrate the communion as seldom as possible, and somewhat like the Romish processions, to keep the people, as far as related to their consciences, in a state of slavery.

That antient leaven of superstition, was retained by those ministers who composed the first general assembly of the church of Scotland after the revolution. They were men of little knowledge, sour tempers, and a sort of unfeeling apathy distinguished every part of their conduct. They therefore proposed, that the best means to keep the people in subjection, was, to make their solemn occasions as they call them, as frequent as possible. Accordingly, they laid down a new plan for the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which, although never reduced to a law by any of the acts of their assemblies, yet grew into practice, and has been, with very little variations, adhered to ever since in Scotland. The method is this:

Two Sundays before the sacrament is to be administered, the minister gives notice to the people, and the elders of the congregation are to make a report to them concerning the morality of their conduct, that sacred ordinances may not be profaned. On the Thursday before the celebration, five or six ministers assemble at the church, and the day is kept as a fast. The inhabitants of many of the neighbouring parishes assemble, and there are sermons preached, not only in the church, but also in a tent in the church-yard, or perhaps in a neighbouring field. It is amazing to think what numbers of people assemble on these occasions, and sometimes, like the processions to Lovetto in Italy, they make parties of pleasure.

Friday being a sort of interval, those who live in the parish and near to it, return home to their own houses, but those who perhaps have come sixteen, or twenty, or thirty miles, procure lodgings either in farm houses or barns; and here, to use the words of Mr. Sandiman, they sometimes, on these occasions, encrease the number of the human species; for religion will not make people idle.

On Saturday several sermons are preached, both in the church and in the church-yard, where the tent is erected, and then they retire till Sunday morning. It is then that the great day begins. The minister of the parish goes to the church, and preaches what they call the action sermon, after which he prepares the people for the communion, by debarring all those from partaking of it, who know of any immorality in their conduct, that they have not made satisfaction for to the church.

A table is covered in the middle isle of the church, and the minister having consecrated the elements, the elders carry them round to the people. Previous to the distribution of the elements, every person who is to communicate, delivers to one of the elders a leaden ticket, which is a token from the minister that he has been examined, and is properly prepared for that holy ordinance



ordinance. The person who has not got this ticket is rejected, and must immediately depart. As soon as those who have filled the first table, have partaken of the elements, a psalm is sung, and they retire to make room for others. And thus it frequently happens that there may be ten, or more, of these tables served at once. The communicants being all served, there is a sermon preached by the minister of the parish, and the congregation are dismissed from the church.

But this is not all: During the whole time this ceremony is carrying on in the church, sermons are preaching in the tent, in the church-yard, or perhaps in an adjacent field. These sermons sometimes used to continue till midnight, but at present they are much more regular. Monday concludes the ceremony, for on that day two sermons are preached in the church, and as many in the church-yard, after which the people retire to their own habitations. It is certain, that this looks more like the Popish processions than any thing that bears the name of Christianity, and an attempt was made some years ago to set the practice aside; but it was all in vain, for popular prejudices ran so high in favour of it, that such of the clergy as countenanced the motion, were looked upon as lukewarm, time-serving wretches, who had no regard for the interests of religion, and who, in short, were destitute of real piety.

Education makes a part of religion in Scotland, for both in public and private, means are used to promote it. Thus the first thing they learn is the shorter catechism, and this they repeat not only at home to their parents, but likewise at school, where the master prays with them mornings and evenings. On every Sunday morning before the service begins, two boys stand up in the gallery, and a third in the clerk's desk. Him in the desk asks the boy on the left hand the first question in the catechism, who having answered it, he turns to the other on the right, and desires him to prove the answer from scripture, who does it. They have printed catechisms with these proofs, and they are obliged to get them carefully by heart. In three Sundays they go over the catechism in this manner, and then three other boys take their places.

There is another part of their education that ought to be attended to by every one, who would form a just notion of the church of Scotland. And that is, that every man and woman servant, as well as the boys and girls, are obliged to repeat, when they come home, the text, upon which the minister preached, and such as begin to grow up, must, when they come home, repeat the points or heads upon which the minister preached, and as much more as they can remember.

Before the family sit down to supper, the master takes his place, and asks the questions in the catechism of his children and servants. That being over, every one is ordered to bring in his bible, when the master in a few words, prays for a blessing on what they are going about to perform. After this they sing a psalm, and one of the young persons reads a chapter in the bible; sometimes two or more are read, and the family worship ends by the master praying with his people, who all kneel down in a decent and reverend manner.

These devotions are performed every evenings, but the catechism never is asked on these occasions, except on Sundays. In many parts of the country, family worship is performed in the mornings as well as in the evenings; and here let us calmly consider whether this does not exceed any thing that we read of in other nations. There is another thing which contributes much towards keeping up the life and power of religion in Scotland, and that is the conduct of the clergy, who being always with their people, they visit them from house to house, pray with them, and exhort them to mind religion, to take care of their families, to be tender to their servants, and to live peaceably with their neighbours. And all this is done in such a particular manner, that they are almost adored. They never interfere with their people's innocent amusement, but they do not join with them in such things, well knowing, as Mr. Pennant says, "The least degree of levity sinks the clerical character into contempt."

In their funerals in Scotland, the people, like those in England, bury their dead either in churches, or in church-yards; and it may be proper to observe, that at baptisms and marriages they pay no fees, except a mere trifle to have their names registered in the parish books. This indeed is the practice in all other Protestant churches, except England, where it is often extremely difficult for the couple to get married, or to get their children baptized; because of the exorbitancy of the fees. For funerals, the people in Scotland pay no fees, except for registering the name, and a small matter to the grave-digger.

In their funerals, the clergy never attend, unless invited, and then they neither read prayers, nor do they make a discourse at the grave, as is done among the Dissenters in England. The corpse is carried in a plain decent manner to the grave, and interred without any other ceremony besides that of the men just taking off their hats when the body is let down into the grave. In most parts of the country, the mourners return home to the house where their friend died, spend the evening in eating, drinking and smoking, and this they call the *Dergey*, which answers to the *Dirge* among the antient Greeks. At some of these funeral solemnities, the lower order get drunk and quarrel, perhaps about the merits of the deceased, about religious sentiments, or something of politics; but this is no more than is common to human nature.

It has been a custom with them, from the most early ages, to sit up and drink in the room where the deceased lies, from his death to his interment; and although they are not so ridiculous as the Irish in these practices, yet there can be no doubt but both were borrowed from their Heathen ancestors. There are but few parts of Scotland where the women are permitted to accompany the corpse to the grave; but if it is in the country parts, they all come to the door when the corpse is carried out, and stand in a mournful condition till the bearers have carried it out of sight. They used formerly to wrap them in clean linen, and they are not now restrained from that practice, but they have got much into the English fashion, and the greatest number of them, particularly



particularly the gentry and people of fashion, bury in flannel.

When one of their gentry dies, circular letters, written in the following manner, are sent to the relations of the deceased, desiring their presence at the funeral, which is generally complied with.

“ S I R,

“ Your presence is desired here on Monday  
“ next, to accompany the funeral of my late  
“ spouse, M. B. from this to the place of her in-  
“ terment in the church-yard of C. and you will  
“ oblige your friend and servant,

C. B.”

Saturday, September the 11th 1779.

To Mr. H——y, at L.

All the other letters differ in nothing more than this, except in the qualities of the persons.

In some of the market towns in Scotland, when a person dies, and is to be buried, the sexton of the parish goes round with a hand-bell, and repeats the following words :

“ Dear brethren, I let you to wit that our  
“ neighbour X—y lieth dead at his house in  
“ B. Street, and as he is to be interred to-mor-  
“ row at two o’clock in the afternoon, your com-  
“ pany is desired at the funeral.”

Such are the particulars that relate to the church of Scotland. If there are faults in any part of its establishment, perhaps they are as few as in any other Protestant church in the world; and to look for perfection among men, would be to expect what never happened in the world. It is certain, that errors crept into the Christian church long before the death of the apostles, or why should those holy men have taken notice of them in their writings. There is not one of the epistles but what mentions some of these errors, and when we consider what troubles took place in Scotland at the time of the reformation, and for many years after, it will appear almost a miracle that their church should at present be so well governed as it is. It has all those means of grace that can be necessary, in order to bring men to a state of salvation; and if it differs from other churches in some points of discipline, it is certain that many of these bear more to the primitive form. Sir Kenelem Digby, who was actually a Roman Catholic, used to tell the Laudian party, in the reign of Charles I. “ That if  
“ they wanted to form their church on the mo-  
“ del of the primitive ages, they must take the  
“ example from Scotland.”

Before we dismiss this article relating to the church of Scotland, we must take notice of two or three sects of people who have sprung from it, and are at present very numerous in that country.

## *An A C C O U N T of the S E C E D E R S.*

**W**E have already mentioned some of those mischiefs which took place in Scotland concerning the patronage act, but as the people of England are but little acquainted with them, we shall here lay them before the reader. The nobility and gentry, who had the right of presentation, did not avail themselves of those emoluments or privileges arising from the act, till more than twenty years after it passed. The first who set them the example was one from whom it was least expected. This person was the great John, duke of Argyle, a nobleman whose ancestors had been for a long series of years strongly attached to the Presbyterians; and for whose opposition to the measures carried on by Charles II. two of his ancestors were publicly beheaded. That duke was, in 1732, ill enough advised to present one Mr. Rannie to the parish of Mukart, of which he was the patron. The presbytery refused to ordain him, upon which an appeal was brought before the general assembly, and a select body of their own members was sent to perform the ordination. This exasperated the people so much, that not above one family would go to the church.

In the mean time, those members of the presbytery who had refused to ordain him, were called

to a severe account. Four of them were summoned before the general assembly, and refusing to acknowledge that they had acted in a disobedient manner, they were deposed, and their churches declared vacant. The year following, four more of them were deposed; and, in general, the country was in a state of discontent. Those people who adhered to their discarded ministers, formed themselves into societies, and, at last it was agreed, that they should set up a separate communion from the established church. As they had no churches, nor meetings, they preached for some time in the fields; and as their characters were popular, they soon procured a vast number of followers, especially among the lower ranks of the people.

It is certain that these men were not destitute of abilities, at least they were useful preachers, according to the Calvinistical system. Some of their printed discourses would do honour to clergymen, who had far greater opportunities of improving themselves than ever they had; but in some things they were weak, and in others they were proud and bigotted. They had assumed a sourness of temper inconsistent with the Christian religion, and something equally unfeeling with that of a stoic. They were either weak or vain enough



enough to believe, that in consequence of that popularity they had acquired among the people, they could bring about a revolution in the church and state, in the same manner as their ancestors of old had done, when they were assisted by the nobility, whom, in their infant years, they had trained up in principles of rebellion. But alas! the nobility had become their enemies, they saw into their duplicity, and therefore they left them to the whole vengeance of the civil power.

Here was an infatuation without a legal remedy, and men, who had received the benefit of a liberal education, were weak enough to imagine, that they could produce effects without being in possession of those causes from which they naturally flow. They had many consultations with their people, and it was some time before they could form a proper plan in order to reduce their machinations to practice. They hated the Episcopalians, who were at that time very numerous in Scotland, and they equally abhorred the civil power, for not doing what was not in its power, without acting contrary to law. It was an easy matter to inflame the passions of the people, but it was not so easy to trample upon a mild, benevolent government. Perhaps an evil spirit possessed them; for they went like madmen up and down the country, preaching to their thousands and ten thousands.

It is well known that when the English and Scotch Presbyterians agreed to oppose king Charles I. they professed a great deal of loyalty; but this loyalty was to be in consequence of the king's complying with all their demands, and conferring upon them all those emoluments which formerly belonged to the bishops, and other dignified clergy. This induced them to enter into an engagement which they called the solemn league covenant, but the best title that can be given it is, a bond of rebellion. It was an association to overthrow the established church, and abridge the power of the civil magistrate; and yet it was carried on under such specious pretences of loyalty, that we are apt to imagine that what has been often said is true, that there were some Jesuits among them.

The following is an exact copy of that famous covenant.

We noblemen, barons, knights, citizens, burghesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, by the providence of God, living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms, where every one's private condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion and professors thereof in places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed

estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies. We have now at last, after other means of supplication, remonstrances, protestations and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves, and our religion, from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant: Wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

1. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies. The reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity of religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechizing, that we and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, that the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy (that is, church-government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: And that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also with a faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms



kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and has been lately concluded, and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent article.

6. We shall also, according to our place and callings in this common cause of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves up to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king, but that all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and that what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins, and provocations against God and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace; and this covenant we make in the presence of almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord, to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches groaning under or in

danger of the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

It is well known that under that mild government which has taken place since the revolution, no body of men whatever could have publicly sworn this bond or covenant, without either subjecting themselves to all the penalties inflicted by the riot act, or even to high treason. Their ministers were popular, but they were, at the same time, crafty. They knew how to accommodate their self-interest to the enthusiastic madness of the people's passions; and, at the same time, they had the art to screen themselves from the sword of the civil magistrate. Every pretender to high and elevated attainments in religion, is an artful politician; and it frequently happens that very insignificant creatures, who have acquired an ascendancy over the consciences of the people, can plan out schemes that would do honour to the genius of a Machiavel.

Thus we find that when these discarded ministers could not, without making a solemn procession to the place of execution, swear to observe the solemn league and covenant, they contrived (to use the words of Sandiman) to make an image like it. The same artful writer says, that it is as much like the original, as a child ever was like his father. This new covenant is a sort of bond of union among them, that they will do every thing to support the church of Scotland, and, as far as lies in their power, endeavour to bring about a reformation. It is certain, that had it been drawn up in the most learned school of the Jesuits, it could not have been more ambiguously expressed. Thousands of meanings might be put upon the words, and people of any denomination might swallow it without choking themselves, as they did, when they took the test in that country.

This covenant being thus framed, it was considered as meritorious to subscribe it, as if they had depended for salvation upon it. By this time, the weak deluded people had built meetings with thatched roofs for the artful preachers, who demanded from each of them a small sum of money for the benefit of their ministry.

The next thing to be done, was to renew the covenant, as they call it; and for this purpose many thousands of mad-brained people assembled at most of their meetings, where there were generally above a dozen of ministers; for by this time, their numbers were increased by some young probationers having joined them, who could not get places in the established church. The popularity of their discourses had a vast effect on vulgar minds, and they reigned triumphant over the consciences of the people.

It is impossible to conceive how these people spread themselves over many parts of Scotland, within a few years. Wherever there was an improper minister among those of the establishment, one of their preachers received an invitation, and a new meeting was built for him. As only a few of the regular probationers chose to join them, so they set up an academy to teach a few



a few of their sons; and it may justly be said, that they knew just as much of learning as to despise it. They were utterly unacquainted with history, or any of that sort of knowledge which enlarges the human mind, and makes man an ornament to society. They were actually taught to despise such learning, and perhaps had one of them been seen reading the best poem in the world, he would either have been excommunicated, or have stood, as Allen Ramsay says,

“ With a hot face before the holy band.”

The meaning is, he would have been obliged to mount the black stool of repentance. As for reading of plays or novels, tho’ ever so innocent, it would have been as bad as holding a correspondence with the devil. They were not permitted to read a book written by a church of England divine; and as for bishops, their names were never mentioned but with contempt, and as men who were at war with Christ Jesus. But if they had not learning, they had zeal, and a large share of assurance. For any of them to smile was reckoned indecent, but to laugh was abominable. The more gloomy countenances they put on, the more they were esteemed, and they sung their sermons in a long drawling strain.

Such were the first preachers whom the Seceders brought up, and we can assure the reader, that the picture here drawn is far from being too highly coloured. They began their ministry by inspiring the people with a violent hatred to the ministers of the established church, so that in many parts, when the ministers went round to visit their parishes, these people, who had joined the new religion, shut their doors upon them. None of them would employ servants who went to the parish church, if they could procure any other; but when they were forced to employ some, they made their lives miserable by disputing concerning religion.

The next thing to be done, was to prepare the people for swearing the covenant, and this was laborious work for the ministers indeed. Their houses could not contain the vast numbers of people that came to them to be examined concerning their knowledge of this son of the solemn league, so that they were obliged to take them into the meetings. There they explained to them the nature of the oath they were to take, and they pointed out the necessity they had been under to make a new covenant, as it would have been dangerous in them to swear the first till a more favourable opportunity, so that it was only a temporary covenant. The whole of the candidates having been examined, such as the minister and his elders approved of received tickets, as a certificate of their qualifications, and these they were to give back when they came to swear the covenant.

The day for this ceremony being fixed, ten or a dozen of their ministers repaired to the place, where there were two tents erected in the fields, besides the service in the congregation within the meeting. After sermon was over in the meeting, there was a vast deal of formalities, all those who had not tickets were commanded to separate, and hear sermons at the tents. These sermons consisted of indecent and violent invectives against

the established church, and forced allegorical constructions of such passages in the Old Testament as related to the temporal state of the Jews, which had no more to do with their new-made covenant, than the Alcoran of the Turks, or the man in the moon.

In the mean time, the names of all the candidates for swearing were called over, and they were commanded to hold up their right-hands, which they did after they had delivered their tickets. It happened very unfortunately, for some of those who had been rejected thrust themselves in among the ticket-men and women, so eager were they to swear to the son of the solemn league. These were thrust out, which frequently created much confusion, and kept the ceremony back a considerable time. However, as there were a couple of sermons going forward in the tents, they had no more to do than to repair thither.

All the malignants, which is a most dreadful word amongst them, being driven out of the meeting, the minister held a scroll in his hand, and read the covenant to them, which being done, he asked the people, who were still holding up their hands, whether they would subscribe it, which they all eagerly did, and afterwards there was a sermon of two or three hours in length, a prayer of about an hour long, and one of the psalms, that contains the word covenant, was sung. The subscribed roll was kept in the meeting, and if by any mischievous accident a subscriber went to the parish church, got a girl with child, was found at a dancing bout, or in an alehouse, his name was first erased out, and then he was excommunicated. Those who retained their attachment to the covenant, were perhaps as fully persuaded of their own salvation, as a Romish devotee is when he comes from the confessor’s chair.

No person was to have his child baptized, nor be admitted to the communion, till he had first sworn and subscribed the covenant. It was the test of their faith as well as their obedience; and it was the first question asked when these people met together, “ Have you taken the covenant?” The rebellion broke out soon after, and it must be acknowledged, that these people gave many striking instances of their loyalty. Whatever might have been their madness in other things, they were no strangers to that sort of conduct which would entitle them to the favour of government. They knew what their ancestors had suffered from the Stuarts, and they had no reason to expect any mercy had a popish prince been placed on the throne of Britain. This made them exert themselves to the utmost, to keep their people in a state of loyalty. Nay, many of them took up arms; and when the city of Glasgow raised a regiment of seven hundred men, one half of these were Seceders, who behaved gallantly at the battle of Falkirk, and would certainly have defeated the rebels, had not the dragoons ran away in a cowardly manner.

Such was the condition of these people when the rebellion was suppressed, and then they quarrelled among themselves. The reason was this:



One Campbell, a fiery hot-headed man, pretended, that no members who were burgesſes, or freemen of corporations, ſhould be admitted to take the covenant; becauſe, when theſe burgesſes take up their freedoms, they ſwear to maintain the religion as by law eſtabliſhed. On the other hand, although their cunning prevented them from ſwearing to extirpate the eſtabliſhed religion, yet they knew it meant ſo as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered. There was certainly ſome ſenſe and reaſon too in what this man ſaid, and it appears that he had too much honeſty to approve of a mental reſervation.

In conſequence of this, a diviſion took place among them, and the numbers on each ſide were nearly equal. Young men who had ſerved their apprenticeships in corporations, were loth to be deprived of their freedoms, nor did they know where to ſeek for a living. In moſt of the towns in Scotland, when a young woman marries a non-freeman, ſhe can convey the freedom to her huſband, if her father was free. This, to ſome young women, was as good as a marriage portion; but here was an attempt to ſet the whole aſide. Both parties thought themſelves under a neceſſity of ſwearing, but they differed about the mode. The tempers of the miniſters were too fiery to be reconciled, and an antipathy againſt each other took place, equal to that between cats and mice. They conſequently divided themſelves into two parties, the one called Burghers, and the other Anti-burghers; both of which we ſhall here conſider in their proper places.

### Of the BURGHERS.

Thoſe who were called Burghers, were the moſt moderate, but not the moſt numerous. They were, however, very ſubtle; and the diſtinction they made concerning the nature of the two oaths, would have done honour to the ſchool of Loyola.

They aſſerted, that to ſwear to ſupport the religion as by law eſtabliſhed, was to ſupport the Presbyterian religion as it had been eſtabliſhed by the parliament of Scotland in the year 1640, after the famous Glasgow aſſembly 1638, and to adhere to the ſolemn league covenant; but as at the revolution the ſolemn league had not been recognized or acknowledged, and as the patronage act had ſet aſide one of the articles of the union, conſequently the then eſtabliſhed religion was not according to law; ſo that when burgesſes took the oaths in their corporations to maintain the eſtabliſhed church, how could they mean the then church of Scotland, which was not legally eſtabliſhed, but only that which was overthrown at the reſtoration.

The ſenſe was neither more nor leſs than this; they might ſwear one thing and mean another. Now it is well known, that all oaths ſhould be expreſſed in words free from ambiguity, or a double meaning. The oath that the perſons took who were made free in corporations, was clear. They were to maintain the religion as by law eſtabliſhed. In the ſame manner that the burgher-miniſters taught their people to take this oath, a

papiſt might take it in England. Every Roman Catholic in this country believes, that his religion was eſtabliſhed by law, becauſe it was once ſo; and the Papiſts have here the advantage over the Presbyterians, who are called Burghers. For the Popiſh religion was actually eſtabliſhed by the conſent of parliament, long before the Norman conqueſt; whereas, if we include the ſolemn league and covenant, with the abolition of the rights of patrons to preſent to eccleſiaſtical benefices, we ſhall find that the Presbyterian religion, in the manner contended for by the Seceders, was not eſtabliſhed in Scotland till 1649, when there was no king, but only a junto of both houſes of parliament.

However, the Burghers continued to admit thoſe to ſwear the covenant who had taken the corporation oaths; and ſtill put their own jeſuitical meaning upon it. They were followed by ſuch of the members of corporations, as made choice of them for preachers; and theſe were followed, or imitated, by many who knew nothing of the nature of an oath. The Burghers were moſt numerous in the towns, the Anti-burghers in the country. But a vaſt revolution has taken place in the notions of the Burghers.

As the others carried things into the wildeſt extremes, ſo the Burghers inclined towards moderation. They became gradually more and more ſo, and they receded from the mode of impoſing their covenant, except to thoſe who denied to ſwear it, which is now done in private. They think there is no ſin in hearing a miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland preach, ſo as there is no errors in his doctrine; by which is meant, he is a ſound Calviniſt; nay (and wonderful it is to relate) they will actually go and hear a Methodiſt preach without being cenſured.

This will appear the more ſurprizing, when it is conſidered that the late Mr. Whitefield wanted to cultivate a friendſhip with the Seceders before they ſplit into parties, but they would have nothing to do with him, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf to be a guilty ſinner, for having been ordained by an anti-chriſtian biſhop, namely, Dr. Benſon, biſhop of Glouceſter, and for preaching in the pariſh churches of Scotland. At preſent, the numbers of the Burghers are daily dwindling away, and probably they will die with the preſent generation. Heats in religion are like fevers in the human body, and the patient is ſoon killed or cured.

### Of the ANTI-BURGHERS.

We have already obſerved, that the Burghers were more moderate than the Anti-burghers, and we ſhall now lay before the reader the difference of ſpirit that took place between them.

The firſt thing done by the Anti-burghers was, to excommunicate the Burghers, which they did in as ſolemn a manner as they had formerly ſworn the covenant. One Mr. Ralph Erſkine, a very popular preacher, who was one of the ſecond four depoſed by the general aſſembly, took part with the Burghers, and the greateſt part of his congregation adhered to him. This  
man



man had two sons, both ministers among the Seceders, and they had taken the same side with the Anti-burghers. Like their father, they were both popular, and probably, notwithstanding their different sentiments, yet they had a paternal regard for him. But be that as it will, their brethren, the Anti-burgher ministers, resolved to make the same trial as the inquisitors do when they send the nearest relations to apprehend the accused person, and tells him that he must conquer nature by grace.

These two young men were pitched upon to excommunicate their own father. If there was a necessity for excommunication taking place, it would have been more decent to have come from the mouth of a stranger than a son; but wherever the externals of religion are contended for without the internals, cruelty takes place in the heart. The young ministers were obliged to comply, and seemed cheerful when they did so. The form of these excommunications is as follows:

A day is appointed for a fast, and a tent erected in the fields, where several inflammatory sermons are preached to crowds of poor working people, who have left their employments to be witnesses of the solemn scene. The case of these people leaving their lawful employments, and some of them travelling twenty or thirty miles to hear inflammatory discourses, which, so far from being consistent with the gospel, are sufficient to take their minds away from it, leads us to mention the following anecdote by way of digression.

In the memorials of Mr. John Livingston, a famous minister in Scotland, during the last century, there is a singular relation concerning one Euphan M'Cullan, in the parish of Kinneucher, in Fifeshire. It was thus:

"Euphan M'Cullan in the parish of Kinneucher, a poor woman, but rich in faith. I have heard the lady Culross tell the following things of her. That she seldom ever prayed but what she got a positive answer. That she one time desired her to pray for her in regard of the temporal state of her family, and when she enquired what answer she had got, Euphan said the answer was, 'He that provides not for his own house, has denied the faith.' Whereat the lady said, 'Now you have killed me, for I go to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my family.' Euphan replied, 'Madam, if you are guilty in that sort, you have reason to be humbled for it; but it was not said in that sense to me, for the Lord said, 'He that provides not for his own, is worse than an infidel. Will not I provide for her and her house, seeing she is mine?'"

This passage affords matter of very serious reflection. The irreverent familiarity in the address to the deity, the great God of heaven and earth, is indeed horrible. What is there here but the dregs of Popish credulity? How can Protestants object to the visions of St. Clara, St. Bridget and St. Terressa, and yet justify the visions of Euphan M'Cullan. See Lord Hailes's Remarks, page 255.

But to return to the subject:

After sermon there is a long prayer, and then the preacher, who is to repeat the excommuni-

cation, goes up into the pulpit, and for the most part orders the hundred and ninth psalm to be sung, in which so many dreadful curses are imprecated on the enemies of God. Where they find the enemies of God mentioned, they apply it to the enemies of the church under the gospel; whereas it relates only to those Heathen nations who fought against the Jews.

The psalm being ended, the minister prays for a blessing upon the curse he is going to pronounce, and then all the people standing up, he reads the crime the offender is guilty of, and then says, "For these and for all other acts of disobedience to the church, I being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having power and authority from him, do, in his name and by his authority, excommunicate and cast out of the true church of God, A. B. and deliver him up to satan to be tormented in the flesh, that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord." He concludes, by praying that God would ratify, seal, and confirm the sentence he has pronounced.

These are pretty words, perhaps the reader may say, to be pronounced by a son against his father. But the most remarkable thing in the words is, that satan, the grand adversary of mankind, is here made a minister of the gospel; he has the excommunicated person put under his tuition, and by tormenting his flesh he is to bring him to a sense of the dreadful sin of differing with another in opinion.

It was imagined the Burghers would have returned the compliment and excommunicated in their turn, but they did not, only that on the excommunication days they preached in their own churches against the Anti-burghers. Some may imagine they did this to keep their people together, but whatever might be in that, there was no manner of necessity for it; because at that time they were so much exasperated against each other, that they would have continued without sermons a whole year, rather than go into each other's meetings. However, at present, the Burghers are as great Latitudinarians as the Methodists are in England.

On the other hand, the Anti-burghers still continue to take the covenant, and, like the Roman Catholics, to hate all those who differ from them in opinion. They are as severe in their discipline as ever, and not long since, a poor taylor, who was clerk to one of their meetings, was silenced from singing a single stave, merely because he went one working day into another meeting.

Sometime ago, a report was made to one of their ministers in Scotland, who is at present the chief leader of the party, that two young men of his congregation had been admitted into the society of free-masons.

The minister, imagining he had now an opportunity of disclosing to the public all the secrets of free-masonry, which frighten so many people, sent for the young men to his house. When they came, they were threatened, under the penalty of church censures, that they would reveal to him the secrets of free-masonry. Their answer was, they could not do it, but if he pleased they would make him a mason and then he would know all.

Not so enraged were the Scribes and Pharisees, when



when Jesus made them condemn themselves by their own words, nor so enraged was the confessor when Polycarp set all his torments at defiance, as the Anti-burgher minister was when the young men gave him such an answer. He raged like a madman, and told them they should be excommunicated. He was as good as his word; but the young men appealed to their synod, which is the highest court the Seceders have. This made things worse, for it occasioned the excommunication of all the free-masons in Scotland that belonged to them; and all these turning to the Burghers, who readily admitted them, became a valuable acquisition to the latter. Many other instances of their superstition might be mentioned, but we shall only relate the following:

It was the custom formerly in Scotland, and is so still in many parts, for the women to fan the chaff from the corn before it is ground into meal. This was tedious, but it was an ancient custom. An ingenious artist made a machine that stood in the inside of the mill, having flat thin boards to go round by means of a connection with the wheel.

A miller near Edinburgh had one of them made, and this man being a Seceder, the same minister who had the dispute with the free-masons, happening to call at the miller's, he looked at the machine. It displeased him much, and he told the miller to take it down, for those who were so new fangled as to set up such machines, would in time follow the wolf in sheep's clothing, meaning Mr. Whitefield. The miller stood amazed to think what connection his fanners could have with religion, and refused to pull them down. Upon that he was excommunicated and went soberly to the Burghers. They have but one meeting in London, and so wedded are they to their ancient opinions and practices, that altho' they have no more occasion for it than a cart has for the third wheel, yet once every year they must have a minister sent up to them from Scotland to assist their own pastor in administering the sacrament. As none of them in Scotland will be married by the established clergy, the ceremony is performed by their own ministers, so it is generally supposed that when the minister comes up from Scotland, he marries such as desire it privately. It would not be prudent in their own minister, because he might bring himself into trouble, but as the other is to set off for Scotland, so he is out of all manner of danger. However, they do not consider that these marriages are illegal, for disputes might arise if a law suit was depending between one of them, concerning a will made in favour of one of their children, and the opposite party, who had been born in legal wedlock.

Supposing the judges should order both parties to produce a certificate of the marriage, where would the Anti-burghers be found. The man would then reflect on the injury he had done to the child, and the child himself would have cause to remember it ever after. Some of them go down to Scotland and get married, but those are few in number; for the greatest number of them are working men, and few of them can bear the expence. On the

other hand, the Burghers are so regardless about these things, that they are married in the churches.

No people in the world have a stronger hatred to the Methodists than the Anti-burghers. The minister had a scuffle with the Miller, and afterwards wrote a book, wherein he endeavoured to prove, first, that Mr. Whitefield's doctrine was diabolical. Secondly, that it was a horrid sin for any one to hear him preach. Thirdly, that the justice of God would overtake him. In this work is the following remarkable passage:

"As for the gentleman himself, while he is  
"under a ruinous delusion, and thereby led out  
"into the horrid path we have been describing,  
"which, besides all its other dreadful tendencies,  
"is calculated for gathering upon him his own  
"blood and the blood of multitudes; thus his  
"condition loudly requires the pity of all who  
"know him. And I know no way wherein  
"to shew it, than by avoiding his company,  
"that he may be made ashamed of his conduct.  
"In this manner it is that we are called to the  
"exercise of love to his person, and a desire for  
"his recovery."

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#### *Account of the Presbytery of Relief.*

The third and last sort of Presbyteries, who arose in Scotland in consequence of the patronage act, have called themselves the Presbytery of relief.

To understand this term rightly, it is necessary to observe, that the people in Scotland have, ever since the reformation, loved those doctrines which point out salvation as only to be obtained through the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Now it has unfortunately happened, that many of the young preachers presented by the patrons, were of different sentiments; and some of them went so far, as to point out to their hearers all those doctrines as true, which commonly go under the name of Arminianism. This was too good a name for them to assume, for Arminianism never denied the imputation of Christ's righteousness, only that it allowed there was a freedom in the human will. Whereas, their young preachers in Scotland, often preached whole sermons without mentioning the name of Christ as a mediator. This was shocking to those people who had been brought up in the principles of their own confession of faith and catechisms; but they did not chuse to join the Seceders.

It was said, that a club of young divines met at a house in Edinburgh, to ridicule the doctrines of Calvin; and certain it is, that one of them, who was no more than a probationer, and a schoolmaster, had his licence taken from him, for publishing a pamphlet on that subject. In answer to this pamphlet, one Dr. Weatherspoon, minister at Paisley, about six miles from Glasgow, published an essay, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Characteristics." In this treatise he endeavoured to prove, that most of the clergy of Scotland taught nothing but downright Heathenism, or,

as



as they call it, morality. For this he was called before the synod of Glasgow; but having no proof of his being the author, the case was dismissed. As Weatherpoon was continually quarrelling with his people, and as they had instituted a law-suit against him for defamation, he went over to America, where he was made president of the college of New Jersey, and is at present one of the members of the congress.

However, he did not leave Scotland till he had laid a plan for a schism in that church. He collected together as many of the popular clergy who had poor livings as he could, and told them, that if they would leave their churches without joining the Seceders, they would find a powerful assistance from many of the people. They would build them meetings and their livings would be doubled.

Accordingly, many left their churches and had some meetings built for them. It was some time before they could fix upon what name they should assume, and therefore, as they were to give relief to those people who were plagued by the moral preachers, they took upon themselves the name of the Presbytery of Relief.

This circumstance did not take place till within these twenty years, but the ministers did not find their account in it. Their moderation was equal to that of the established church and to the Burghers, which did not suit the tempers of the people. There were some other circumstances much against them, one of which was, that most of their meetings were built in populous towns, where none of the moral preachers had been settled. The people found nothing new, and therefore many of them returned home to their own churches. Another circumstance was, that one of them deserted his flock, and settled at the head of a populous congregation in London, because the salary was four times as much as they could allow him.

It is certain, the clergy cannot live without money any more than other men, but they ought to examine from what motives they leave a poor for a rich congregation. It is a maxim among the laity, that a clergyman never leaves a rich benefice to go to a smaller one, and undoubtedly it is in general true, as it is with all other professions, and yet we have known instances to the contrary, both among the clergy and laity. However, when a body of poor people are indulgent to their pastor, he ought not to leave them.

But with respect to these people, or rather to their clergy, they are but few in number, and they hold a synod once every year. Their form of discipline is weak, and they are only followed for their popularity. Like the Seceders, they visit their people from house to house, and do all they can to keep them in their interest. They are industrious in the discharge of their pastoral office, but they have no academies, like the Seceders who are more numerous, for the education of young men for the ministry. As their reasons for separating from the church of Scotland were the most trifling that could be imagined, so they have not many friends among the better sort of people; and as they do not deal much in invective or abuse, they are considered as luke-warm by the vulgar.

Many of them have left their first principles, and are daily returning back to the established church. Some of their preachers have made attempts to join the established church again, and obtain livings, but an everlasting door is shut against them. In a word, they will only exist a few years longer, for few men are sooner bankrupts than those who carry on the wholesale trade in religion. When the motives that at first induced a man to change his religion are once found to be insincere, he is despised by all parties, and, in general, converts are but little esteemed. Upon the whole, we shall conclude this article by observing, that all these parties which have sprung from the established church of Scotland, swear the same articles of religion, teach their children the same catechism, and observe the same form of worship, so that there is no difference but in the covenant.

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*Account of the Cameronians, or Mountaineers.*

This sect of religious people did not take their rise from any of the causes already mentioned. They existed long before the revolution. One Mr. Cameron, a Presbyterian minister, having made his escape from the battle of Bothwell-bridge, 1679, fled towards the south, and being followed by about three hundred men of his own sentiments, they once more renewed the covenant, and began their march, having first read a proclamation, setting forth that the king had no right to the throne, because he had taken the covenant, and afterwards ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner; that they were determined to turn out the bishops, and have them punished, as the Amalakites were of old by the divine command; that they were to restore the kingdom of Christ in Scotland, and once more to revive it to its antient glory. They meant, that they would overthrow the government both in church and state, and put all those to death who differed from them in religious sentiments.

These mad brained people, who had been driven by oppression to desperation, vainly imagined, that they would be joined by the country people as they went eastward; but alas! instead of meeting with new reinforcements, Sir John Graham, afterwards lord Dundee, came up with them at a place called Aird's-Moss, where they were mad enough to attempt opposing the king's forces. They shot two or three of the dragoons, who had not so much as fired upon them, and then Sir John ordered his men to attack them. Cameron, their leader, was killed, with about thirty more, and most of the others were taken prisoners, and the ringleaders were executed at Edinburgh in a most barbarous manner, among whom was one Mr. Hackston, a young gentleman, who assisted in the murder of Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to the colonies in America.

From this time till the revolution some of these madmen assembled on the mountains, from which circumstance they were called Mountaineers, and



sometimes Cameronians. When king James published the indulgence for liberty of conscience, they would not accept of it, but followed one Mr. James Renwick, a young probationer, who was afterwards hanged at Edinburgh a few months before the revolution.

When the revolution took place, they would not acknowledge it, because the covenant was not restored, and because king William would not abolish episcopacy in England. They continued to preach on the mountains for many years after the revolution, although they were at liberty to build meetings. At the union, they abused government so much, that some of them were imprisoned, and others set in the pillory. One of them being asked in the court of justice by what authority he abused government, pulled out his bible from his pocket, and told the judges that it was by the authority of that book which he believed their lordships had never read. They hated the present family on the throne as much as they did the Stuarts, and being a sort of fifth monarchy men, would acknowledge no king but Jesus. Some of the established clergy, who had little learning and less knowledge, took part with them, and one more impudent than the rest, told his hearers that king George I. had no more right to the crown than a *Moor-Cock*.

This man escaped the vengeance of the civil power, but he was despised and excommunicated. He died some years after at Edinburgh, and al-

ways was called the *Moor-Cock*. In latter times, these people had private meetings in different parts of the south of Scotland, and many scandalous stories were told concerning them, some of which perhaps were not true.

These people are much dwindled away, there being but only a handful of them left, but they still retain their old sentiments. They are Calvinists with respect to the terms of acceptance, but their notions concerning ecclesiastical and civil power are abominable. They marry their own people, and baptize their children. They have still no meetings but in private houses, and they discard all those who differ from them. They admit of no toleration, and if they had power, probably they would make a very bad use of it.

They are in general treated with much contempt, and sometimes they deserve it. Some of their members joined to the Seceders, and for that were sent to the devil, by a warrant of excommunication. Their meetings are as private in Scotland as those of the Roman Catholics, and they are of such unsocial tempers, that few sober, sensible persons will keep company with them. Their worship is the same as that observed in the church of Scotland, but in their sermons they are continually abusing the clergy and the government. They are, however, too insignificant to be brought to punishment for their insolence.

## *An ACCOUNT of the GLASSITES, commonly called the SANDEMANIANS.*

THESE people did not take their rise in Scotland, in consequence of the patronage act, for they disclaim every connection with all the established churches in the world, but of this we shall take notice afterwards, when we come to speak of their principles. In the mean time, having read all the books published by them, and conversed with many of their leaders, we shall lay before the reader a faithful account of them, for although some persons who are but little acquainted with history and less with divinity, may be disposed to laugh at their simplicity of worship and government, yet many good things will be found amongst them.

In the year 1727, Mr. John Glass, minister of a parish church near Dundee in Scotland, published a book, entitled, "The testimony of the King of Martyrs." His chief design in that work was to prove, that as Christ's kingdom was not in this world, so it could no where receive a civil establishment. That it might be persecuted or tolerated according to the will of princes, but all those bearing the name of Christian ministers, who accepted of civil emoluments from the state, were unacquainted with the gospel, and enemies to Christ's kingdom.

These notions alarmed the clergy of Scotland, in the same manner as Dr. Hoadly's sermon had alarmed the clergy in England. They did not know what might be the consequence, for had the principle advanced by this man once been established, the crown might have seized on their revenues and left them and their families to starve. It is certain, that statesmen are not always the most pious Christians, and there have been times when such a favourable circumstance would have been made a bad use of. However, this man, although an excellent reasoner, was too obscure to create much division or defection among his brethren, had not their public judicators called him forth from his retirement, and made him conspicuous on the theatre of the world.

He was summoned before the Presbytery, and made a most able defence, and because they could not answer him, they deposed him. He appealed to the synod, where he defended himself still more ably, but the clergy were his most bitter enemies. He was obliged to appeal to the general assembly, who were very unwilling to lose a man who was esteemed in his parish, and an honour to the church. They reversed the decrees



decrees of the presbytery and synod, restored Mr. Glas to his ministry, and ordered the cause to be brought on before themselves in the first instance.

In the mean time, the sober persons who were members of the assembly, were willing to let the affair drop; for as Mr. Glas's ministry was confined to his own parish, and as in his general doctrine, he taught nothing inconsistent with the fundamental articles of their own religion, they could not see any danger in it. To this they added the character of the man, which was fair and respectable.

The affair came on again before the general assembly, about two years after, and the arguments took up four days. Some of the members, especially the elders, were men of high rank, and amongst these was the famous Duncan Forbes, lord advocate of Scotland. Besides the lord advocate, there were several other gentlemen and noblemen of high rank, members of the assembly, who pleaded strongly in favour of Mr. Glas. They represented that his opinions were only of a speculative nature, nor had they any immoral or irreligious tendency. They insisted further, that to depose a man of Mr. Glas's knowledge and approved virtue, would be to do an injury to the church of Scotland.

These worthy members were seconded by some of the most respectable of the clergy, and by all the commissioners from the universities. They said that they could not see any hurt in the doctrines taught by Mr. Glas, for, with respect to the grand article, namely, the atonement made by Christ to reconcile us to his father's love, he was of the same sentiments with themselves. They added, that to proceed in such a summary manner against him, would be acting inconsistent with their characters as representatives of the church of Scotland; and therefore they begged that every sober member of the assembly would drop all thoughts of the prosecution.

However, this moderate party was strongly opposed by those of more violent tempers, particularly, because Mr. Glas had made an attempt to rob them of their popularity without seeking any to himself. Here we may learn that both parties were bad politicians, for men may court popularity while they seem to despise it, and they may set up themselves as the idols of the people, while they pretend, or rather affect, to be clothed with humility. There are some secret springs of human actions which the judgement day alone can reveal.

It is certain, that had the majority of the assembly proceeded on principles of moderation, they might have kept a worthy minister in the church, who was beloved by his people, and esteemed by all who knew him; but the intolerent principles of some were such, that when the question was put, it went against him by a great majority. Accordingly, he was deposed, and another minister put in his room. This was much complained of by the people of Scotland in general, but there was no appeal from the act of the general assembly.

In the next general assembly, a motion was made to reverse this decree, and the former act was rescinded; for it was ordered that Mr. Glas

might offer himself a candidate for any church that became vacant. This privilege, however, he did not avail himself of, for he gathered together a few people, and proposed to them a new plan of religion. This plan of religion came, perhaps, as near to the primitive church as any we have mentioned. But this leads us to consider the principles upon which this new or rather old religion was conducted. By old religion we mean its affinity with the primitive church, by new religion we consider its revival.

It is certain, that Mr. Glas's notions were not popular, but still he procured some followers. Good sense pays no regard to popularity, but vanity courts all.

The principal heads of that religion laid down by Mr. Glas were, that

First, there can be no civil establishments of religion consistent with the plan laid down in the gospel.

Secondly, that human learning is of no manner of service to Christianity, but that every man, let him be ever so ignorant, may take upon him that office.

Thirdly, that no Christian congregation can be properly constituted unless there are a plurality of ministers.

Fourthly, that there is not an instance in the whole of the New Testament, wherein individual ministers administered the sacrament, without some to assist them.

Fifthly, that no person who calls himself a Christian can eat blood.

Sixthly, that in all accusations against the moral characters of members of the congregation, there was to be no appeal.

Seventhly, that when the accused person was excommunicated, he was to be hated by all the people with whom he had formerly any connection.

Eighthly, they were, at the time of their admission into the congregation, to declare, that the religion they formerly embraced, was no less than hypocrisy.

Ninthly, at the time of their admission, they were to kiss all the women and men in the congregation.

Tenthly, they were to be obedient to all the orders of the church, and they were not to be absent without shewing a very reasonable excuse.

Lastly, they were not to take part in any political disputes, but in all things to be obedient to the laws of their country, so as they did not interfere with the dictates of their consciences. They were to attend to the words of Christ, render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

Let Cæsar's dues be ever paid,

To Cæsar and his throne;

But consciences and souls were made,

To be the Lord's alone.

These are the fundamental principles laid down by Mr. Glas, and like the founder of all new religions, he soon found himself followed by some persons, who, perhaps, were instigated thereto by vanity. It is certain, that their religion



gion was not much relished by the people of Scotland, and yet there are times and circumstances which give a sanction to every thing. But we shall now consider them in a more enlarged point of view. We are the more ready to do this, because but few people in England know any thing of these people. We shall therefore go on to give an account of their discipline, doctrine and worship, and leave the reader to draw from it what conclusions he pleases. In this account it will be found, that nothing has been said to injure them; and while we attend to history, we hope that no man will condemn us as being guilty of partiality.

Before we mention the peculiarities of these people, we shall take notice of that grand distinguishing mark which is little known to the people of our country in general, and exclaimed severely against by those who are the greatest pretenders to religion.

Their faith, or general articles concerning the leading principles of religion, are the same as the most rigid Calvinists, except in one point. They believe in eternal election and reprobation, and carry these notions to a great, and perhaps too great an height. But they deny final perseverance, and assert, that no man can tell whether he will be saved or not. They look upon what the Calvinists call the act of appropriation to be great presumption arising from spiritual pride, and as for the conversion of the Methodists they call it blasphemy.

They define faith to be a firm belief of every thing related concerning Christ, and particularly his resurrection; and they believe further, that this faith leads men to all sorts of good works, but they are not to imagine, that they know themselves to be the children of God.

They are to attend to the apostles words, not to be high-minded, but fear. To be continually on their guard, lest they should fall into any snare; but they are not to make an ostentatious display of religion, and as for what the Methodists call experience, and which is so called by some other churches, they are to look upon it as a sure mark of a child of the devil.

In every congregation, they have a plurality of ministers, whom they call elders, and, indeed, they may have as many as they please, because they pay them no money. They are tradesmen of all degrees and ranks, and it is matter of fact, that we have heard a chimney-sweeper preach amongst them.

They have likewise several deacons, whose business it is to watch over all secular affairs of the church, and visit the members from house to house, to watch as spies upon their conduct, and above all things to take care to observe whether they keep company with any of the Methodists, or with such of the Dissenters as profess to any sort of experience in the things of God.

If the wife of an elder or a deacon should die, he may marry again, but he must no longer be a church officer. This practice they ground upon the words of St. Paul to Timothy, where he says, that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, and so of the deacons. Certainly this is one of the most forced constructions that ever was put upon a text, since the New Testament

was written. For certainly the Apostle can never mean any thing more, than that the ministers of the gospel should have but one wife at a time. As for their appealing to the primitive church, where they tell us, that no mention is ever made of a bishop or deacon having any more than one wife, it no way applies to their case, for the following reason:

When a single man was ordained a bishop or deacon in the primitive church, he seldom married afterwards, because compassion for the fair sex and children he might probably have had, led him to believe he must soon suffer a violent death, which frequently happened. He did not despise marriage, nor did he distrust God, but he adhered to the exhortation of St. Paul; He that marrieth doth well, but he that marrieth not doth better; and this is certainly the sense of the words, which allude to the afflicted state of the church at that time.

Again, when married men were appointed deacons or bishops, and their wives died, for the same reasons they seldom married again, though there was no precept to the contrary. These people we are treating of, have had several learned men among them, but none of them seems to have been much acquainted with church history.

When a person desires to be admitted into their congregation, the deacons, and sometimes the other members, go and converse with him, not concerning his moral character, but merely his faith, and if he makes use of one unguarded expression, he is cast out, that is, he is left as one who has too much religion to be admitted amongst them. They are amazingly jealous of all the Methodists, and all those who believe in appropriations, and they would rather wish to find the candidate whistling a merry tune, than singing a psalm.

When the candidate is approved of, he comes to the meeting, where every member is at liberty to put what question he pleases to him, and then it is put to the vote, whether he shall be admitted or not. This is done by their holding up their hands; but if one should be of a different opinion when their names are called over, then that man, who is of a different opinion, is excommunicated; for these people admit of no differences in opinion, saying, that this man must be an unbeliever, otherwise he would not have voted against the church.

In examining these candidates, there are several curious questions put to them. And here it is necessary to observe, that most of those who have been admitted amongst them, were such as believed in the appropriation. It is against this famous article that they level the whole force of their spiritual thunders.

Some of the questions are as follows:

Have you ever been at the tabernacle? And how often? Have you not been a dabler in religion? Was you ever converted? These questions are answered in the affirmative; but here the candidate says, I imagined so, though I find all to be delusion. Did not you think yourself in the straight road to heaven, in consequence of your experience work at the tabernacle? I did so. And what do you think of this experience



experience work now? I look upon it as a delusion, and that all those who are believers in it are deceived.

He then proceeds to ask him several other questions, such as whether he approves of eating of blood, and his answer must be in the negative, or he is rejected. This notion of theirs is founded on the apostolical injunction, in 1. Cor. 15. but the late lord Barrington in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, has made it appear, that this injunction was never intended to reach any further than the apostolic age, being only of a temporary nature, not to offend the Jewish converts. The Sandemanians, however, ask the question; Why then is it joined with fornication? The reason (says lord Barrington) is, that fornication was not reckoned as a sin among the Gentiles, but rather esteemed as a virtue. Nay, to such an extravagant degree was lewdness carried, that it actually became a part of their temple service.

They had places in their temples, where the priests retired in private with their women, and this was reckoned very honourable. It was therefore the more necessary to caution the Christian converts against this, because they had been so long accustomed to such practices. Thus they were to refrain from eating things offered to idols, lest it should offend their Christian brethren; from things strangled, and from blood, lest it should offend the Jews; and from fornication, not only as a crime forbidden in the gospel, but likewise as contrary to natural religion. See Barrington's *Miscellanea Sacra*, Vol. II. page 16.

The last of the questions generally proposed to him, is concerning infant baptism; for they have the same enmity to the Anabaptists as to the Methodists. The reason they assign for baptizing infants, is, that all the human race are in a passive state, that they can do nothing for themselves; and therefore to pretend that people could be qualified for baptism was to set up the doctrine of merit. This, however, is a mistake, for the Calvinistical Anabaptists disclaim any such notion; they say, that as there is not an instance in the New Testament of a child being baptized, so it was never commanded in the primitive church, nor were any baptized till they were properly instructed. They mention this only as a speculative opinion, not as a dogmatical assertion.

When the candidate is approved of, the elders kiss him and then the deacons. After that, the names of the people, both men and women, are called over, and the new admitted member kisses every one, man or woman, old or young, rich or poor. Perhaps our readers may consider that this must be a very merry ceremony, but we can assure them, that it is conducted with great decorum and decency, being done in the meeting where every person is free to come. The kissing affair being over, he receives an exhortation, and the congregation is dismissed.

We must not leave this part of the subject, without making a few remarks on this ceremony, of which these people are as tenacious as they are of the greatest precepts in the gospel.

Throughout the whole historical part of the Old Testament, we read of the people kissing each other in a way of friendship when they met

in the streets, or in the fields; and it is related, that Joab took Abner by the beard and kissed him, while, with his right hand, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are many parts of Europe where the men kiss each other when they meet, and it has been the practice of the eastern nations from the earliest ages of time. It was the practice in the Anglo-Saxon times, when the Danes invaded this country, and these barbarians used frequently to stab those whom they saluted. From this horrid practice arose the word used in England, when people desiring their neighbours to drink to them, say, "I'll pledge you." That is, you shall give me security, or I will take security of you, that you will not injure me. So far we have considered it in a civil light, let us now consider it in the sense the Sandemanians use it, namely, as a religious duty.

They ground their practice on the words of the Apostle to the Romans, "Salute one another with a holy kiss," that is, with a friendly kiss, or a kiss of charity. Now the Apostle was writing to people who had been formerly Heathens, but were then converted to the faith in Christ. As the practice of kissing each other continued both among the Jews and Gentiles, so it appears that St. Paul had nothing further in view than to point out to them, that whenever they met and kissed each other, it should be done in a charitable, friendly manner. That the action itself being an indication of love and friendship, so there should be no deceit in the heart.

That this was what he had in view, will appear the more evident, when we consider, that the Apostle never says, kiss each other in your churches, where indeed no salutations took place; for all was composure and decorum. The most ignorant person knows, that when we meet our friends, we shake hands as it is commonly called, and therefore the precept itself relates to no more than common forms of civility.

The next thing to be considered is, in what manner they excommunicate their people; and we can assure our readers that he must be a very artful man who is able to live as a member of one of their congregations one single year. They profess to have all things in common; and yet when any of their members becomes rather uncommonly free in his demands, they part with him. From this we may learn, that words or professions in religion are one thing, and reality another.

As their deacons are constantly on the watch, so when they find a brother offending, they go and tell him of it, and if he freely acknowledges his error, and promises amendment, then no person is to take any further notice of it. If he persists in what he is accused of, the deacon takes two or three more, and if they can persuade him, then it goes no farther, nor is it made public to any but themselves. But if he still persists in his obstinacy, it is mentioned publickly in the church, and he is sent for, and if he either refuses to come, or when he does come, to satisfy the church that he was not in an error, then the elders put the vote to the people, whether he should not be excommunicated, to which, when they have all given their assent, one of the elders prays that the offender may be delivered over to satan to be tormented in the flesh, until he is



brought again into the church. Upon that, all the congregation turn from him with a sort of supercilious contempt or disdain, as if he was unworthy of their company, and they are strictly commanded, that whenever they meet with him, they will not speak to him; they will not wish him any happiness, nor will they do any thing whatever to serve him. They are the most inveterate enemies in the world to those who have been cast out of their congregations; and many of their members openly declare, that those who were cast out of the church, should have no compassion shewn them. This is perhaps what may be called religious barbarity, of which there is a little too much in the world.

It is a maxim with these people, that if a member has been once excommunicated, he may be re-admitted upon condition of his repentance, but he must first undergo a very severe penance. They must come constantly to the meeting, and they must bear all the scoffs and scorns of the members, without seeming to be displeased. Like the Inquisitors in Spain, and the Seceders in Scotland, he is to conquer nature by grace. And indeed it requires a good deal of grace to bear all the affronts he receives. When he is re-admitted, he receives a severe rebuke for his backsliding from the truth, and a caution to be on his guard for the future.

If a member is excommunicated a second time, he can never be admitted again, and then he generally becomes a Deist, if not worse. We knew a rich man, who is still alive, and was excommunicated the first time, because he had dropped some expressions that seemed to militate against infant baptism. He was re-admitted, but being loth to part with his money when demands were made upon it, under pretence of supplying the wants of the poor, he was again excommunicated, and knowing that no farther favours would be shewn him, he took a room in an ale-house, where he preached the Sunday evenings to a rabble, who only laughed at him, and then he gave himself up to all manner of debauchery. Nothing was more common than to hear him over his cups, singing the words of the poet :

I was a fanatical preacher,  
And turn'd up my eyes when I pray'd;  
But my hearers half starv'd their teacher,  
For they believ'd not a word that I said.

Another was excommunicated a second time, for refusing to play at blindman's-buff on Sunday after service was over, in the meeting, and that man turned first Antinomian, then Deist, and at last died, perhaps, (if it is possible) an Atheist. Such are the effects of people's dabbling in religion.

That our readers may understand what is meant by playing at blindman's-buff, we must explain it to him historically.

Mr. James Hervey in 1755, published his *Theron and Aspasio*, one of the most agreeable systems in Calvinism that ever was written. And it may be said of this author, that his works have been read and esteemed by Protestants of all denominations; for whatever might be his particular sentiments concerning disputed points,

yet the beautiful manner of writing, his fine descriptions of nature, and, above all, the fervent piety to be found in every line, made his works esteemed by all lovers of true religion.

However, one Mr. Robert Sandiman, a merchant at Perth, and one of the people called Glassites, in Scotland, wrote a book entitled *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, which offended the Calvinistical Dissenters in London. A correspondence was entered into between Sandiman and some of the Dissenting ministers, and the consequence was, that Sandiman himself came up here and established a meeting. As the Dissenters generally put on an austere countenance when they come out of their meetings; and as the Methodists are fond of talking concerning religion, Mr. Sandiman went to the opposite extreme, and ordered, that his followers, on every Sunday after service, should light the candles, and play at blindman's buff. The meeting house where this was performed was in Beech-Lane, and multitudes of people, from idle curiosity, went to see it. It became an object of ridicule, and they found themselves under the necessity of dropping it. It seems to have been done from political motives, to ridicule the four austerity of the Independents, but it did not answer the end, for these people are the same as ever.

That men should set up such diversions in places set apart for public worship, is really amazing, and we firmly believe, that had it not been for their metaphysical notions, all the rakes in London would have joined them, in order to have an opportunity of playing with the women. There was something in the practice like that of the Adamites of old, but for the honour of the Sandemanians this practice is now set aside.

We come now to their form of worship, which is plain and simple, though not without some austerities, and other formalities, that have but little connection with Christianity.

On Sunday morning, they meet so early as nine o'clock, and the elders being seated in a place much resembling a manger, one of them calls upon a particular person in the congregation to pray. This person is followed by two or three more, who all pray in the same manner. Then they sing a psalm, or, as they call it, a religious song, and one of the deacons prays. After this, a person appointed for that purpose, reads three or four chapters out of both Testaments; and such is the superstition of these people, that in their ordinary course of reading, they read with the same pleasure the chapters that contain nothing but names, as they would any chapter in the New Testament.

The reading being over, another song is sung, and then one of the elders delivers a discourse to the people. As these elders are in general men of no learning, and as all sorts of reading are prohibited among these people, except the bible, we need not be at a loss to consider the complexion of their sermons. They use no method, but deliver a discourse, which might do as well without a text as with one. It is certain, that as their discourses are the effusions of ignorance and pride, so they are calculated to keep the people in the same unhappy state. They must not exhort the people to any duty, for  
were



were they to do so they would be excommunicated. The whole consists of a dissertation on what they call the truth, and it is delivered in such a manner, that the most profound metaphysician cannot understand it. Their discourses are certainly the least calculated to promote piety of any in the world, except those of another sect, whom we shall have occasion to mention afterwards.

The afternoon service is the same as that of the forenoon, but in the interval of worship another ceremony takes place. For this practice the Sandemanians have been much ridiculed, though from the following investigation, it will appear, that there may be weakness in it without wickedness. It has, indeed, no concern with the essentials of religion, but then it must, or at least should be observed, that all them who set up new systems of divinity, pay more regard to the externals than the internals.

We read much in church history concerning the love feasts or feasts of charity of the antient Christians. That they took some victuals to their churches is certain, and the poor fed at the expence of the rich. There was a temporary necessity for this, because many of the Christian converts were slaves, consequently they could not go to the place of meeting without leave of their cruel masters. Those who are acquainted with the Roman History, know well, that slaves under the Roman government, were slaves indeed. It was a great favour, and but seldom granted to these poor creatures to attend the Christian assembly, and when they did so, there is reason to believe, that when they returned home no food was allowed them. It was therefore necessary, that those who were in affluent circumstances should have compassion on them, and supply them with those necessaries, which their cruel masters denied them.

The practice, therefore, was for the primitive Christians to carry food along with them to the church, part of which they eat and gave the rest to the poor. This seems to have continued till the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great, after which, according to the rules of common sense, it ceased to be in use.

This short sketch we have given of these things is, in all probability, consistent with the truth; and we can appeal to the greatest historians in the world, whether one assertion has been made use of, that is not, in one sense or other, confirmed by the first fathers of the Christian church. It was considered in this light through the middle ages of Christianity, and in that sense it was considered at the reformation. And this leads us to consider the practice of the Sandemanians.

At noon, when divine service is over with those people, they have a feast in their meeting. On the Saturday before, the deacons go to a butcher's, and buy as much meat as they think will be necessary, and this is dressed in a kitchen adjoining to the meeting. In that kitchen they feast, or, in other words, have a plain dinner with small beer. The meat is purchased at the expence of the rich, and the poor dine gratis. As soon as dinner is over, the different members adjoin to public houses, where they call for what they please, and then return to the meeting. We shall make no further animadversion on this subject, than to declare that it is an idle

unnecessary ceremony. Those antient Christians were in a continual state of persecution, their love for their brethren was strong, and they did every thing they could to supply their wants.

On the other hand, the Sandemanians are not in such circumstances; they enjoy the blessings of a free government; and they are at liberty to go home to their own houses without molestations. And yet, notwithstanding their slavish attachments to a ridiculous, though temporary institution, has induced them in this, as in most other things, to make it as singular, by embracing the shadow, like the dog in the fable, when perhaps they lost the substance. Those who are fond of trifles in religion, seldom ever know any thing of the vital parts. The man who loves religion, pays little regard to the externals, while he finds that the heart is renewed and the conduct changed.

The Sandemanians are not numerous, either in England or Scotland, for they have so many ceremonies, that people are afraid to have any thing to do with them. To this may be added, that they fleece every rich member, in order to support the poor. The young man in the gospel, did not like to sell his possessions, and people, who are dealers in religion, are not willing to part with their money. When salvation can be obtained without money, there are generally a great number of religious people; but when money is required, they generally drop off. Strange that such circumstances should take place, but what can be strange in human nature? Nothing, indeed, to those who are acquainted with it.

These people, according to the primitive practice, celebrate the communion every Sunday, and it is done in a plain decent manner. We shall conclude our account of them, which has been delivered in a candid manner, by inserting the following hymn, drawn up in a few verses, written by one of their preachers on his death bed.

When to my sight thou God appears,  
I'm filled with sudden fear,  
Thy justice with uplifted arms,  
O'erwhelms me with despair.  
The former signs of grace no more,  
Relieve my troubled heart,  
And past experiences of love,  
Add torture to my smart.  
What shall I say? My prayers and tears  
Are impious in thy sight!  
I am remov'd as far from thee  
As darkness from the light.  
Is there no room for mercy left?  
Is grace for ever gone?  
I'll mind the years of thy right-hand,  
And wonders thou hast done.  
How to be one with sons of men,  
Immanuel did not scorn;  
And how from Mary's virgin womb,  
The holy child was born.  
I'll mind the greatness of that love,  
Which in his breast did burn,  
When all the wrath of God for sin,  
Upon his soul did turn.  
And did the father's dearest son  
Go mourning to the grave;

And



And did he die for sin, that grace  
 Might dying sinners save.  
 See from the grave the prince of peace,  
 In glory bright appears,  
 No further proof of hope I'll seek,  
 This quiets all my fears.  
 This beam of hope within the cloud,  
 Sure token is of grace ;

Where wrath did frown, now mercy smiles  
 In lovely Jesu's face.  
 This sign of grace relieves my heart,  
 'Tis ease for all my pain,  
 I will not blush to see my God,  
 Because the lamb was slain.

## Of the DISSIDENTS.

**I**N treating of the people called Dissenters in England, we are brought into a large wide extended field. We have prejudices to combat with, we have to do with men of opposite sentiments, and yet we think it is in our power to conduct the whole upon the principles of reason and religion. There are three objects which are to be in view,

First, the reasons why the Dissenters left the established church.

Secondly, how far the Dissenters continued in one body.

Lastly, What is the condition of the Dissenters at present.

These must be brought into one point of view, and they must be treated historically. For this purpose we shall begin with the history of these people; and the reader may be assured, that truth shall dictate what we say, and candour shall direct our pen.

When the reformation took place in England, most of the Protestant divines were enemies to the ceremonies, and it was the wish of all sober serious persons that they should be abolished. However, the disposition of queen Elizabeth, was quite to the contrary. This created a great deal of disturbance; for those who did not approve of the established religion, became obnoxious to government. Those people, who opposed government, entered into cabals; they had private meetings together, and there were severe prohibitions issued out against them. Still, however, the contagion took deep root, and the more these people were oppressed, the more they increased. They were called Puritans because they aimed at a purer reformation; but the worst of all was, they wanted to reform the church without reforming themselves.

They were great enemies to all public vices, but at the same time they sought to aggrandize their own power. They had little ceremony, but much cunning. They ingratiated themselves with the ladies, whose passions are easily played upon, and by a conduct of that nature they procured a sort of temporary subsistence. This was the time when lectureships were first established, and thus a set of men were allowed to preach in the churches, without being obliged to comply with the ceremonies. Shocking that the church of England could not procure afternoon preachers, but the queen would never allow it.

It is in a manner impossible to describe what these people, who were in derision called Puritans, suffered. They were fined and imprisoned, and such as denied the queen's supremacy were executed as traitors. Grindall, archbishop of Canterbury, was a man of great moderation, and did all he could to bring the queen to moderate the rigour of the act of uniformity, but she was inexorable. The queen inherited the obstinate spirit of her father, and therefore, when she once fixed her mind upon a thing, it was impossible to turn it.

Sandys, archbishop of York, and Horne, bishop of Winchester, were of the same moderate sentiments, and superior in moderation to all these was Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. These were men whose names will ever be revered, for their moderation they had been sufferers during the reign of queen Mary, and for their own safety had fled to Switzerland. There they and many of their brethren were kindly entertained by the famous Bullinger, and they kept up a correspondence with him as long as they lived. In many of the letters that passed, they professed a dislike to the ceremonies and habits, and wished that they could be removed.

From these letters, of which Dr. Burnet has given us some extracts, we learn, that many of the greatest men at the reformation were Puritans. That is, they did not think the church properly reformed, and as the queen had it in her power to call a new parliament to settle these disputes, so nothing was more reasonable than that she should have done it; but the queen dictated to all her parliaments.

About the year 1568, a society of people met together at Rygate in Surry, and having a minister along with them, they formed themselves into a congregation, after the model of that at Geneva. They met privately, but Parker, who was archbishop of Canterbury before Grindal, and who had received many favours from the Protestants abroad, became a most violent persecutor. Strange, that a man who had been obliged to leave his native country on the score of religion, should become a cruel persecutor of Protestants, who only differed from him in a few trifling matters.

The truth is, to use the words of good Dr. Secker, our reformers, when they left popery, brought persecution along with them. They formed all their notions of church government on



on the theocracy of the Jews, and they vainly and ignorantly imagined, that all people should be of the same mind. Strange infatuation ! but not more so than true.

Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal, was as violent a persecutor as Parker, and therefore there is no wonder that the Puritans encreased in number almost every day. By a prescriptive right, the university of Cambridge has authority to send out four preachers to any part of England, who may be chosen lecturers, and serve the duties of their office without a licence from the bishop. These men made many converts among the clergy, and before Whitgift died, two thirds of the people were Puritans. A severe act was made, enforcing the act of uniformity ; prisons were filled with delinquents, and many families were ruined.

Aylmer, bishop of London, who had suffered under queen Mary, became a most violent persecutor of the Puritans, and it is amazing to think what numbers of pamphlets were written in ridicule of this persecuting bishop. There is at present a large collection of them in the British Museum, and some of them have very laughable titles. We have really perused several of them, and one of the titles is, "Have you any more Work for the Cooper." Aylmer was the son of a cooper in Essex.

Another is entitled, "Foxes and Firebrands," in allusion to Sampson and the Foxes. In this pamphlet there is, as in most of the others, something inflammatory indeed. It was written by one Bell or Beale (for he is called by both names) and the poignancy of the satire strikes to the heart. It was levelled against the bishops, particularly Whitgift and Aylmer ; and Ward, the Papist, having laid hold of a copy of it, played away in his usual manner upon the Protestants.

How Whitgift's hamper'd by a fell,  
Hot-headed Puritan, call'd Bell ;  
How he and bishops, nine or ten,  
Their grievances tell to the queen ;  
She kindly promises redress,  
But first comes death to summons Bess.  
In the other world she meets with dad,  
Eager to know what news she had ;  
After some thund'ring discourses,  
Both vanish in a cloud of curses.

Thus from these lines we may find what pleasure it gives to the Roman Catholics to see Protestants destroy each other ; what Protestants can condemn the Romish Inquisition, while he sets up one himself. It is certainly true, that a little before the queen died, she had formed a scheme to put every Puritan in the nation to death. She was then in her dotage, and the state of her mind on her death-bed was such as the most miserable creature in this world would not wish for.

In the year 1603, James VI. king of Scotland ascended the throne of England by succession, being the great grandson of Henry VII. by his eldest daughter the princess Margaret, married in 1503 to James IV. of Scotland.

In our account of the church of Scotland, we have already taken notice of the numerous pro-

vocations which James VI. received from the Presbyterians, and he left his native country with a fixed hatred against them. With this circumstance, however, the English Puritans seem to have been unacquainted, for they had great hopes of James, and the king willing to shew his moderation, as well as to display his parts in theology, having ordered a conference to be held at Hampton Court 1604, Reynolds, a man of sense, with four other divines, attended for the Puritans ; but these were to be opposed by all the bishops. It must be acknowledged, that it was indecent in the king's being present, because it took away the freedom of debate, and his majesty himself browbeated the Puritans.

Indeed, this was only a mock assembly, for what could the poor Puritans do when they were browbeaten by their sovereign, who ought to have been absent. The Puritans had no more notion of a toleration than the churchmen, but they wanted a dispensation from the use of the habits and ceremonies. This, however, the king would not comply with ; for so grossly had he been insulted by the Scottish Presbyterian ministers, that he thought there could be no loyalty where there were no bishops. "No bishop, no king," was a common expression with James.

The Puritans, having lost all hopes of success, had recourse to methods so artful, that we may conclude, that there are not a more dangerous set of men in the world than clerical combinations, who are longing for those emoluments which their factious dispositions deprive them of, and to which they have no title by merit.

Their first scheme was to ingratiate themselves with the ladies, and it is well known what powerful influence a popular preacher can, at any time, have upon female minds. They were readily admitted into the houses of the nobility and gentry, and however strange it may appear, yet nothing is more true than that poor obscure preachers actually influenced the elections for members of parliament. To use the old saying, "They moved heaven and earth to get Puritans returned to serve in parliament," and as they were employed to instruct the young noblemen and gentlemen, so they brought them up in principles of rebellion, which at last overturned the constitution both in church and state.

From the Hampton-Court conference, till the year 1640, there was not a single election for a member of parliament, but what was influenced by the Puritan ministers. They took a severe revenge on James, for not complying with their request ; for they got their pupils to oppose all his measures in parliament, to distract his councils, and render him odious to his subjects.

They had studied that sort of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and inflame the passions ; but when we peruse one of their sermons, we find them to be very poor compositions. There is a critical review of some of their works written by the late Dr. Doddridge, in manuscript, which the author of this Work has perused, but where it is now he cannot say, though perhaps it may be in the Dissenters library.

At last, the long wished for period arrived, when those Puritans were to come out of their places



places of concealment, to strip off the borrowed mask, and appear in their real colours. Their brethren in Scotland had set them the example, and they joined cordially together, till they overturned episcopacy in Scotland as well as in England, and on the ruins of the former established the Presbyterian religion, on the ruins of the latter nothing at all; so from the year 1640 till 1660, it may be justly said, that England con-

tained almost all the religions in the world. Having thus brought the history of the Puritans down to their splitting into parties, and sharing the church livings among them, we shall now treat of every denomination separately, that the reader may be able to form a proper notion of them. And we shall begin with that sect which is not the most numerous, yet looks upon itself as the most respectable.

## *An* ACCOUNT of the PRESBYTERIANS.

**T**HE Presbyterians may be divided into the four following classes; First, Calvinists; secondly, Arminians; thirdly, Arians; and, lastly, Socinians.

### CALVINISTICAL PRESBYTERIANS.

We have already taken notice of all those who are Calvinists in other parts of the world, and likewise in Scotland, we must now proceed to consider such as come under that name among the English Presbyterians. They are, indeed, but few in number, but what remains of them are very respectable. Till the latter end of the reign of king William, all the Dissenters were Calvinists, but now they are divided, as we shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards.

The Calvinists among the English Presbyterians, have, properly speaking, no discipline at all. They have no presbyteries, no synods, but only meetings of their ministers, when and where they please. When a minister dies, they send an invitation either to a young student, or to one who is settled in a smaller charge, and if they approve of him, they elect him as their pastor. Every member of the congregation has a vote, but still there is as little freedom in these elections, as there is for members of parliament; for the rich order the poor to vote in whatever manner they please.

When the day is fixed for the ordination, a great number of people assemble, and the ceremony is begun with prayer. After that some suitable chapters of scripture are read. This is followed by a general prayer for the state of the world, and the nations. A psalm is then sung, and the sermon follows. The sermon is always on the nature of the clerical office, its origin, necessity and utility. The presiding minister after another psalm has been sung, mounts the pulpit and delivers a discourse, which generally turns upon the nature of the pastoral office, but more particularly on the then state of the church, the time when it was first established, its succession of ministers, the character of the last, and the success that attended him in the discharge of his duty. All this is done in order to stimulate the other, to abide in the prac-

tice of his duty, and the people to revere their pastor.

The candidate then delivers his confession of faith, but he is not obliged to subscribe any articles whatever. This is exactly the primitive custom, and that is the reason why we have so many creeds, their being at least four hundred extant in the writings of the fathers.

As these young men, who are to be ordained, are in sentiment Calvinists, so their confessions are consistent therewith.

After his confession is read and approved of by the ministers and people, he kneels down and is ordained by imposition of hands. A psalm is then sung, and then all the ministers present give him the right hand of fellowship. One of the ministers then goes up into the pulpit, and delivers a charge both to the newly ordained minister and the people; and this is much in the same manner as in the church of Scotland, only that the English charges are seldom so much to the purpose.

When they admit a member, they are very different from the Sandemanians, and much more so from Christ and his apostles. Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; and the Sandemanians do not chuse, if they can avoid it, to admit any into their communions, but such as are of the most abandoned characters. Christ came with offers of salvation to a sinful world; but it is probable, that the Sandemanians look out for immoral people, that they may have an opportunity of shewing their power in excommunicating them as soon as possible.

The Calvinist Presbyterians, however, admit none but righteous people among them. Sinners may come and hear, but none but saints can go to the communion. The candidate is examined privately by the minister and elders, of whom they have generally two or three, and next Sunday after sermon, the minister tells the congregation, that such a person has been examined as to his knowledge in the sacred scriptures, and the Christian religion; that they have enquired into his moral character, and that they now propose to the church, whether he should not be admitted a member. This is put to the vote and generally carried.

These people must have a high notion of church fellowship, to put themselves to all this trouble



trouble for almost nothing. There is no new privilege they can obtain, but that of going to the communion. They are not like the primitive Christians, who considered each other as brethren; and they are not like the *Friends*, vulgarly called Quakers, who never suffer their poor to want. But the Calvinistical Presbyterians, act with their poor as the university did with Dean Swift, that is, *Spiralia Gratia*, or special grace. It is true, money is collected for the poor, or at least under that pretence; but the sole distribution of it is left to the discretion of the minister, and he gives to whom he pleases. This is not church fellowship; for in all congregations, there should not be one person in want, while the rest of the members are enjoying affluence.

This is one of the greatest dishonours to religion that ever yet took place in the world. It makes the poor really to doubt the truth of the sacred scriptures, and it brings the rich under the denomination of those against whom Christ promised a woe, because of their manifold offences. This is a melancholy consideration, but we may see instances of it every day; and we know that human bodies, endowed with rational souls, are such compositions, that no advices, no instructions, no exhortations, will have any force, if charity and compassion to the poor are neglected.

They seldom ever proceed against delinquents, unless their crimes are of a glaring nature, and then they excommunicate them; but not as the Seceders or the Sandemanians do, for they send them a summons to attend on some weekly meeting, where they tell them of the nature of their guilt, and if they promise repentance, or profess it, they are forgiven. But if they remain obstinate, they give them a written paper, signed by the minister and elders, intimating, that he is no longer a member. If the offending brother refuses to come to the meeting, they send him notice by a post letter.

In their worship, they are not much unlike the primitive Christians. They begin with a short prayer, after which, one or more chapters are read, but they make no remarks on them, as they do in Scotland, so that their people are but very little acquainted with religion. The reading being over, they sing a psalm, which is followed by the general prayer, and that by another psalm.

Then follows the sermon, which is read out of a manuscript, which they put within the leaves of their bible. The sermon is seldom much less than an hour in length, and is generally tedious. When they administer the communion, the minister stands in a square pew before the pulpit, and the people come as near to him as possible. The elders carry the bread and wine to them, after which, an hymn is sung, and the ceremony concludes with prayer. The communion is, for the most part, administered in the afternoon, after sermon is over; but for this practice there is other rule but custom.

In baptizing their children, they are much the same as in the church of Scotland, for the minister performs the ceremony either in their meetings or at the parents houses. There are no other

particulars relating to them worth mentioning, only that they have several academies for the education of their young men for the ministry. Their preachers are more popular than some of the other Dissenters, but their number are now very small.

#### *An Account of the Arminian Presbyterians.*

The Arminian Presbyterians are very numerous, which leads us to give an account of the people who come under that denomination.

We have already had occasion, and that frequently, to mention, that with respect to the terms of acceptance with God, all the reformers were of the same opinion as St. Austin. This will appear evident to every one who peruses Luther on the Galatians, Calvin's institution, the thirty-nine articles of religion in the Church of England, and the old Scottish confession of faith. It is inconsistent with the impartiality we have hitherto adhered, to give our own opinions on the subject. From the death of the apostles, there are near one hundred years obscured, by something worse, if possible, than Egyptian darkness. If there were any writings among the Christians, they are now lost to us; and as for the epistles that go under the name of Ignatius, they are undoubtedly spurious.

This, however, is certain, that from the time of Clemens Romanus, down to the time of St. Austin, all the writings we have are against him. Whether there were any who held the same doctrines before, is utterly unknown to us. The argument strikes two ways, and, indeed, with equal force.

First, it is remarkable, that although there were many writers before St. Austin, yet not one of them embraces the same sentiments with him. Secondly, had his doctrine been new, is it not natural to believe that he would have been powerfully opposed. And yet we read of no one person who did oppose him, except the famous Pelagius. In this state of uncertainty, we leave the reader to judge for himself, and proceed to lay before the reader, some account of Arminius himself.

James Arminius was born at Haerlem, in Holland, 1580, his father being a very reputable man in that place. From his most early youth, he discovered such a sweetness of temper, that he became the admiration of all who knew him. About seventeen, having made great progress in grammar learning, he was sent to the university of Geneva, where he studied divinity, church history, and criticism. He read over all the Greek fathers, and imbibed their sentiments. When fatigued with study, he walked out into a grove of trees, near the side of the lake, which has ever since been called Arminius's Walk.

Having taken his degrees, he left the university with the character of a pious young gentleman, and an excellent scholar. Indeed, there can be but little doubts remaining concerning his extensive knowledge, when at only the age of twenty-five he was appointed, by the States-general, professor of divinity in their university of Leyden.



Leyden. He began his lectures with discourses on the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where it is supposed the strength of the Calvinistical argument lays.

It was now that Arminius began to teach publicly those sentiments which he had long embraced. The force of conviction from the perusal of the Greek fathers led him to it; and it is an established maxim, that what men believe to be true they will teach.

His sentiments have always been reduced to the following points:

First, that by predestination is meant, God's eternal purpose to send the gospel to whom he pleases, and, in that sense, he understood the words, God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. By hardening people he understood, that God would withhold from them the blessings promised to believers by the promulgation of the gospel.

Secondly, he asserted, that in conformity with the Greek church, God had given every man power to turn from sin to righteousness, and, in that sense, he understood those words, Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life. And again, all those expressions in the bible, upon which exhortations are founded; for as he said, what occasion for exhortation to men to perform any duties, if they have not the power to do it.

Thirdly, that as for the sin of our first parents it runs along with us, and is implanted, but not imputed, otherwise (said he) how can it happen that some are sanctified from the womb.

Fourthly, that the death of Christ was a sacrifice sufficient to make an atonement for the sins of the whole world. He gave himself a ransom for all. He did not assert, that by the death of Christ all mankind would be saved, because many of them would not embrace the offered conditions, but he taught, that the sacrifice itself was sufficient to make a complete atonement. In this he has been followed by the pious and ingenious Dr. Watts, who says,

He came to make the blessing flow,  
Far as the curse is found.

Lastly, in conformity with the antient Greek church, he asserted, that there was no such thing as final perseverance, for men might at any time fall off from grace. In this sense he understood the words, Be not high-minded, but fear, and let him who standeth take heed lest he fall. And again, that parable of Christ's, where speaking of an apostate, he says, The last end of that man shall be worse than the first. And he likewise adverted to all those passages where there is an intimation of falling off from grace.

The apparent novelty of these doctrines, at a time when men's minds were not properly settled concerning religious disputes, because they had not been hitherto contradicted, created much confusion.

James I. of England, who pretended to have much knowledge in theological controversies, wrote a severe letter to the States-general, in which he inserted, that Arminius should be burnt alive. Perhaps this sentence might have been

put in execution, had not Arminius died soon after. His sentiments, however, did not die with him; for many learned men in Holland embraced them, among whom was Episcopius, (it should be bishop) and the famous Grotius, celebrated all over Europe for his treatise on the laws of peace and war. Political interests took place with polemical disputes, and James I. of England, though a man of learning, like a true pedagogue, influenced the Protestant princes to call, what is vulgarly called, a general council. Just as if the gospel of Christ Jesus, which is so clearly revealed in the New Testament, could be better illustrated by a parcel of priests with gowns and cassocks. This council, or rather synod (for so it was called) met at Dort, 1617, and there were several commissioners from all the Protestant states in Europe. They met in the church of Dort, where we have seen paintings of the most celebrated amongst them, particularly the famous bishop Hall.

As the assembly was composed of partial men, it was no difficult matter to get the opinions of Arminius condemned. They were condemned, and those who professed them were thrown into prison, among whom was the famous Grotius, who made his escape, and was afterwards taken into the service of Christina, queen of Sweden.

But notwithstanding all the rigour made use of by James, and the other Protestant princes in Europe, Arminianism grew and flourished. All the Lutherans embraced it; and this much is certain, that at the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, there was not a divine in the established church of any note, who did not preach the same doctrines. It has for many years become as it were universal in the church of England, and it is to be found in many parts of Scotland; but this leads us to consider in what manner the English Presbyterians first embraced it, together with its causes and consequences.

About the year 1691, just after the toleration act took place, some books were published concerning Antinomian principles; for before that time, the generality of the English Dissenters were Calvinists. This provoked one Dr. Williams, a man of vast fortune, some learning, but no eloquence, to write a book entitled, "Gospel Truth Stated." In this work he deviated, from many of his brethren, who, in their writings, had made salvation an absolute thing, whereas, he made it conditional, depending on faith. He said, that repentance must come before faith; whereas, the Calvinists had always asserted, that there could be no repentance without faith. This man was undoubtedly a moderate Calvinist, or, in other words, a strict Arminian. But from this time a schism took place among the Protestant Dissenters in England. The most learned among them inclined to Dr. Williams's notions, and what is rather remarkable, they improved upon them. Every year they became more and more loose in their doctrines, till at last their sermons were little better than systems of Deism. They seemed, as they still do, to take a pleasure in teaching their people just what they may read in Seneca, or Epictetus, without



without so much as adhering to any thing in the gospel. The consequence has been, that they are forsaken by their people, and left in distress. They have nothing now left them but to preach against government, and as most of their hearers are rebels, this procures them a scanty subsistence. The ministers are still numerous, but the hearers are few; for their dull tedious discourses will not go down with the generality of people.

They are undoubtedly very impolitic in one part of their conduct; for although they know that it is consistent with human nature to court popularity, yet they affect to despise it. The consequence is, they have few hearers left, except such as are enemies to the government. Indeed, it may justly be said of them, that in order to starve themselves and their families, they have embraced all the sentiments of the Arians and Socinians, and the truths of the gospel are rather nauseous to them. But we shall have occasion to mention another sect of Dissenters still more erroneous than they. In all their public offices these people are the same as those we have already described.

#### *Account of the Arian Presbyterians.*

We have already, in the course of this work, taken notice of the origin of those people called Arians, who sprung up at Alexandria, about the middle of the fourth century. Little notice has been taken of them by the writers of the middle ages; but at the reformation some persons actually declared themselves to be of these sentiments.

This, indeed, is not much to be wondered at, when we consider the unsettled state of the times, the agitations into which men's minds were thrown, by a change from the grossest superstition to rational religion, and the religious disputes which naturally took place in consequence of agitated arguments concerning the worst of all subjects, namely, polemical divinity.

However, after the reformation was established in those nations which embraced it, we find but very little account of the Arians for more than a century. In 1616, two of them were burnt alive at Litchfield, in Staffordshire, on the abominable act of Henry IV. and the Puritans in New-England, burnt about three or four more, during the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Persecution, during the reign of Charles II. kept the English Dissenters in one mind; but no sooner did the revolution take place, and men were allowed that liberty which is the inherent right of every rational creature, than they abused it to licentiousness.

About the year 1720, one Mr. Pearce, a Dissenting minister at Exeter, who had written a learned treatise in defence of his brethren, began to broach some new doctrines concerning the trinity, which created much confusion, and many of the ministers, who were very numerous in those parts, entered into an association, to prefer a bill of indictment against Mr. Pearce, for denying the doctrines of the trinity. This was such an instance of madness as cannot

be paralleled in church history, but to the everlasting honour of the grand jury, the bill was returned, *Ignoramus*. These doctrines, however, spread far and wide, and within a few years, many of the Presbyterians embraced them; and indeed, it may be added, that those amongst them, who would wish to shelter themselves under the name of Arminians, are now become Arians.

There are some things necessary to be taken notice of in treating of the Arian Presbyterians, and the rather so because there were Arians in England some years before they declared themselves to be of those sentiments. If a man goes into one of their congregations, unless he is of a particular genius, he will not know what they mean. A friend of the author has heard some of them, for a whole hour together, hold out the glory of Christ, and, in the conclusion, declare that he was no more than a created being.

Their congregations are numerous throughout England, but the hearers are so few, that they are not able to support the minister. Their sermons are in general to the ignorant very ambiguous, but to those who know any thing of Christianity, they are worse than Heathenism. Most of their congregations begin to drop off, and there is no wonder, for those who love the New Testament, love Jesus Christ as a saviour. But it would seem, that these Arian Presbyterians, in order to support their wild romantic notions, did every thing in their power to drive their people away from their assemblies. The author of this has actually heard one or more of their ministers, spend the whole of their sermons in endeavouring to make it appear, that Christ was not an object of worship. That he was a mere man whom God had created, but they, at the same time, allowed him to be a mediator between God and sinners.

How this can be reconciled to all the accounts we have of the Divine Redeemer, we leave the reader to judge. We may justly say, that if Christ was not God, and one with the father, our faith is vain, and we have believed in vain. Let us only consider, how different from this the sentiments of the most pious men have been in all ages and nations; and it was esteemed the peculiar glory of Protestants, to look upon Christ as their saviour.

And here is the very strength of the argument; for if our sins were committed against an infinite being, consequently none but one of an equal nature, could make an atonement for them.

All the hopes that a sinner can have, must be through the mediation of Christ, and those who despise that mediation, cannot expect the divine mercy. All blessings were first promised to Christ in his human nature, and these were to be transmitted by him to all his faithful followers.

Some of the Arian Presbyterians have compiled a new liturgy, which is, perhaps, the worst composition that ever was read by men. In the midst of their prayers, we find them denying the divinity of Christ, and they seem to dwell with pleasure on the subject. But we must not stop here. Be not surprised reader. They have actually made a new *Bible*.



One of their teachers, celebrated for mangling the works of some of the greatest divines, actually took it into his head to collect into one book, all those texts of scripture that suited his purpose, and recommended unto his people not to read any other. If this was not making a new bible, it will be difficult to say what is.

It is observed by the pious Mr. Henry, that the way of sin is downwards, that is, that as soon as men leave the truth, and the way where they could find rest to their souls, they continue sinking as it were downwards into darkness and error. Of this the following specimen of the errors of the Arian Presbyterians may suffice.

Some of their preachers have boldly asserted, that the soul of man dies with the body, which shews, that they are what the Epicureans were among the Heathens, and the Sadduces among the Jews. It is a lamentable truth, that several people, in consequence of reading those writings, have given themselves up to all sorts of debauchery.

Some others of their preachers have asserted, that the soul sleeps from death till the general resurrection. This is an antient heresy, for we read of a sect of people called Soul Sleepers, who appeared in Egypt, in Syria, before the time of Constantine the Great.

There is a third sort, at the head of whom is a divine, famous for his knowledge in politics, who asserts, by eternal punishment, is meant, eternal annihilation. They say, that after the last judgement is over, and the righteous acquitted by their Lord, the wicked will be condemned and burnt to ashes with the earth. Now these people must be materialists, for how could the fire burn the soul.

We have mentioned these things, not from motives of ill-nature, but compassion, and to shew that there is no end to error. What man, who has read the writings of those Dissenters who died about fourscore years ago, such as Bates, Howe, Baxter, and many others, would imagine that they could be succeeded by men who are greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Deists are, nay, who actually deny one of the leading principles of natural religion, namely, the immortality of the soul. A very intelligent person, who is now a Dissenting minister, once observed to us that ever since the publication of Dr. Williams's book on Gospel Truth, the English Presbyterians have been successively plunging as it were into errors; and as they have made a new bible, so they may, in time, recommend a new God.

It is, however, melancholy to consider what distraction they have driven the people into. Those who used formerly to go regularly to their meetings, and heard the gospel preached, seldom go now to any place of worship at all.

There is, however, this advantage attends them and their ministrations, namely, that they cannot do much harm, for the largest meeting they have has only a few hearers. Two of their chief preachers in London, preached away both their congregations, and both the meetings were advertised to be let. Most of their ministers are very needy, and it is but a few years since the

Calvinistical Presbyterians made a collection to supply the wants of one of them. How strong must the hatred these men have to the divinity of Christ be, when they will suffer all these hardships, rather than inculcate those truths that were taught by their ancestors.

But still there are exceptions. About twelve years ago, a noble lord, equally famous for his knowledge in politics and heresy, fixed his eyes upon such clergymen, whether Dissenters, or others, who denied the divinity of Christ. Of those there were three brothers, all Arian Presbyterian ministers. His lordship sent one of these to study physic, and the other two he presented to livings in the church of England. Thus for the sake of livings, the men who denied the divinity of Christ, could not only subscribe the thirty-nine articles, but even read the Athanasian Creed.

In all their ceremonies of worship, they observe the same forms which we have already mentioned, except those who read their printed liturgy, but that is only in a few places. Some of them read a prayer in manuscript, and their sermons are all written. They have no discipline nor government, and in their congregations, the people seem cold and insensible, while the preacher is delivering his moral harangue, or depreciating the glories of Christ Jesus. No new members are added, and therefore there will be probably none left after the present generation.

We shall conclude this article by observing, that such people as belong to them, never instruct their children in any catechisms, so that they are shockingly ignorant. They do not so much as know those very points by which their religion is distinguished. The cold lifeless manner in which the minister preaches, makes them despise all religion, or at least, not to regard any.

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#### *Account of the Socinian Presbyterians.*

Solomon, the wisest prince that ever lived in the world, says, there were four things he could not understand, namely, the way of a ship in the sea; the way of an eagle in the air; the way of the conies on the rocks; and the way of a man with a maid. But what would that great prince have said had he lived in our times, to see such variety of forms and sentiments in religion as we have amongst us, and all these bearing the names of Christians and Protestants. Perhaps he would have said, as he did on another occasion, "God hath made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions."

There is nothing has contributed more towards the propagation of popery in this country, than the various sects we are divided into. The first thing a Romish priest advances in conversation with such Protestants as he intends to convert, is our difference in religion. He tells the person, that the Roman Catholics are all united, whereas, the Protestant religion is like a dreadful monster with a great number of heads. But he does not stop here.

He tells him, that one sect denies the divinity of



of Christ; another that of the holy ghost; a third the immortality of the soul; a fourth the resurrection of the body; a fifth the eternity of hell torments, &c. &c. &c.

This is the way they make converts, as they call them; and it is told by themselves, that within these twenty years, they have drawn over to their communion above twenty thousand Protestants, many of whom were Dissenters. And this is not much to be wondered at, when we consider, what a thing it is for weak minds to be distracted about religious opinions. These poor unfortunate people, no sooner embraced Popery, than they imagined themselves delivered, as it were, from Egyptian bondage.

A few years ago, a young Presbyterian minister turned Roman Catholic, and was ordained a priest. He was so zealous, that he was sent on the mission to Scotland, where he had been brought up, and actually boasted of his having made some hundreds of converts.

A few years ago, a Socinian minister in London, preached away all his congregation; and one of them, a person of sense and great abilities, turned Roman Catholic. That man is still alive, and boasts that there is seldom a week in which he does not gain some proselytes. But to proceed with our subject.

Faustus Socinus, from whom these people take their name, was a physician of some repute at Sienna, in Italy, about the time of the reformation. The profligacy of the court, and the corruption of the church of Rome, convinced him, that Christianity was not to be found there. And as he had been taught to believe in the unity of the church, so he imagined that Christianity was not to be found among the Protestants, because they were divided into many parties.

However, as nothing could please him that he saw or heard, he resolved to make a new religion to suit his own fancy.

He taught, like the Arians, that to believe in the divinity of Christ, was to destroy the unity of the godhead; adding, that if there were three persons, there might be three hundred, or any number whatever. He said, that the texts made use of to prove the divinity of Christ, ought to be understood in a different sense.

The Arians admit, that Christ existed before the world was created; but the Socinians say, he had no existence till his body was formed in the womb of the virgin. As for the incarnation of Christ, they think that it is not to be considered as miraculous; and they maintain, that it cannot be proved from the sacred scriptures. They say, that had it been necessary to believe in the incarnation, the bible would have mentioned it. One would think these people had never read the bible, for the incarnation was prophecied in the Old Testament, and it is related at large in the New.

About four years ago, a Socinian minister wrote a pamphlet to prove that the virgin spoken of in Isaiah, was not the Virgin Mary, and that the child to be born was Hezekiah. In answer to this, Mr. Sharp wrote a learned tract, and he was seconded by a pious German divine, now at Hesse-Cassel. One would have thought

this was sufficient to have refuted the Socinian, but he had recourse to a method, which had it not been taken notice of, might have soon deprived us of both the Old and New Testament.

Mr. Sharp had observed, that the very words of the prophet's relating to Christ's incarnation, are, by Matthew the Evangelist, applied to Christ in chapters I. and II. Upon that the Socinian wrote a pamphlet, attempting to prove that those two chapters are spurious, and forged by some of the antient fathers.

He was going to have proceeded in the same manner with the first two chapters of St. Luke's gospel, but Mr. Sharp answered him in such a masterly manner, that probably he will be silent for ever.

They teach, that man was of his own nature mortal, even before the fall, and was never endowed with original righteousness, consequently there can be no original sin by the fall of Adam. That we have a power to do good or evil whenever we please. That God knows nothing of what is to happen, even to-morrow. That the cause of predestination is not in God, but in man. That God predestinates no one in particular to be saved. That he might have forgiven sin without Christ's death; for as he is the universal Lord, so he might do with his creatures as he pleased; he might give up his right to punish.

They add further, that as Christ was a mortal man, so it was necessary that he should die; and this, say they, shews he was not God, because God cannot die. That the death and all the sufferings of Christ were for no other purpose, than to shew an example for people to imitate. That Christ made no atonement for sin, nor was his death of any great service to mankind. That God hath exalted Christ in heaven somewhat above the saints, but still he is a dependent being. That baptism is an indifferent thing, and may either be used or not. That the torments of hell mean no more than that the soul and body shall be both annihilated. We shall not mention the dreadful consequences which might be drawn from these principles, because it might injure many persons in the present age, whose minds, we hope, are well established in the faith.

They say that every sort of discipline is no more than ecclesiastical policy, and certainly so it is, but they have none. That pastors are all equal, and to them with the elders belong the government of the church.

The pastoral function consists in preaching, praying, visiting the sick, and administering the sacraments. They admit of no more sacraments than two, namely, Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper.

A sacrament, say they, is an oath, or an engagement to perform something; and when they partake of the communion, they sit round a table, like the Calvinists, there being no difference between them in that particular.

The Socinians are charged with measuring their faith by the narrow bounds of their reason. God (say they) never commanded, that man can believe what cannot be comprehended. That we are



are created with an understanding fit to conceive, and we should reject what we cannot comprehend.

And here we would ask, if any man could ever yet comprehend God. "Canst thou by searching" (says Job) find out God, canst thou find out "the Almighty unto perfection?" Plato, a Heathen, said, speaking of God, "Truth is his body, and light is his shadow." Simonides, a Sicilian philosopher, being asked by his king Dionysius, what God was, asked some time to consider of an answer, but at last returned for answer, that the more he considered, the more he was lost in admiration, at the boundless nature of the subject.

Toland and Tindal, attempting to write in defence of Socinianism, became professed Deists, and wrote against the Christian religion.

Mr. Whiston, who was himself an Arian, being one day in conversation with Chubb, who was a Socinian, he (Whiston) told him it would not be long before he embraced Deism, and he did so.

It is certain, that those who reject mysteries, must, at the same time, reject divine revelation; and here we may say, with a great man, "Nothing is more reasonable than to believe that to be true which is above reason; what notion can a man form the soul, any more than that it is a living active principle, which he feels within himself, but cannot in any manner comprehend."

The Socinians often speak very disrespectfully of Christ, particularly in their sermons, and always treat of a future state, as but very imperfectly revealed. They are apparently happy, that God has not made the gospel dispensation clearer than it is, and yet they will not believe what is revealed.

Dr. Blair, an author now alive, and a divine, justly admired by his brethren, the ministers of the church of Scotland, has made some fine remarks concerning the notions of the Socinians. It plainly appears (says the Dr.) to be the plan of the deity, in all his dispensations, to mix light with darkness, evidence with uncertainty. Whatever the reason of this providence be, the fact is undeniable.

God is described in the Old Testament, as a God that hideth himself. Clouds and darkness are said to surround him. His way is in the sea and his path in the great waters, his footsteps are not known. Both the works and the ways of God are full of mystery. In the ordinary course of his government, innumerable events occur, which perplex us to the utmost. There is a certain limit to all our enquiries in religion, beyond

which, if we attempt to proceed, we are lost in a maze of inextricable difficulties. Even that revelation which affords such material instruction to man concerning his duty and his happiness, leaves many doubts unresolved. See Blair's Sermons, ser. iv. p. 290.

It is certain, that if men could comprehend every thing revealed; if they could see the veil drawn aside, and the mystery of God's moral government unfolded, there would be an amazing change, but it would be for the worst. Men would neglect those duties they owe to society, to their country, their families, and themselves. Human life would procure no objects sufficient to rouse the mind to a state of activity, nor to urge the hand of industry. Nay, it has been supposed, perhaps with good reason, that were men to behold the glories of a future state, they would deprive themselves of its blessings, by rushing upon their own destruction.

It has pleased our God to conceal many things from us, that we may give evidence of our humility and our confidence in him. To set up reason as the boundary of our religion, is an attempt to make ourselves greater than the glorious angels in heaven. For the apostle, speaking of the work of man's redemption, says, "Which things the angels desire to look into." Which implies, it was then too great for them, and will remain so till Christ has finished his mediatorial office.

How different from these sentiments are those of the humble believer? How often does he exclaim with joy,

Thy mercies still thou dost impart,  
With every added day,  
Above the rest, O give an heart,  
Its tribute still to pay.  
Th' angelic host for ever pure,  
My late return shall bless;  
Nor sin nor sorrow ever more,  
Conspire against my rest.  
Those false suggestions, flesh and blood,  
Did interpose below,  
Shall then be clear'd and understood,  
And unmix'd friendship flow.

We have said the more concerning the Socinians, because they are, with respect to the Presbyterian clergy, the most numerous in England, but many of them have not above a dozen of hearers. In their worship they are the same as the Arians, and for the most part they are very similar; they have already preached away most of their hearers, and probably there will be but few left soon.



## *An ACCOUNT of the INDEPENDENTS.*

**I**T is remarkable, that in treating of the different sects among the Protestant Dissenters in England, we generally find them divided and subdivided into parties. To what can this be owing, says the unbeliever in Christ? Can there be any truth in the religion of those people, who are daily projecting new schemes, and changing these as often as their capricious humours direct them? Here let the Deist not triumph; for we could make it appear, that there are more differences among those people, who call themselves Freethinkers. Thus, Toland, was an enemy to all those sentiments that distinguish Christians from other people in the world. Tindal was of a quite different opinion. Blount denied the immortality of the soul and shot himself. Bolingbroke was a professed debauchee, and faintly attempted to overthrow the Scripture History. We have only mentioned these few instances, in order to shew, that there are no people in the world more inconsistent than the writers among the Deists, when they ridicule the differences among Protestants.

These differences, among Protestant Dissenters, are so trifling, that they seldom affect the essentials of religion; and people ought to bear with each other, and be tenderly obliging, without affording an opportunity for either the Papists or Deists to triumph over their weakness.

The Independents, as they are now in England, may be divided into two sects, namely, the regulars and the irregulars. The regular Independents, are those who have been brought up at their academy, and received as much learning as we shall have occasion to take notice of afterwards. The irregular Independents consist of the lower ranks of people, who have for some time attended the preaching of the Methodists, but are seduced away by some of their friends, who happen to have a greater volubility of speech than the others. But of each of these in their order.

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### *Account of the Regular Independents.*

These people were called originally Brownists, from the following circumstance:

Mr. Robert Brown, a Puritan preacher, in the diocese of Norwich, had been much persecuted by the bishops, and frequently thrown into prison.

This Mr. Brown was descended from an ancient and honourable family, in the county of Rutland, and nearly related to the great Lord Treasurer Cecil. He received his education in Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, but having conceived early prejudices against the ceremonies, he went about the country preaching in private houses. Having had an information lodged against him in the spiritual court, he was

degraded from his office; and being then a young man, he went and lived some time privately with his father.

He could not, however, be restrained from preaching and inveighing against the bishops and the ceremonies. For this he was imprisoned no less than thirty-two times, and at last forced to leave the kingdom. Upon this he retired to Middleburgh in Zeland, with several of his followers, where he formed a church upon his own plan of discipline. This happened in 1586, but in three years after, 1589, they split into so many parties, that Brown left them and returned to England, where he renounced his principles. After this, he became rector of a parish church in Northamptonshire, where he lived an idle and dissolute life, and having assaulted one of his neighbours, he was committed to the gaol of Northampton, where he died 1630, in the eighty-first year of his age.

The Brownists held the same notions with respect to the terms of acceptance, as the Calvinists, but in their discipline they were uncommonly rigid. They taught, that every congregation was a church independent of any other; and this is the reason why they are called Independents.

Some of their reasons for separating from the church of England were, that the laws and the queen's injunctions, had imposed several things that were not commanded in the gospel. That there were several gross errors in the service of the church, which were made necessary for the communion, and imposed accordingly. That if persecution for the sake of conscience was inconsistent with Christianity, the church of England could not be a true one. That the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be mended. That the very pillars of it were rotten, and that there was a necessity for a total reformation.

These people suffered much, along with the other Puritans, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, and many suffered death with remarkable constancy for the principles they professed.

In 1593, the Brownists were become so numerous, that Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that there were upwards of twenty thousand of them in the counties of Norfolk and Essex, and in the neighbourhood of London. Those near London being more numerous than any where else, they formed themselves into a congregation, and chose a pastor. They had many learned men among them, particularly Ainsworth, whose exposition of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, is one of the best books in the world. But this congregation was soon dispersed, and fifty-six of the members were sent to prison, where some of them perished for want of the necessaries of life.

Hereupon, they petitioned the lord treasurer, setting forth the hardships they laboured under,



but their petition was rejected. These persecutions obliged many of them to go over to Holland, where they set up themselves in most of the principal towns. In the reign of James I. the persecution carried on against them was greater than before; but these people, although persecuted, split into parties, and did all they could to injure each other.

About the year 1610, they assumed the name of Independents, and one Mr. Robinson, a learned man amongst them, returned to England, and formed a congregation, which met in the Borough of Southwark, where there is a meeting to this day. It is called Deadman's Place, because the Dissenters have a burying-ground adjoining to it.

But this little society having been informed against by the bishop's pursviant in 1632, forty-two of them were apprehended and thrown into prison. Some of these were admitted to bail, but no favour was to be shewn to their pastor; upon which he petitioned the king for leave to depart from England, which was granted him. He, with about thirty of his followers, went over to New England; and Mr. Canne, who wrote the marginal notes on the bible, was chosen pastor in his room.

Mr. Canne preached in private houses, but the rage of the persecution drove him and his followers over to Holland, where they established a congregation at Amsterdam.

Mr. Howe was their next minister, who was thrown into prison, where he died. As opposition is the life of argument, so persecution promotes religion, whether true or false. These people encreased to an amazing number, and although almost all of them were of different sentiments, yet they were either called Puritans or Brownists.

They continued to meet in Deadman's-Place as usual; but one Sunday, whilst they were celebrating Divine worship, they were surrounded by the marshal of the King's-bench, and committed to prison. Next day they were carried before the house of lords, and accused of denying the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with preaching contrary to the statute of uniformity. The house, however, did not proceed against them in a summary manner, but dismissed them with a gentle reprimand. Next day a great many people went to see their meeting, and were so pleased with its simplicity, that they embraced their notions and became converts.

History addresses itself to a period far more distant than the dreams of wild enthusiasts, or the blasphemies of madmen. She undertakes to hold out truth to public notice, without regard to factions, or any attachment to parties. She is to dress up truth in her native colours, and leave the impartial reader to judge. This is not an easy matter in the midst of contending parties. We are not to be swayed or biased by inveterate prejudices, any more than partial attachments. So just are the words of the poet.

So from the time we first begin to know,  
We live and learn and not the wiser grow:  
But he who truth from falsehood would discern,  
Must first disrobe the mind, and all unlearn.

To dispossess the child the mortal lives,  
But death approaches e'er the man arrives.  
Thus truth lies hid, and e'er we can explore  
The glittering gem, our fleeting life is o'er.

We have, however, endeavoured to avoid all these extremes; we have considered that all human beings are liable to err; and sensible of our own weakness, we shall continue our account of these people with impartiality and with tenderness.

In the year 1641, when the Puritans began their grand attempt to overturn the government both in church and state, many of the Independent ministers returned to England; and so unsettled was the state of affairs at that time, that some of these men were chosen ministers of that famous assembly of divines which met at Westminster, and overturned the whole frame of episcopacy. The Independents were more favoured than the Presbyterians; and as they had no objection against money, they accepted of the grand church livings, while, at the same time, they were exclaiming against clerical power.

When the Presbyterians, in 1648, petitioned the parliament against the toleration of the Sectaries, which was seconded by the Scots, the Independents presented a counter-petition from the city, signed by a great number of hands. The parliament upon this, called upon the Presbyterians to prove their *jus divinum*; and an assembly of them met for that purpose; but the Independents withdrew, and left them, not chusing to have any hand in the affair.

The army, at this time, was composed of Independents mixed with Anabaptists, and other sectaries, who, when they found the Presbyterians even in their treaty with the king, insisting upon uniformity, without making the least provision for that liberty of conscience they had been contending for, grew outrageous, and at last, buried king, parliament, and Presbytery in the ruins of the constitution.

As Oliver Cromwell was an enemy to clerical power, and a friend to universal toleration, they were one of his chief supports during his usurpation. They petitioned him for leave to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world an uniform confession of their faith; for they were become very considerable. Their churches were greatly encreased both in the city and country, and many rich and substantial people had joined them, but they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline, though their brethren in New England had done so ten years before. The protector yielded to their importunity, but did not live to see the effects of it.

About a month after the protector's death, a meeting was held in the Savoy between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and they appointed a committee to draw up a new confession of faith, which differed but little from that of the Westminster confession. At the end of the confession is a chapter of discipline in which they assert, that every society of visible professors agreeing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel is a complete church, and has full power within itself to elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders, and to do all other



other acts relating to the edification and well being of the church. That all ordinations shall take place in consequence of the pastors being elected by the people; and they are to be set apart by fasting and prayer, with the imposition of hands; but even without the imposition of hands, they are to be declared duly ordained; nor shall any person object to their being ministers of the gospel; for they consider the act of ordination as in its own nature, rather indifferent than binding.

They disallow the power of all stated synods and presbyteries, and all sorts of conventical churches over particular assemblies, but admit, that in cases of difficulty or difference relating to order of doctrine, churches may meet together by their messengers, to give advice, but not to exercise any authority. They say farther, that churches agreeing in the fundamentals of religion, should keep up a communion with their brethren. And it is true that the ministers and rich people do so, but the poor are generally neglected.

At present, the Independents have many meetings in England, but their ministers are for the most part poor. Indeed this is reasonable; for if they have no compassion for those in distress, so it would seem inconsistent with the dictates of common sense, that any people should shew compassion to them.

They have an academy where their young ministers are brought up, but not one of them can be admitted till he has declared that he has been converted. The greatest number of these young men are taken from menial employments, and they are first employed to learn as much Latin as Cæsar of Borgia acquired. They then lay hold of a Greek grammar, and acquire as much knowledge of that antient language as to be able to read a chapter in St. John's gospel. In Hebrew they go over Robertson's edition of the Psalms, and here their knowledge of languages stops.

During their leisure hours, a minister comes to the academy, and delivers them some lectures on rhetorick and logick, which they are vain enough to call the fine arts. An attempt was made, a few years ago, to introduce amongst them the study of the mathematics, in order to make them reasoners; but their governors could not undertake the making of compasses, lines and circles, so that their young ministers have just as much learning as one would naturally imagine who attends to the nature of things, and considers the constitution of the Christian religion.

The next thing to be considered is their ecclesiastical polity, if it deserves that name. When one of their young men has acquitted himself so well as to be made choice of for a church, about half a dozen of the neighbouring ministers assemble, with a great many of the people. The ordination is conducted in the same form as among the Presbyterians, but the confession differs.

The following confession of faith, delivered by Mr. Thomas Bradbury, in London, July 10, 1707, is almost similar to all that have been delivered since, and may serve as a specimen.

“ Forasmuch as, upon these occasions, many have taken in hand to set forth, in order, a de-

claration of those things which are most surely belived among us: I desire to make the same good profession before many witnesses, and according to my measure of the gift of Christ, give a reason of the hope that is in me, with meekness and fear, and especially at this time, when, by fasting and prayer, and laying on of hands, I am to be separated for the work whereunto the Lord hath called me; tho' I be less than the least of all saints, and not worthy of this grace, to preach the unfearchable riches of Christ.

ART. I. I therefore declare my belief, that the books of the Old and New Testament, which are commonly received amongst us, came not by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and instruction in righteousness.

II. This, through grace, I will always adhere to, as the great rule of my faith and ministry; to this law and testimony, I profess to bring every opinion; this I promise, in a dependance upon him who has the residue of the spirit; I apply to these scriptures as the best discovery God hath made of himself in this life; I here learn what God is, and what he doth. This includes both his nature and glorious perfections: it includes both his eternal unity and a trinity of persons.

III. I believe that the Lord our God is one Lord, there is none besides him.

IV. I believe there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one. This I would avow as a truth, and humbly adore as a mystery.

V. I believe that this one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is a spirit. The king eternal, immortal, invisible, from everlasting to everlasting, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, but who will take vengeance on his adversaries, and not at all acquit the wicked.

VI. I believe that he created all things, and for his pleasure they are, and were created; that his government reaches over the whole creation, that his providence extends to all creatures, and their actions, and that the foreknowledge of God over-rules the corruptions of men.

VII. I believe that God made a covenant with our first parents, as the common root of all their posterity, and gave them a righteous law, with this establishment, that he that does these things shall live by them; but in the day that he offended he should surely die.

VIII. I believe that by one man's disobedience our natures are not only guilty but impure, and that we lie dead in trespasses and sins.

IX. I believe that God resolved to glorify himself by redeeming some of the lost race; that he did, from all eternity, predestinate some to the adoption of children, whose names are written in heaven; that this election was free, and it will have a certain issue; that the remnant are saved, according to the election of grace, not for the works which they should afterwards do; but according to his own purpose and grace before the world began.

X. I believe that this design will be effectual to the happiness of all those.

XI. I



XI. I believe that the only method of obtaining this happiness was by appointing one mediator between God and man; the man Christ Jesus; giving a certain number to him, and setting him forth to be a propitiation, thro' faith in his blood, for the remission of sins, that God might be just, and yet the elect be saved.

XII. I believe the divinity of our great Lord Redeemer; that he is over all, God blessed for evermore; that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but receives a divine homage. I believe this word was made flesh, and dwelt among us: this is the mystery of godliness, great without controversy, that God was manifest in the flesh. I believe him to be a teacher come from God: that he was made a priest for ever: that he is the king of saints, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. In all these capacities he is head of the church, and the Saviour of the body, appointed to be the heir of all things; but more especially lord over them who are given to him.

XIII. I believe he went about doing good, delighting to do the will of him that sent him, by the which will we are sanctified: that he was made a curse for us, suffering in both the parts of his human nature: that he was the Messiah, who should be cut off to finish transgression, and make an end of sin: that there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved.

XIV. I believe when he had by himself purged our sins, he was buried, and lay part of three days and three nights in the belly of the earth.

XV. I believe that God raised him to heaven, loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible he should be holden of it. I believe he ascended up on high, is seated on the right hand of God, as the advocate of his people and the judge of the world.

XVI. I believe that whom he predestinated, them he also called, and whom he has called, them he also justifies freely by his grace. The blessedness of this consists in God's imputing righteousness without works. I believe that we lay hold on his mercy by faith, and that not of ourselves, but of the gift of God: that the people of God receive the adoption of sons, and there is a change in the disposition of those who are heirs of the grace of life, owing to free love and to almighty power. I believe that the ransomed of the Lord grow in grace, and that he who has begun a good work in them, will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ. No man shall be able to pluck them out of his hands.

XVII. I believe he is to be worshipped with reverence and godly fear. I believe that we are to own this Lord in societies, and that there is a communion with all that in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, both theirs and ours, and that Jesus Christ will be with them to the end of the world.

XVIII. I believe he hath given us several commands and institutions, which we, as Christians are obliged to perform; one of which is baptism in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, taught us all things whatsoever he has commanded, admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. And by eating bread and drinking wine, in remembrance of him, we are

to continue stedfast in doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayer.

XIX. I believe, that in all these parts of worship, one is our master, even Christ; no man having dominion over our faith and liberty.

XX. I believe that the Christian, at his death, enters upon two blessings, a complete purity and satisfying enjoyment, that the spirits of just men are made perfect, see Christ and know him, as themselves are known; and that more perfect felicity which will follow the resurrection and universal judgment. For,

XXI. I believe there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust: that Christ hath authority to execute judgment, because he is the son of man: that the angels, who sinned, are delivered into the chains of darkness; both they and the wicked, who know not God, nor obey the gospel of his dear son shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.

The other particulars relating to the regular independents lead us within the veil, obscurity is enlightened, darkness to the human eye vanishes away before our sight, and we can see them in their native colours.

Their congregations consist of a minister, two deacons, and in conjunction with them the whole of the congregation. These form a sort of congregational body, taking upon themselves the same power as a general council. The minister is elected by the people at large, with this reservation, that they can turn them away whenever they please. This is, perhaps, a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and yet we meet with something like it in ancient ecclesiastical history.

In their discipline, they profess to be like the primitive Christians; that is, they will never publish the faults of each other until they are excommunicated. This appears to be as strict a piece of hypocrisy as ever took place in the world, and we shall give a specimen of it afterwards.

At present, in their form of worship, they differ a little from the Presbyterians, but still, even in that difference, they are not uniform. In all their meetings they begin with a psalm, and then follows a prayer. In some, after the prayer is over, they begin the sermon, which generally lasts an hour; and the minister must take great care not to drop one single word that looks like an exhortation to duty. The whole sermon has some resemblance to a system of divinity, without the conclusion. In some of their churches they sing three times during Divine service; but, in general, their sermons are the same, only with this difference, that some of the young ministers have boldly ventured to imitate their ancestors, such as Bates, Howe, and others.

It is necessary to inform the reader concerning this vast difference in the mode of preaching, between the present Independents and those who lived at the time of the revolution.

In 1708, one Mr. Hussy, a minister at Cambridge, published a heavy tedious volume, to shew that no minister had a right to make any offers of grace or salvation to sinners. This is not original Calvinism, but it is an inference, or consequence deducible from it; at least from that part of it called absolute predestination.

For



For if God has elected one part of mankind, and reprobated the other, what occasion is there for exhortation, seeing man has no power to comply. This is a popular objection of the Arminians, which has already been in a measure refuted. It is not hereby meant to charge the Independents alone with this consequence, as many other sectarists, and even some in our established church, adopt the same opinion. If we might be allowed to give our advice on so important a subject, we should rather think the express command of our Lord should be more attended to than any of these traditions of men; and if in Ezekiel's days, the dead bones were commanded to live, why should not the same method be taken under the superior brightness, and vivifying nature of the gospel dispensation.

There is an apparent inconsistency in establishing the above consequence from a belief in absolute predestination, among a people who, in general, profess to have been converted from the ways of sin, under the Methodists; for this is the case with the modern Independents. It is pretty generally known that exhortation is their fort, and that they had rather forego systematic divinity than lose an opportunity of earnest exhortation.

When a man or woman desires to be admitted a member, the minister and deacons confer with him, and enquire into his character with a strictness and precision which does honour to them. If it is found such as will bring an honour to religion as well as an ornament to their congregation, he or she is then told to write out an account of his Christian experience and of the manner of his conversion.

This account is given to the minister, who having perused it, desires the candidate to be at the meeting on the next Lord's day. When service is over in the afternoon, the minister with the deacons and the principal members of the congregation, meet together in a large pew before the clerk's desk, called the table pew, because it is there they administer the Lord's supper.

The candidate is then called upon, and the minister, pulling the paper out of his pocket, tells the people that he is come to read the Christian experience of A. B. The paper is then read, which generally contains, first a confession of his original and actual transgressions against God, his deep conviction of guilt on that account, and his hearty desire of embracing that salvation which is revealed in the gospel: he then proceeds to relate the method and manner by which Divine grace operated upon his heart; but as this is so various, we cannot fix any particular one, only we believe that the general way which God takes to bring sinners to the knowledge of himself, is through the instrumentality of the preached word. He then professes his desire to become a member of that particular church, and assigns his reason for it, which is generally this, that he cannot any longer conscientiously abstain from obeying the positive command of Christ which is binding upon all Christians, viz. the participation of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. It is a general rule, not only with the Independents but with most other sectarists, not to admit any one to their

communion, until they have undergone some examination of this nature.

As soon as the paper is read, the candidate is desired to retire into the vestry, and while he is there, a consultation is held among the minister and members of the church; they then determine whether in the judgement of charity his experience is genuine, and such as will entitle him to church fellowship; added to which, they likewise judge of his character and conduct in the world; if these correspond with their sentiments of propriety, the candidate is made acquainted therewith, the minister gives him the right-hand of fellowship, and he is from that moment a member of the church. It is generally contrived that the day of admission is upon a Lord's day when the sacrament is administered, and then the new admitted member immediately communicates with the church.

Should the candidate be objected to, either from some inconsistency in his moral conduct, or should the account of his experience not correspond with the tenor of gospel conversion, he is exhorted to continue some time longer under the ordinances, to be diligent in his attendance on Lord's days, and to be very circumspect in his behaviour. After a longer or shorter trial, he is admitted or totally rejected.

As for the present state of the regular Independents, it rather resembles a standing pool, whereas formerly it was as a rapid current. They have some rich people amongst them, and many poor; they consist chiefly of old members and their additional converts are not very numerous: They are rather in a declining than a prosperous state: we hope this is not a sign of the decay of religion and virtue in the world, but that people in general see less necessity than formerly for dissenting from the established church of England.

#### Irregular Independents.

It is not from any ill natured prejudice, nor any thing like malevolence that we call these people by such a name. This would be very unbecoming those who are candidates for the public favour; impartiality, alone and nothing less can captivate men of reason, and obtain their good opinion. The author did not rightly know by what name to call them, till being one day in company with a doctor in divinity amongst the regular Independents, the reverend doctor said, "They are our Irregulars." The reader must not be left in the dark, he must know who these people are and who are those followers who support their ministry. To understand this rightly, it will be necessary to observe, that soon after the establishment of methodism in this country, by those first institutors of it, Messrs. Whitefield and Wesley, many of the preachers in their separate connections, thinking they had equal abilities with the rest of their brethren, took meetings and became Independent themselves. Having been rendered popular by their connection with one or the other of the above reverend Gentlemen, and substituting loud declamation in the place of sound reasoning, they soon col-



lected a sufficient number to fill their meeting-houses. We will not say that their congregations were the most respectable, they generally consisted of the unlearned and the poor, and not by any means so reputable as the regular Independent congregations: Their discipline was much the same, but many parts of their conduct different.

We have already observed that the regular Independents have an education in their academies, but not the best that can be obtained, stopping vastly short of that erudition which in our opinion is necessary to form a Christian minister. But the Irregulars are still at a lower ebb, as they are in general ignorant of systematic divinity, as well as common education: however their public harangues are popular; they tend to inflame the passions, and set the affections at work: what wonder if under such influences as these, the judgement should sometimes be misled and the practice be consequently erroneous. It is not our business to enquire by what motives they are actuated, we shall leave that to him, before whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; whose prerogative it is to try the reins and search the hearts of the children of men. But this much is certain, that they have a great number of followers, and yet they have neither system nor discipline. Strange that a religion should exist without these, and yet it is true. Their terms of communion are rather uncertain, any person of good character, and what they in their separate congregations call orthodox principles, may be admitted. Men of business sometimes join them, and it is often proved that they benefit themselves considerably, as it is a general maxim with them to encourage those of their own communities; this is very natural, and we will not blame them for it: self love prevails amongst mankind in so eminent a degree, that when we encourage others of the same opinion, we are only gratifying this predominant principle.

With respect to their manner of preaching, it would require a more able pen to defend it in every particular; this is a very essential branch of a minister's office, and where it is not properly conducted, the effects will be lamentable. Religion itself in such a congregation will be disesteemed at least, if not totally neglected. It cannot be expected that a minister without learning should convey much knowledge to the people under his care. These irregular Independents pursue the same method as the regulars, by taking a text, and from thence preaching a discourse, though some people will have it, that they take leave of their text immediately, and that their discourse is as suitable to any other. The discourse is generally unconnected, and not very well calculated to impress the minds of the auditory with a becoming reverence and devotion. If they have little or no education, we may be sure that rhetoric has not been studied by them, much less proper gestures or cadences. They do wisely, circumstanced as they are, to ridicule the *art* of preaching, and explode all manner of attention to propriety of action, or sound and judicious reasoning in the pulpit. We are afraid that the sum total of their harangues amount in general to this, *Vox et preterea nihil*.

We are willing to hope and believe, that notwithstanding these evident marks of impropriety and indecorum, that they have some real merit, in being frequently the means of reclaiming the vicious, especially among the vulgar; for though they are thus detected by people who have their eyes open, yet the majority of mankind, who judge of things at first sight, and take every thing for gospel they hear, are fascinated by their preaching, which operates by different ways, in some people, by raising their minds to an exalted pitch of enthusiasm, and by sinking others into desparation. Upon the whole, it is believed that some good is done by them, and that they are a mean used by the hand of providence whose works are altogether marvellous, and who frequently brings good out of apparent evil.

We would recommend it to the ministers who rank themselves under this denomination, to act in a compassionate manner to their hearers, to consider the poor as greater objects of compassion than the rich, to make the truths of the gospel appear in a more amiable light than they do, to cease from declaiming against other parties and professions, evidently better qualified in every point of view, and to make their public dissertations more a matter of study. They would then make a proper improvement of the trust committed to their care, and acquire as much honour as would make amends for all their deficiencies. They would do well to follow the advice and example of the blessed Saviour of men. He knew well the false hopes and fallacious reasonings of the heart of man; how prone men were to form themselves into parties and distinguish themselves by trifling inventions. In the business of religion and the great concern of souls, all that is short of obedience to God's commands, and a life of devotedness to his service, is nothing but trick and evasion, froth and folly. Consequently if any man build on such deceitful grounds, and with such slight materials, he must and can expect no other, than that his house should fall upon his head, and he perish in the ruins.

The irregular Independents have, in general, no proper notions of ecclesiastical discipline, nor any idea of systems of divinity. They have no regular plan, every congregation assuming some particularity. They are truly *independent* in the strictest sense of the word. In the form of their worship they are nearly the same with the regular Independents, only with this difference, they frequently use the Lord's prayer in public, which the others do not. What can be the reason of the latter refusing it we will not pretend to assert, unless it is that their objection to all forms is so great, that they will not accept of one, even from the mouth of truth itself.

After all that has been said, we are happy to affirm from our own knowledge, that there are many exceptions amongst the irregular Independents, both ministers and people. Men of learning and abilities, who are actuated by the purest principles, who study as much as is in their power to render religion a pleasing and delightful science, who are, in one word, an ornament to their profession, and whose names will be respected, while virtue has any countenance in the world.



## *The* ANABAPTISTS.

**I**N treating of these people, we are obliged to take notice of their divisions and subdivisions, for they are even as much divided as the Presbyterians. They are called Anabaptists, for their practice of baptizing believers only; and they say, that the mode of baptism should be by immersion, according to the method used by the primitive Christians, or, at least, during the three first centuries. Thus they claim an immediate descent from Christ and his apostles, and assert, that the constitution of their churches is from the authority of Jesus Christ himself, and his immediate successors.

Some historians, indeed, deduce their origin as a sect from much later times, and affirm, that they first sprung up in Germany, and separated themselves from the Lutherans, because the doctrine of these reformers was imperfect, or not brought to the primitive standard; as the proper mode and subject of baptism, was not allowed by them to be necessary, in the performance of the rite. Therefore, they re-baptized their followers, condemning infant baptism as unscriptural, and of no effect; whence they were called by the reproachful name of Anabaptists.

They insisted on plainness of dress, and simplicity in worship. They not only exclaimed against the church and power of Rome, but likewise against all those who opposed liberty of conscience. It is not at present our business to enter into a polemical argument concerning the time of baptism. Lord King has made it appear, and perhaps to a demonstration, that it never was used in any other sense than by immersion, till after the time of Constantine the Great. One objection his lordship admits of, and that is, that when people were converted from Paganism on their death-beds, and desired to be baptized, they were only sprinkled.

In Germany, Switzerland, Italy and many other parts of Europe, many of the Anabaptists suffered martyrdom before the reformation took place: and Dr. Wall the greatest English writer in defence of infant baptism, admits, that there were some thousands of Anabaptists in the world before the troubles broke out at Munster, in Germany.

It is pretty clear, from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. John Wickliffe, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism as unlawful, or at least not necessary, and he denied that sin was taken away by baptism. Some of Wickliffe's followers maintained, that the children of believers are not to be sacramentally baptized, and that it was impossible to give children ecclesiastical baptism, saying, they were sufficiently clean and holy, because they were born of holy and Christian parents. But to go on with the history of these people, as a

general body before they split into so many parties.

Though several Anabaptists were put to death and others banished for their opinion, during the reign of Henry VIII. yet they still continued to encrease. Bp. Burnet says, that at this time, 1547, there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England, and they were generally Germans, whom the revolutions of that country had driven over.

Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building upon some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. Upon this many of them argued, that the mysteries of the trinity, Christ's incarnation and sufferings, and the fall of man were philosophical subtleties, not derived from scripture nor necessary to salvation. We shall have occasion to consider these points more at large hereafter.

They rejected, in particular, infant baptism, as a duty not enjoined, or so much as mentioned in scripture. Many of them, however, had opinions different from each other, but they all went by the name of Anabaptists.

April 12, 1747, there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, by making proselytes, so a commission was ordered, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with some other bishops and lords of high characters, were appointed by a commission under the great seal, to examine and search after all those people called Anabaptists, and, indeed, all such as did not go to church.

They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution, or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate them, and deliver them over to the civil power; to be further proceeded against, that is, they were to be burnt. In May, the same year, some tradesmen of London were brought before these commissioners, and ordered to abjure their former opinions, particularly, they were to acknowledge, that infant baptism was a Christian sacrament.

One of these who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a faggot the next Sunday to St. Paul's, where there would be a sermon setting forth his heresy. But there was another of these extremely obstinate, namely, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She denied, that Christ was truly carnate of the virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could not take any of it; but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the virgin, took flesh of her. There must have been many more of these sentiments at that time; for how could a poor ignorant woman form notions that would have puzzled the most learned philosophers to comprehend.

The



The commissioners took a great deal of pains with this woman, and had many conferences with her, but she was so extravagantly conceited of her notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn. Upon this she was condemned to suffer death as an obstinate Heretic. We are sorry to say that this happened in the beginning of a Protestant reign. The pious young king Edward withstood all the solicitations of his council for signing the warrant for her execution, declaring, it was doing in fact what they had condemned in the church of Rome, and that he would not drive her headlong to the devil. At last the king was persuaded by archbishop Cranmer, who urged that her crime was an impeachment of the apostles creed, and that blasphemers were to be stoned to death, according to the Mosaic dispensation. The king, overcome by Cranmer's arguments, put his hand to the bloody warrant, though not without shedding tears, declaring he would lay all the charge on the archbishop before God. Accordingly the woman was executed, being burnt alive; and soon afterwards George Van Paris, a Dutchman, was committed to the flames in Smithfield.

A faithful historian must neither conceal virtue nor vice, and the crime of a Protestant archbishop, must no more be veiled over than the guilt of a Roman pontiff, or a Spanish Inquisitor.

Cranmer's conduct on this melancholy and remarkable occasion, is a striking proof of the corruption of human nature, even in the midst of good actions. The archbishop, with many other good men, endeavoured to promote the reformation of religion in England, and yet they could not help bringing along with them from the church of Rome, the vilest dregs of practical Popery. This is a matter of very serious consideration, and should teach men to be on their guard, when they change from the practices of a corrupted church. Let them leave all that is bad behind, and bring all that is good along with them.

The arguments made use of by Cranmer, to induce the young king to sign the warrant for the execution of a poor ignorant mad-brained woman, points out to us the shocking notions and the baleful influence that ignorance of the sacred truths of the New Testament will always have on the minds of people. He argued from the Mosaic law, that the blasphemer was to be stoned to death, and it is very true; but the archbishop did not so much as know what was meant by a theocracy. He imagined, that because God, as the real sovereign of the Jewish people, permitted them to put blasphemers to death, so Christians were to do the same. But we pity the man, while we detest the action.

The Papists rejoice in this act of cruelty, and retort back persecution on the Protestants. Philips, in his life of cardinal Pole, while he is contriving every means to blacken the characters of the reformers, takes care not to let this pass unnoticed. However, if we Protestants have persecuted, we learned it from the Papists, nor shall we attempt to vindicate such an unchristian principle.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the Anabaptists encreased, and were subjected to imprisonment and banishment. Some few, as Dr. Fuller observes, recanted their errors, but two of them were burnt in Smithfield.

In the reign of James I. among the persecuted exiles that fled to Holland were several Anabaptists, who set up a church under the pastorate of Mr. John Smith, who had been a minister of the established church; but they were violently opposed by the other Puritan exiles, from whom they received much abuse in books written against their opinions. In this reign Edward Wightman, a Baptist, of Burton upon Trent, was burnt at Litchfield. He was the last martyr that suffered by this cruel statute of burning heretics in England. And it may be remarked, that William Sawtre, the first that suffered in that manner for his religious opinions, was supposed to have denied infant baptism; so that this sect had the honour both to lead the way and bring up the rear of all the martyrs that suffered in England upon the bloody statute of Henry IV.

In the year 1620, some Anabaptists transported themselves to New England, where, for a time, they met with very bad treatment from the Independents, who though they had fled from persecution themselves, yet persecuted with great cruelty both the Baptists and Quakers. Dr. Mather, in his history of New England, has declared, that many of the Baptists were very worthy honest men; and that Mr. Williams, one of their preachers, being banished from Salem, settled at a place called Providence, where he gathered a church together, and was very instrumental in obtaining a charter for the government of Rhode Island, of which he was frequently chosen governor, and that he did all in his power to convert the Indians in his neighbourhood. He published a treatise on their manners, language, and tempers, and when peace was restored in New England, the Baptists spread themselves throughout many parts of the continent.

In 1642, there was a dispute or conference held in the Borough of Southwark, between Dr. Fearly and some Anabaptist preachers, of which the doctor has published an account, but it is supposed to be a very partial one; for from the title page, to the latter end, there is a spirit of bitterness runs through it. During the civil wars of the last century, they encreased in vast numbers, and no less writers than Dr. Hammond and Bp. Taylor, spoke favourably of their sentiments. In 1643, the Baptists published their confession of faith, and in 1646, it was licensed by order of the parliament. Except in the articles of baptism and church government, this confession differed very little from that of Westminster now established in the church of Scotland.

However, they were now persecuted by the Presbyterians, just as they had been before by the Episcopalians. But in March, 1647, a declaration of the lords and commons, was published in their favour, induced thereto by the great numbers of them, then in the army, and in most of the corporations in England.

This declaration has the following words:

“ The



"The name of Anabaptism hath, indeed, contracted much odium, by reason of the extravagant principles and practices of some of that name in Germany; tending to the disturbance of government and peace of all states, which opinions and practices we abhor and detest; but for their opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time, in the administration of an ordinance, wherein, in former ages, as well as this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice. And although we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, and join with us in our judgement and practice in this point, yet herein we hold it fit, that men should be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleness and reason, and not driven to any thing by force and violence."

The Protestants, however, did not abide long in those sentiments of moderation; for the very next year, 1648, they published a cruel ordinance for the punishment of blasphemies and heresies, by which every sect, but the rigid Presbyterians, were condemned; and upon this ordinance several baptists were persecuted, merely for their opinions about baptism.

The short rest they enjoyed towards the close of the usurpation, was succeeded by a most cruel persecution, during great part of the reign of Charles II. The story of Venner, the fifth monarchy man, is well known, who, at the time of the restoration, sallied out from a house in Coleman-Street, with some of his hearers, parading the streets, and knocking down every person who came in their way. Their professed intention was, to set king Jesus upon his throne. These infatuated people believed, that the millennium was then to take place, and Christ was to reign with his people a thousand years.

It is certain, that the Anabaptists had no more concern with this insurrection of Venner's, than they had with the election of a pope of Rome, but the Presbyterian party at court embraced the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the whole body of those innocent people. We call them innocent; for where men's notions do not tend towards disturbing government, or promoting immorality, they may be justly esteemed innocent, and not objects of public censure.

About four hundred of these people were crowded into Newgate, besides many in other prisons. But at the coronation they were set at liberty, by the act of indemnity. They published a declaration, wherein they testified their abhorrence of Venner's insurrection, and all they begged for was, liberty to meet together, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. This, however, did not avail them much, for they were continually persecuted during the whole of that reign.

John Bunyan, one of their preachers, was confined in prison eleven years, in Bedford gaol, where he had no other way of procuring a sub-

sistence, but by knitting of purses, and in that afflicted state he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, a book that will perhaps be read to the end of the world.\*

The famous bishop Patrick, author of the commentary on the bible, wrote a book under a similar title, which the witty earl of Rochester ridiculed in the most severe manner, when compared with that of Bunyan's.

The Baptists continued to suffer much in England, till king James II. published his indulgence, and at last they were entitled to all benefits of the toleration act, which leads us to consider what they have been since, and what they are at present.

The Anabaptists are, by their own choice among themselves, divided into the following classes, or rather parties:

First, Calvinists.

Secondly, Arians.

Thirdly, Sabatarian Calvinists.

Fourthly, Sabatarian Arians.

We shall treat of all these in their order.

#### Of Calvinistical Anabaptists.

All the Anabaptists, from the time of the reformation, till some time after the revolution, were Calvinists, but they soon split into parties, the common consequence of the abuse of liberty. Not that we would wish to abridge the least part of the toleration act, but only to shew, that the best things may be made the worst use of; and here we would not have it understood, that we are opposing any of those parties, but merely giving an historical account of them.

The Calvinistical Anabaptists are the most numerous of their sects, and it arises from a circumstance that will surprise the reader.

It is owing to this, that those who are best qualified for delivering their sentiments in public, will become most popular. It is so among the Roman Catholics, and in all Protestant countries where the sermons are delivered without notes. It is, in a great measure, owing to the cold indifferent manner in which sermons are read, that the established clergy have become unpopular, and the Dissenting meetings empty. This observation was made by Bp. Burnet so long ago as the year 1692, in one of his charges to his clergy.

It is an established maxim, that no part of human learning is necessary towards qualifying a man to be a member among the Anabaptists, besides that of being able to read the bible, and a few other religious books.

They have therefore made it a rule, to pick out such of their hearers, as are the most popular to harangue the people; and these they send

\* Mr. Mason's new edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the most elegant, and is embellished with a great number of Copper-plates from original designs. Price 4s. sewed, or 5s. neatly bound. Printed for ALEX. HOGG, No. 16, *Pater-noster Row*, London.



to their country congregations, which are extremely numerous. Their high pretensions to piety, their earnest manner of addressing themselves to the passions of their hearers, and their strict attention to the duties of their function, bring after them a vast number of followers, but chiefly among the lower classes of the people.

We must acknowledge, that they have had a Gill and a Brine and some others among them. These were like constellations in a clouded sky, and some of their valuable performances have dispelled the mists of ignorance and infidelity; and reconciled many seeming inconsistencies in the Christian system.

When a man presents himself to be admitted a preacher among them, he is only asked whether he has been converted by Divine grace, and whether he considers infant baptism as inconsistent with the word of God. He is likewise to give his assent to every thing professed by this community, which are the doctrines of Calvinism. To these they add some of their own, which Calvin never intended. It is not enough for them to allow of eternal reprobation, but, like the Independents, they draw that conclusion from it, that exhortations are unnecessary. Calvin, in several of his sermons, frequently says, "O sinners, we offer you Christ;" which indeed is no more than the apostle said, when he told the Corinthians that he preached Christ. But these people answer to this, that they have no Christ to offer. It might not be improper to ask them, whether preaching the gospel, and preaching Christ, are not synonymous terms? As all the promises in the Old Testament were made first to Christ, so they are like an inheritance, to descend to believers in the same manner as an estate descends to a son. If believers are heirs of Christ, and if the inheritance itself comes by the gospel, then is not preaching the gospel the offering of Christ to sinners as a favour.

The ministers of this persuasion take great pains in their preaching, to affect the hearers with the importance of their doctrines, and use every method to rouse the passions and influence the heart to high and heavenly pursuits; the attempt is laudable, and in it we must wish them success.

They have some decorum and order in their sermons, which we think would have still more effect upon the hearts and lives of their hearers, did they accustom themselves to draw practical inferences. As the ministers are generally men of abilities and piety, it is rather to be wondered at that they do not only see the necessity for this manner of proceeding, but also break through that prejudice which has so long been a barrier to it. It is remarkable, that all our Saviour's discourses consist of explanations of the law, and are always mixed with exhortations.

Nine parts out of ten of the apostolical epistles consist of earnest exhortations to duty, and strange that it should ever have entered into the heart of man, to neglect such an useful part of preaching. The most strenuous Calvinists in the church of Scotland, who are the Anti-Burgher Seceders, seldom spend less than one fourth part of their sermons, in the most fervent exhortations to duty; for they consider, with the apo-

stle, that when the foundation has been once laid, they should endeavour to raise the superstructure.

But here let it be observed, that we are as well convinced of the necessity of teaching principles, as any of the Anabaptists are, but we consider it as only one part of preaching. We are no more to leave any thing undone, than we are to do what is forbidden. A constant direction on speculative opinions may enable men to talk of religion, but inferences drawn from them qualify them for heaven.

In their admitting of members, they differ much from the Independents. They do not call upon them to make a display of all those favours which have been shewn to them by Divine goodness; and that in a public manner before the face of a whole congregation. But still, they have something similar to it, and something, perhaps, even more public.

When a person desires to be admitted a member into one of their societies, he is examined strictly by the minister and deacons, as to his knowledge, and a strict enquiry is made into his moral character. Christ received sinners; and his apostles, so far from making enquiry into the moral characters of their new converts, received them as sinners, and pointed out their moral duty afterwards. This is only a hint, by the by; it is not our intention to recommend the dissolute and profane, at least while they continue so, as proper members of any church, but the synagogue of satan; we only mean to say, that true penitents have a right to the blessings of the gospel dispensation. The benefits of the salvation provided in the gospel extend to sinners, and are calculated only for such: the whole need not a physician, but those who are sick. Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

But we must not look for primitive purity in religion among any set of people. The truth is, the Calvinistical Anabaptists rest so much on speculative notions, and have such an antipathy to the term *good Works*, that they run into errors in the extreme. This is rather absurd, because their own notions point out grace irresistible. However, there is such an inconsistency in human notions, and in human actions, that nothing less than the judgement day will clear up.

However, when the candidate has been examined and approved of, he is ordered to come and be baptized. In the country, this ceremony is frequently performed in a different manner from that used in London. One of the Anabaptists, perhaps more zealous than many of his brethren, told us, that he was plunged in a river in Pembroke-shire, in South-Wales, after the ice had been broken to make way for the ceremony.

It is rather different in London, where the ceremony is performed before a numerous and respectable congregation.

The candidate comes near to a font, or rather a reservoir of water, in the centre of the meeting, having a robe around him to conceal his nakedness, and the minister walks into the water, before him. The minister being up to the middle in the water, the candidate approaches towards him in a very reverend posture. Then the minister lays him back, and holds him in the water till he repeats these words:

"I baptize



"I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

They then go out of the water together, and a sermon is preached suitable to the occasion.

The mode of conducting this ceremony is sometimes very solemn; the minister generally quotes those passages of scripture which are suitable to the purpose, and which, in his opinion, defend the practice of adult baptism. It is very certain, that when Christianity was first promulgated, adults were baptized, and so were children too, otherwise we should not hear of the baptism of whole households.

With respect to discipline, these people have none in particular, but they excommunicate their members in the same manner as the Independents. They make provision for their poor, and have many collections for that purpose, yet there is a discretionary power left in the minister to give what part of it to whom he pleases.

In all other respects, they are like the Independents, and differ but little from them, except in the article of baptism. How far such men act consistently with the rules laid down in the gospel, is not our business to enquire. To be censorious is inconsistent with that impartiality which should at all times distinguish the character of an historian; to be remiss in taking notice of some abuses, would point out a fawning disposition. Let God be true, and let every man be a liar.

#### *Of the Arian and Socinian Anabaptists.*

We have already taken notice of those Anabaptists who are called Calvinists, we must now proceed to consider such as are of a different denomination.

The first Arian Baptist preacher in England, was Dr. John Gale, who made his first public appearance about the beginning of this century. That he was a man of some learning, cannot be denied, and his book, in answer to Dr. Wall, discovers amazing abilities. But, notwithstanding all this, he contracted, in his early youth, the most violent prejudices against every thing, either in Calvinism or Arminianism. The most part of his sermons, consisted of invectives against the godhead of Christ, and what was practical, consisted of no more than what a common Heathen would have delivered. No mention of Christ as a Redeemer, no notice of his offices as a mediator, no enlivening hope of pardon through his merits or acceptance, in consequence of his righteousness, but a heavy commentary on the words virtue, good men, and all such other titles as we find mentioned in Heathen authors.

In consequence of this man's preaching, a sort of schism took place among the Anabaptists, but of a very extraordinary nature.

The clergy increased, and the laity decreased. There is something in this, resembling the conduct of five hundred shop-keepers setting up in a city, to sell a new commodity, while, at the same time, they could not have one hundred customers. It is certain, that no man can live without the common necessities of life; for

self-preservation is the first principle in natural religion. Poverty should be borne with resignation, when it comes as an ordinary dispensation of Divine Providence; but we are not to court poverty. This much, however, is certain, that these men, in consequence of having denied the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, drove the greatest part of their hearers away, so that their families were left in distress.

In all disputed points concerning religion, it is best to err on the safe side, that is, it is much better to rest satisfied with a declaration of our own ignorance, than to run into an opposite extreme. It is certain, that the doctrine of the trinity is taught both in the Old and New Testament, and it is equally certain, that we are not able to comprehend it. Then in such cases, is it not much better to wait with humility, till God lays open all these secrets to us.

In all these things, acknowledge th' Almighty first,

And where we can't unriddle, learn to trust.

With respect to the discipline of these Arian Anabaptists, they have but little, and their meetings are deserted of hearers. Their discourses are in general, such as an antient Heathen would blush at. Every thing that strikes at the root of the fundamentals of Christianity, has been adopted by them, and, properly speaking, they may be considered as enemies to Christianity. Is it the resurrection of the body, they are sure to start some doubts concerning it? Is it the mediatorial office of Christ? It is laughed at with contempt. Is it the salvation through the redemption wrought by Christ? It is nonsense.

This brings to our remembrance what Sir Matthew Hale says, namely, that nothing can make the people so immoral as moral preaching.

In their ceremonies there are no differences between them, and the Calvinistical Anabaptists, only that the Arians admit any person whatever to communicate with them, who only subscribe towards supporting their meetings.

All the ministers of their persuasions, are such as have received a liberal education, so in that particular they differ from many others. But notwithstanding all their learning, they are left to starve. Undoubtedly, the hatred these men have to Christ Jesus as a mediator, must be very shocking, when they can subject themselves to all sorts of want, that they may have an opportunity of blaspheming his name.

There are not many of them at present in England; for this much is certain, that no attachments to systems will ever go down with the people where the doctrine is not popular. They have no rule by which they can proceed in church censures; for as there is no gate to come in, so there is no opposition against their going out.

In a word, these people are, perhaps, as destitute of Christian knowledge as the Heathens. Their ministers are enemies to the gospel, but the people do not so much as know any thing concerning true religion. However, we shall have occasion to speak of some sects more inconsiderable than those, and such as are but little known by the generality of people in the present age.

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## An ACCOUNT of the SABATTARIANS.

**I**N treating of these people, there are two things necessary to be considered.

First, their general principles; and, secondly, their present state.

As for their principles, we are naturally led to enquire into the origin and authenticity of what we commonly call the Christian sabbath. And here the following questions naturally present themselves to us for solution.

First, is it a moral principle, that one day in seven should be kept holy to God?

To this it is answered, that it is not moral, nor has it any connection with natural religion. That some of our time should be set apart for the worship of the Divine being, is beyond all manner of dispute, but that one day in seven, or in seven hundred should be observed, natural religion does not point out.

Secondly, was this a patriarchal institution?

The answer is, it was not, for it took place long before. We read, that when God finished the glorious work of the creation, he rested from his labours, and pronounced the whole to be good. This was on the seventh day, and it is intimated, that the seventh day from that period, should be a time of rest among men.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to say in what manner this sacred institution was attended to in the antediluvian world. Perhaps, nay it is probable, that the neglect of this institution, was one of those sins, for which the people were destroyed by the deluge. Whether the sabbath, or one day in seven was observed by the patriarchs, cannot now be known; only thus much is certain, that in all the accounts we have of them, it is not so much as mentioned, although the narrative is particular in other things.

But then it will be enquired in the third place, was the observation of one day in seven among the Jews, a ceremonial or a moral institution? The answer is, that in some sense it was both ceremonial and moral; ceremonial so far as it was connected with the Jewish law; moral, as being the effect of some Divine revelation. As a ceremonial practice, it took place among the Jews; and it is well known, that these people were so superstitiously attached to the observance of it, that many hundreds of them were massacred by Antiochus Epiphanes, because they would not fight on that day.

On the other hand, the moral obligation was quite of a different nature, for it was reasonable that some time should be set apart for the worship of the Divine Being, and as the Jews believed that the high command came from God, so they were under the most absolute and indisputable necessity to consider it as moral.

There is a morality in natural religion, which cannot be known unless we attend to the state of man in this world. But in Divine Revelation, there is a necessity of believing, that what-

ever God reveals is moral. If we believe a precept inculcated by Divine Revelation, we must believe it to be moral; for what can be immoral that God prescribes as a duty. In judging of all these things, we are to consider, how far the evidence will support us through the whole of the argument, and then, if any doubt arises, we are to draw the line between natural and revealed religion.

But this leads us to consider the state of the Christian sabbath, under the New Testament dispensation.

With respect to the New Testament dispensation, here is a grand question indeed. It is certain, that Christ came to put an end to all carnal ordinances in the law of Moses. He came not to destroy any thing moral in that law, but to fulfil in his own person, every thing pointed out by the different types and shadows. Christ taught the Jews that the sabbath should be kept, but not in the manner they did it; for the Pharisees had made it a rule, not so much as to do good to the afflicted on that day. To convince them of the depravity of their conduct, he asked them, or rather asked their consciences, whether it was lawful to do well on the sabbath day, and then wrought a miracle.

When Christ said, *it is finish'd*, the whole law of carnal ordinances fell to the ground, the veil of the temple was rent, and the partition wall was broken down that separated the Jews from the Gentiles. What command Christ gave to his disciples concerning their keeping the day of his resurrection, cannot now be known. Whether he did so or not, this much is certain, that his disciples considered the first day of the week as coming in the room of the Jewish sabbath.

Thus we read (Acts, xx. 7.) "And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them."

Now it is not said, that he called them together, but that he found them met there according to their constant practice. In the Revelation (i. 10.) St. John says, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." Now, whether Christ desired them to remember him on that day, or whether they did it in gratitude for the many blessings he had procured for them, is not certainly known.

It seems, however, that many of the Christians in Galatia kept the Jewish sabbath, for which they were severely reprimanded by the apostle Paul. However, it was the uniform custom of the primitive Christians, to meet on the first day of the week, as frequently as they had an opportunity. But this duty could not be imposed, because many of the first converts were slaves.

When the church obtained peace, under the emperor Constantine, then the first day of the week was religiously observed, as the Christian-sabbath,



sabbath, and about two hundred years afterwards, the emperor Justinian published an edict, commanding, that all Christians should observe that day, by attending public worship in the churches. It has never since been observed by the Christians as we know of, except those whom we are just going to mention.

#### *Account of the Calvinistical Sabbatarians.*

These people, called Calvinistical Sabbatarians, are all Anabaptists; tho' they are not very numerous, yet they are very rigid in their notions. They say, that the institution of the sabbath is not ceremonial, but moral, because it took place immediately after the creation. They add further, that there must have been some traditional account of its being observed by the patriarchs, else Moses would never have inserted it into his law.

It is certain, that many of the rites in the Jewish law, were observed by the patriarchs; for it is generally allowed, that Moses did no more than reduce them to a system. And if this was the case, say they, why might not the sabbath be observed by these antient fathers.

There seems not to be much force in this part of the argument, for can we suppose that the very men, who were called and instructed by our Saviour himself, would have kept the resurrection day instead of the seventh sabbath. To this we may add, that as God ordered the seventh day of the week to be observed, in memory of the creation, and as the work of man's redemption was the greatest event that ever took place here below, so it was necessary that it should be commemorated as long as the existence of time, till Christ should make his second appearance. This is certainly the best way to consider the subject; and it is certain, that nothing can be more dangerous, vague and uncertain, than to take disputed points of religion by inference or implication, when, at the same time, a better proof offered itself.

Now it is certain, that the observation of the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath, hath been uniformly observed by all those who bear that name, except a few; and this is evidence much stronger than any thing that can be taken by implication. Thus far we think the argument rests in favour of those who keep the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath, but we are not to dictate to any one. Men are to be judged by the evidence of their conscience, in consequence of that degree of knowledge which they have had an opportunity of acquiring.

These Calvinistical Sabbatarians differ in nothing from the Calvinistical Anabaptists, except in worshipping God on Saturday. They have very little discipline in their churches or meetings, and their sermons are generally void of exhortations. They are very morose in their tempers, and in general uncharitable to those who differ from them in sentiments.

When they admit members among them, they are very strict in making enquiries into all that can be known concerning all those notions they formerly embraced. They likewise enquire in-

to their moral characters; for although these people believe that no moral duties can be of any service in the article of religion, yet they like to be moral themselves and to have moral people among them.

Their public devotions are the same as those of the Independents and Calvinistical Anabaptists; and when they excommunicate one of their members, they seldom re-admit him to their communion.

They have but few hearers, and these are in general so pliable, that they keep both the Jewish and Christian sabbaths. Here is an inconsistency, not only in speculation, but in practice; but what can we look for in human nature? It is possible, that these people will die away with the present generation; for as they were never very numerous, so they are daily dropping off. They are all millenarians, that is, they believe that Christ will reign a thousand years on the earth; which notion is embraced by many of the other Dissenters. There are no other particulars relating to them worth mentioning, nor do they make much figure at present.

#### *The Arian Sabbatarians.*

These people are the most pliant of any in the world, for they generally act in a double capacity. Thus they preach in their own meetings on Saturdays, as the real sabbath, and in other meetings on Sundays, as the Christian sabbath. Upon this last, however, it is probable that they are rather a sort of assistants to the Arian Anabaptists. But let them act from whatever motives they think proper, yet this much is certain, they are not popular.

It is remarkable, that whatever popularity may take place among the vulgar, yet when men of knowledge preach the truths of the gospel in their primitive simplicity, they are generally followed, and they are obeyed in consequence of their lives being a practical comment on their preaching. On the other hand, when a preacher forsakes the gospel of Christ, and attempts to deprive him of his glory, the people sit with indifference under his cold lifeless discourses, and they drop off one by one, while the poor infatuated preacher is forsaken.

We have already seen how this applies to the cause of the Arians in general, and to none can it be more particularly applied than to the Arian Sabbatarians. If ever they mention the name of Christ it is with some mark of reproach, and not with that mark of reverence one would naturally expect from those who would make us believe they were his followers.

But here let us stop a little. Perhaps these men are not Christians. They observe part of the Jewish law, but they reject the divinity of Christ. They pretend to a more than ordinary zeal for the sacred scriptures, and yet their sermons are nothing more than dull moral precepts. They have this advantage, however, above the Calvinistical Sabbatarians, in that they exhort their people to duty.

It would not be difficult for a man of understanding



standing to make a good sermon out of two of theirs; for the Calvinistical Sabbatarians would furnish him with speculation, and the Arians with duty.

As these men are, in general, necessitous for the necessities of life, and as they are but little regarded by those few people who follow them, so some of them are obliged either to follow mechanical employments, or, if they have education, to keep schools.

And here we would make an observation that perhaps was never before committed to writing, namely, that the Arians, Socinians, and Arminians, all sing in their public worship Dr. Watts's Psalms. Now it is well known that the doctor's imitation of the Psalms is purely Calvinistical; and how these men who deny the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, can sing that in their public worship which is totally opposite to their principles, we are not able to account for.

To hear a minister preach a full hour against all the glories of Christ's kingdom, and, at the same time, order a Psalm to be sung in public worship contradictory to what he had before advanced, is one of the greatest paradoxes in the world. Nay, we will not hesitate to declare, that it is a very serious matter. For true religion is of an uniform nature: no part of it must

clash or interfere with another; all must be beautiful, regular and uniform; but how can this be found where there is a total opposition.

These people admit their members by immersion in riper years, but indeed they make so few converts, that they do not practice this ceremony much. The person to be baptized, has a declaration of his faith drawn up on purpose for him by the minister, who reads it to the people that are in the meeting.

This confession has always something in it against the trinity, and against all systems of divinity; and yet these people are the most systematical in the world, for every one has a system of his own.

They have no manner of discipline, which indeed would be unnecessary; for what great occasion has that schoolmaster for a rod, whose school contains but few scholars. In their public worship they are like the other Arian Dissenters, and they generally select a chapter of the Bible to read before sermon. They read their sermons to the people in a dull lifeless manner, so that it cannot be supposed that they will make much impressions upon them. Probably in a few years they will be totally extinct; for at present, perhaps, there are not a great number in the nation.

## *An ACCOUNT of the FRIENDS, commonly called QUAKERS.*

**I**N treating of these people in an historical manner, we are obliged to have recourse to much tenderness. That they differ from the generality of Protestants in some of the capital points of religion cannot be denied, and yet, as Protestant Dissenters, they are included under the description of the toleration act. It is not our business to enquire whether people of similar sentiments had any existence in the primitive ages of Christianity; perhaps, in some respects, they had not; but we are to write of them not as what they were but what they now are. That they have been treated by several writers in a very contemptuous manner is certain; that they did not deserve such treatment is equally certain.

The appellation *Quakers* was bestowed upon them as a term of reproach, in consequence of their apparent convulsions which they laboured under when they delivered their discourses, because they imagined they were the effect of Divine inspiration.

It is not our business, at present, to enquire whether the sentiments of these people are agreeable to the gospel, but this much is certain, that the first leader of them, as a separate body, was a man of obscure birth, who had his first existence in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. In speaking of this man we shall deliver our own senti-

ments in an historical manner, and joining these to what has been said by the Friends themselves, we shall endeavour to furnish out a complete narrative.

He was descended of honest and respected parents, who brought him up in the national religion: but from a child he appeared religious, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, and uncommonly knowing in divine things. He was brought up to husbandry, and other country business, and was particularly inclined to the solitary occupation of a shepherd; "an employment," says our author, "that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service." In the year 1646, he entirely forsook the national church, in whose tenets he had been brought up, as before observed; and in 1647 he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, without any set purpose of visiting particular places, but in a solitary manner he walked through several towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned. "He fasted much," says Sewell, "and walked often in retired places, with no other companion but his bible." "He visited the most retired and religious people in those parts," says Penn, "and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, who waited for



for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man: for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the generation and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to which whoever comes is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel-time, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathering in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In the year 1652, "he had a visitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public ministry, to begin it." He directed his course northward, "and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his ministry. These were drawn forth especially to visit the public assemblies to reprove, reform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, "calling people to repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouths; directed them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and to consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without opposition in the work they imagined themselves called to, being often set in the stocks, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, tho', as our author observes, honest men of good report, that had left wives, children, houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. But these coercive methods rather forwarded than abated their zeal, and in those parts they brought over many proselytes, and amongst them several magistrates, and others of the better sort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to pull off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to speak to the people, without distinction, in the language of thou and thee. They scrupled bidding people good-morrow, or good-night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in supreme authority. Both men and women went in a plain and simple dress, different from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man

master, on earth. Several texts of scripture they quoted in defence of these singularities; such as, Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only? &c. &c. They placed the basis of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the holy spirit.

In 1654, their first separate-meeting in London was held in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling street, for by that time they had spread themselves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places set up meetings or assemblies, particularly in Lancashire and the adjacent parts, but they were still exposed to great persecutions and trials of every kind. One of them, in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, represents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the Quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.

Under favour of the then toleration they opened their meetings at the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate-street, where women, as well as men, were moved to speak. Their zeal transported them to some extravagances, which laid them still more open to the lash of their enemies, who exercised various severities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the suppression of Venner's mad insurrection, the government having published a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, chapel, or in private houses, by consent of the persons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful and riotous, &c. &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to address the king thereon, which they did in the following words:

"Oh King CHARLES!

"Our desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God and thy council. We beseech thee and thy council, to read these following lines in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good.

"And this consider, we are about four hundred imprisoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, besides, in the county gaols, about ten hundred, we desire that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.

"London, 16th day, eleventh month, 1660."

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, "A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion, from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." It was presented

to



to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promised them upon his royal word, that they should not suffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were very little regarded afterwards.

In 1661, they assumed courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. Their petition was rejected, and instead of granting them relief, an act was passed against them, the preamble to which set forth, "That whereas several persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and the public congregations and usual places of divine worship: be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons, after the 24th of March 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair."

This act had a most dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious these conscientious persons were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. George Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints him, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. A relation was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the goals.

However, they even gloried in their sufferings, which increased every day; so that in 1665, and the intermediate years, they were harassed without example. As they persisted resolutely to assemble, openly, at the Bull and Mouth, before-mentioned, the soldiers, and other officers, dragged them from thence to prison, till Newgate was filled with them, and multitudes died of close confinement, in that and other goals.

Six hundred of them, says an account published at this time, were in prison, merely for

religion-sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. In short, says Mr. Neale, the Quakers gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other Dissenters.

Yet, under all these calamities, they behaved with patience and modesty towards the government, and upon occasion of the Rye-house plot, in 1682, thought proper to declare their innocence of that sham plot, in an address to the king, wherein, appealing to the searcher of all hearts, they say, their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others: that they continually pray for the king's safety and preservation; and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the goals are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns and fields are ransacked, and the goods, corn and cattle swept away, to the discouraging trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this for no other cause, but for the exercise of a tender conscience in the worship of Almighty God, who is sovereign Lord and King of men's consciences.

On the accession of James II. they addressed that monarch honestly and plainly, telling him, we are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself, which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness.

When James, by his dispensing power, granted liberty to the Dissenters, they began to enjoy some rest from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were swelled to an enormous amount. They, the year before this, to them glad release, in a petition to James for a cessation of their sufferings, set forth, that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends, both men and women, and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; of which two hundred are women, many under sentence of *præmunire*; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance, because they could not swear. Three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1680; in London, the goal of Newgate has been crowded, within this two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days. Great violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful havock and spoil, have been made upon people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant and merciless informers, by persecutions on the conventicle-act, and others; also on *qui tam* writs, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of their estates seized for the king. Some had not a bed left to rest on, others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for



for feed or bread, nor tools to work with; the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church. Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being riotors and disturbers of the public peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prison without regard to age, and many confined in holes and dungeons. The seizing for twenty pounds a month has amounted to many thousands, and several who have employed some hundreds of poor people in manufactures, are disabled to do any more, by reason of long imprisonment. They spare neither widow nor fatherless, nor have they so much as a bed to lie on. The informers are both witnesses and prosecutors, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of the peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations. With this petition they presented a list of their friends in prison, in the several counties, amounting to four hundred and sixty.

During the reign of king James II. these people were, through the intercession of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with greater indulgence than ever they had been before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the settlement of Pennsylvania taking place soon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honest industry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, so he invited people of all denominations to come and settle with him. An universal liberty of conscience took place; and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were, for the first time, established.

These Friends are, in the present age, a very harmless inoffensive body of people; but of that we shall take more notice hereafter. By their wise regulations, they not only do honour to themselves, but they are of vast service to the community; and here we are led to consider their tenets, with respect to the grand articles of the Christian faith, and their discipline concerning church communion.

They profess faith in God, by his only begotten son Jesus Christ, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the father, and a mediator with the father. That God created all things by his son Jesus Christ; and that the father, the word and the holy spirit are one Divine Being, inseparable, one true living and eternal God, blessed for ever. That the word, or son of man in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; declared to be the son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. That in this word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

That as man he died for our sins, rose again, and was raised up into glory; he having, by that one great universal offering, become a sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man. That Jesus, who sitteth on the right-hand of the Majesty of Heaven, is our king, high-priest and prophet, in his church, and by his spirit also maketh intercession in our hearts. That the gospel of this grace should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom and goodness in the work of man's salvation, and that all our prayers are answered by the father through the son.

That Christ's body that was crucified was not the godhead, yet, by the power of God, it was raised from the dead, changed into a more glorious condition, and ascended into heaven.

Firm and living faith in Christ Jesus the son of the living God respects his being and fulness, and also his making himself known in the soul in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith; which light and life of the son of God, when truly observed and followed, will bring us to the adoption of sons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy scriptures, nor slight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of sinners, nor do we set them up in opposition to the light of the spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof to turn people to the same spirit and light within them.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself; that God should be manifested in the flesh; and it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually manifested in men's hearts. Christ is revealed to all true believers, freeing them from the bondage of sin, in their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. This mystery of godliness in its own being and glory, hath been and must be testified, preached and believed, where God is pleased to give commission, and prepare people's hearts for the same.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, we believe as the scripture testifies, "that if in this life we only have hope, we are of all men the most miserable." That the soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be resumed in its own distinct and proper being, and every soul shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; and though this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so we expect our bodies to be spiritual in the resurrection, and that they shall far excel what our bodies are at present; but how the dead are raised, or with what body they come, we submit to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God; for we cannot presume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgement, we believe, that God hath committed all judgement



ment unto his son Jesus Christ, and he is appointed to be both the judge of quick and dead, and of the states and end of all mankind. That Jesus Christ, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many indignities, shall in the last and great day manifestly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly host and retinue, to the terror and amazement of all those who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers and friends of Christ. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who suffer with him, should appear with him in glory and dignity, when he shall appear at last to judge the world and princes thereof. Whilst those who now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgement of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences; they shall be at last opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works.

These articles are generally approved of by most of those Christians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought against the Quakers for having embraced the notions of Socinus, in vindication of themselves they added a few more articles to their creed. These are as follow:

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the Christ the son of God, to whom all the prophets are witness; and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the lamb of God that taketh away all the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion and power with the father.

III. That the holy scriptures are of Divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well.

These articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be necessary to observe, that these people pay very great regard to the scriptures, and to many other doctrines of the gospel.

Baptism is not practised by these people. They say, that it is not outward washing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his apology, endeavours to prove this proposition in the following manner, viz. "As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing; that is, the baptism of the spirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was only a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue

for ever." Such are the sentiments of this learned man concerning infant baptism, or in general all water baptism whatever. He adds further, that infant baptism is a mere human invention; for which neither precept or practice is to be found in scripture.

Concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he advances, "that the communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the infant man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance for the cause of the weak; even in abstaining from things strangled, and from blood; the washing of one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are only the shadows of better things, so they cease in such as have obtained the substance."

It is not our business to enquire whether Mr. Barclay's sentiments be true or not; his apology, however, was soon after its first publication translated into Latin, which even led foreigners to read it; and the author has seen translations of it into French, German and Low Dutch.

Having thus far considered the principles of the Friends, commonly called Quakers, we shall proceed to give some account of the various parts of their discipline.

In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation, the friends having only had their quarterly meetings. "And the Lord appeared (says George) unto me, and bid me see what I must do, and how men and womens monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in England, and other nations, and that I should write to them where I came not to do the same. Accordingly, having recommended the setting up of two monthly meetings in London to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly, and not according to the truth; then I passed forth into the counties again, and advised that monthly meetings should be settled there also, for the same purpose, which was done according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God; and in the year 1668, I went over for the same purpose to Ireland. From thence I went to Scotland, to Holland, to Barbadoes, and to many parts of America, advising friends to settle monthly meetings in those countries; all which was accordingly done.

The good effects of these monthly meetings discovered themselves in the reformation that took place among our friends, and they were acknowledged even by those who did not join us." These monthly meetings were more or less in number, as the case required, in every respective county; and three monthly meetings make a quarterly one in each county. These meetings called quarterly, determined every thing too hard for the monthly ones, and prepared matters for the general yearly meetings. In all these meetings they are equal in power, they have no person to preside over them, because they



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*An Assembly of QUAKERS at Amsterdam.*



they acknowledge none but Christ for their head. They have no disputes concerning differences, but endeavour to convince each other in the spirit of love and meekness. In these meetings they enquire into all the wants of their brethren.

In their proceedings against offenders, they are as follow: He is visited by some of the friends, and the fact he is charged with is laid before him. They labour with much love and zeal to convince his conscience that he has been out of the way of his duty. They keep in view the glory of God, the good of his soul, and the honour of their profession. It commonly happens, that he is prevailed on to own his fault, and profess sincere repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned to him afterwards.

The monthly meeting chuse some of the gravest of their friends to visit such as are absent, to converse with them, to take care that the poor be provided for, to promote piety, charity, and friendship in families, to take care that the children of the poor be instructed, cloathed, and in all things provided for.

Although they supply the wants of all their own poor, yet this does not prevent them from being charitable to the poor of other religious denominations.

The first questions asked by those whom we have already mentioned as visitors, are the following:

I. How are ministering friends in love and unity with one another, and with faithful brethren in their own meetings?

II. Do none of them travel abroad in the works of the ministry, without a certificate from their own monthly meetings?

III. Do they give way to each other, and to strangers?

IV. Do none overcharge themselves with business to the hindrance of their service?

V. Are they sound in their ministry?

VI. Do any of them burthen their hearers with words without life?

VII. Do they adorn their doctrine by a suitable conduct and conversation, as good example in all respects?

The sensible reader will acknowledge, that these are very important questions, but their discipline concerning marriage, merits the attention of Protestants of all denominations.

The man and woman present themselves to the men and women at the monthly meetings where they reside, and there deliver their intention of taking each other as husband and wife, if the said meeting have no material objections against it.

The principal conditions of their acceptance, are the following:

First, it is an established rule, that no man propose marriage to a woman, without the previous consent of his own and her parents, or guardians; and if the unbridled affections of any should have precipitated him into a breach of this rule, he is required to remove the offence, as is also the woman, and give satisfaction to such parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which they

belong, by a due and open acknowledgement of the offence, and condemnation of themselves for it, and to get the consent of their guardians before they can proceed with the marriage.

Secondly, that the parties be of the same opinion and judgement in matters of religion, and professed members of this society.

Thirdly, that none shall marry within such degrees of consanguinity or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of God.

Fourthly, if either of the parties has given offence to their friends formerly, by some act of scandal, they are to acknowledge it, which is generally done in writing.

If no objections are then made, notice of the intended marriage is published in the meetings, where the man or woman resides, or did reside, which must be done before the marriage is solemnized, in order that convenient time may be granted for satisfaction concerning their clearances of all scandal of previous contract, and every thing else.

The parties are required to give their attendance a second time at the monthly meeting, which is usually the next ensuing, when the parties appointed to make the enquiry, return and give the answer, which, if proved satisfactory, the parties are at liberty to proceed to the accomplishment of the marriage.

These marriages are solemnized in the common ordinary meetings, which hath had this good effect, to make public, and strongly recommend this decent and comely order to all sober friends.

Here the man and woman take each other as husband and wife, and promise, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death separates them. Of all these proceedings, a narrative is kept in the manner of a certificate, to which the husband and wife first set their hands, thereby making it their own act and deed, and some of the persons present do the same. This certificate is afterwards written into the record of the meeting.

As for second marrying they attend to the following things:

First, if the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, and have children by a former husband or wife, that provision be previously made for such children, where it can conveniently be done.

Secondly, friends should not proceed to second marriages, till at least one year is elapsed from the death of the former wife, or husband, and the practice accordingly has been such; for to do otherwise would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which assembles at Whitsuntide, are admitted friends from all the churches they have in the world, to give an account of the state of every particular church which from some parts is done only by writing, and then a general epistle is sent to all the churches.

These epistles, from their general meetings in London, have something in them of a very pious and moral tendency, of which we shall afterwards give a specimen. In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that of all religious denominations, these people suffer more than others. They are obliged



obliged to pay all sorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burthenfome to the parishes.

The Papists have had greater indulgencies shewn them than the Friends, and there are numbers of Papists in the workhouses in England. It is true, those of the Quakers or Friends, must be likewise admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot say but it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the support of the poor, seeing they support all their own, and that in so decent a manner.

The following epistle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Fothergill, at the last yearly meeting at London, May 29, 1779. It will serve to shew what are the sentiments of those peaceable people under the present unhappy circumstances of affairs.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

In the love of God, and the fellowship of the gospel, which we have, with deep thankfulness of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately salute you; with fervent desires that brotherly-love, peace, and concord, may continue and increase amongst us, and that a tender and Christian concern may come upon all, in their respective stations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

By accounts received from the several quarterly-meetings in England, and by epistles from Wales, North-Britain, Ireland, Holland, New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed that love and unity are generally preserved in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through conviction; and that a considerable number of well-disposed youth appears in various parts.

The sufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, especially in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and Nantucket. These sufferings have principally arisen from that confusion and distress which are inseparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military services, and from acts enforcing declarations of allegiance to those in power.

The friends who were banished from Philadelphia have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and some of those who were imprisoned have been set at liberty.

It is with satisfaction we understand, that their meetings for worship and discipline are duly kept up, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which surround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep sympathy with the sufferers amongst them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have suffered, and from the apprehension of future probations, they are engaged to wait for that divine help, protection, and support, which

alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy resignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in those parts gratefully acknowledge the kindness and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in so early and liberally contributing to the relief of their distresses. Many from easy circumstances, have been reduced to great hardships and necessities, but have been measurably kept in a state of contentment: these have shared the benevolence of those who have been preserved from the like sufferings. It appears, that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to awaken many to a proper sense of their condition, and to increase a watchfulness and care, that they may walk answerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the testimonies committed to their charge, against wars and other antichristian practices.

May a deep sympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may please the Divine Majesty to shorten the day of their distress.

The sufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly for tithes, and those called church-rates, amount to three thousand, seven hundred and sixty-three pounds; and those from Ireland to one thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds.

Inasmuch as we have sufficient ground to believe that the true gospel-ministry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High-Priest of the Christian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot esteem the laws of men, made in the apostatized state of the professing churches, as of any force to supersede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof: we therefore exhort you, brethren, be true and steadfast in the faith once delivered to the saints, and deeply suffered for by divers of the Protestant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predecessors. However any amongst us, to whom blindness in part hath happened, may swerve from the law, and from the testimony, suffer it not to fall as in the streets, through your weakness, or the want of your example; lest for your denial of Christ before men, he deny you before his Father, and the holy angels.

Let us also remind such as may be remiss in attention to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts, that the kingdom of Christ is a peaceable kingdom; and though his servants walk in the flesh, they do not war after the flesh. He commands them to love their enemies; and many who have followed him in the regeneration, and abode under his government, have found themselves restrained from all wars and fightings; which are not of the spirit of the Saviour, but that of the destroyer of mankind. Believing this, we cannot consistently take any part therein; nor be concerned as owners of armed vessels, in letters of marque, or as purchasers of prize goods; neither can we assist in the sale of them: for whoever amongst us so confederate with the captors, afford evident tokens that they either prefer the gain of a corrupt interest to the convictions of divine light in their own consciences, or that they are become insensible



insensible of them; both which must tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, seeing our time is ever silently upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded us for the important work of preparation daily shortening; knowing also, that the solemn period advances, wherein every individual, however occupied in this transient mode of being, must soon be called hence, and may, in a moment unexpected, be broken off from every temporal connection, by that awful command, "Give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward:" Let us be vigilant, and in earnest so to improve the precious time allotted us, that when this awakening call approaches, our consciences may not accuse us; but our faith may be firm, and an admittance

granted us into that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

"See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Eph. v. 15.—vi. 23.

Before we conclude the account of these people, it may be necessary to observe, that as the Friends, commonly called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of justice, so their affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs; but they cannot prosecute a criminal, because, in our courts of justice, all evidence must be upon oath.

## ACCOUNT of the NON JURORS.

**W**E have had already occasion to treat of different sects of Protestants, who embraced sentiments arising from disputed points in theological systems, or metaphysical disquisitions. We shall now proceed to point out a party whose religion is founded on politics.

The Nonjuring religion is, in all respects, a political system, and is founded on an opposition to the revolution settlement; but this cannot be understood, till we consider it historically. This naturally leads us back to a period before they took their rise. As in religious disputes there ought always to be some sort of candour mixed with the argument, so politics should be treated with modesty. The grand point in dispute between these people, and the established churches of England and Scotland, depends entirely on the revolution settlement, but why it should be so, must be explained to the reader.

The sectaries in England, who brought king Charles to the scaffold and the block, had two objects in view. The first was to procure the church livings, and the second to obtain a power to domineer over the consciences of the people. Religion, with them, was considered in the same light as it was with pope Alexander VI. and his natural son Cæsar of Borgia. For it is well known, that they overturned the constitution in church and state, and trampled on the ruins of their plundered country. The consequence was, that the two royal brothers were obliged to seek refuge in foreign countries while they were very young. Complaisance to those who supported them during a state of exile, induced them to embrace the Roman Catholic religion.

In 1660, Charles returned, and was crowned king of Great Britain, but concealed his religion till his dying day. At the same time, James returned along with his brother, a confirmed Pa-

pist. The Presbyterians thought to have ingratiated themselves with the young sovereign, but his father's sufferings could not be effaced, they sunk deep into his mind, and therefore he resolved to set up episcopacy in England and in Scotland.

Accordingly, episcopacy was established, both in England and Scotland; and the Presbyterians, who had been turned out of their churches, were prosecuted upon the act of uniformity. That these people, who had trampled on the constitution in a manner unknown before in all the annals of history, deserved a little chastisement cannot be disputed, but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that the extension of the regal power went too far. Many of the people who had suffered under the cruel and inhuman government of the sectaries, forgetting the charity they owed to their fellow creatures, and the duty they owed to God, took every opportunity of retaliating. There is no grudge, (says Mr. Sterne) like a religious one; for false religion always discovers itself in seeking revenge.

Here was a large field opened for the clergy, who accepted of the civil emoluments, to exert themselves in persecuting those, who in point of government, differed from them in sentiments. And although the sectaries, who had overturned the government and murdered their sovereign, had no right to expect any favours, yet it was the duty of the Episcopalians to have treated them with lenity. True Christianity is known by its peaceable and forbearing disposition, false religion by its undermining arts.

Never, perhaps, were the Protestant clergy of England in a more corrupt state than during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Finding that they enjoyed the royal favour, and that nothing could give so much pleasure to the court as the persecuting of the Dissenters, they exerted



themselves to the utmost in that horrid employment. In their pulpits, they taught that the king was above law, and that it was the greatest sin in the world to call his authority in question. They were ridiculed by the poets, as appears from the following lines :

Each day unto my flock I taught,  
Kings were by God appointed ;  
And told damnation was their due,  
Who touch'd the Lord's annointed.

Passive obedience and non-resistance, were favourite topics with them, and they carried these notions to such an extravagant height, that had they not been restrained by notions of self-interest, they would have established arbitrary power. However, the indulgence granted by king James II. 1687, opened their eyes, and they began to seek for their own interest.

When the revolution took place, all those who held church livings, were commanded to take the oaths of allegiance, but many refused to do it, among whom was Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, together with many of the inferior clergy. These men were turned out of their livings, and therefore we are obliged to consider them in a two-fold point of view. First, as English Nonjurors, and, secondly, as Scottish ones.

#### English Nonjurors.

The reign of king William was, in all respects, a system of severity. But this is what generally happens after every revolution. Prejudice creates anger, and anger exercises itself in cruelty. These people set up separate congregations, and there is no doubt but they imagined, however vainly, that the exiled prince would be restored to the throne. They taught the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance so long, that they were in a manner afraid, or rather ashamed, to recede from their former professions.

It would have been very well for them, had they confined themselves to the duties of their office, in teaching the doctrines of Christianity ; but the most wretched thing of all was, they sought to dabble in politics. They were continually hatching plots against government, and many persons suffered in consequence of their new notions. Had these men considered the nature of Christianity, they would never have acted in this manner, but their notions were carnal, and their views selfish.

Some of them, however, ran into wild extremes and what will ever appear remarkable, they met the Papists half way on the road. Like some patriots in the present age, they took pleasure in doing every thing they could to disturb government, and at the same time, they felt the iron hand of opposition from the whigs. The whigs, those inveterate enemies of all, who opposed them in search after places of honour or emoluments, were the most severe against the Nonjuring prin-

ciples. They could have borne with any thing, so as an opportunity presented itself to wreak their vengeance on the Nonjurors. The reason is obvious. The whigs were seeking for places, the Tories were discarded. Had the Nonjurors not meddled with the affairs of government in England, they might have lived in peace ; but wisdom is not to be conveyed to fools, nor knowledge to men of no understanding.

The English Nonjurors became obnoxious to government. On the accession of George I. future ages will read, with detestation, the account of cabals that were set up in order to oppose government on the one hand, and support it on the other. The grand principle upon which these people founded their doctrine was, hereditary right. How far they could act consistent with the dignity of rational creatures in doing so must be left to the judgement of every man who knows any thing of the history of England.

Is hereditary succession a principle in our law ? The answer is in the negative. We shall prove it from historical evidence.

William obtained the crown of England by conquest. His eldest son Robert did not succeed him, but he was succeeded by his second son William Rufus. Rufus, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry I. while Robert, the heir apparent, was still alive ; and who, for his pretensions to the crown, had his eyes put out, and died a prisoner at Bristol.

Stephen succeeded by force without right, and Henry II. succeeded on the hereditary line. From that time till the death of Richard II. it went on, when a very remarkable revolution took place. Henry IV. had but a slender title to the crown, and that crown sat tottering on his head. Soon after the wars commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and, consistent with the right of hereditary succession, neither of them had any right to the crown. The Stewarts succeeded in a real hereditary right to the crown of England, but the justice of the nation pointed out, that they had no right to trample on the liberties of the subjects.

It is much to be lamented, though it is true, that while the Dissenters were rioting on the spoils of their deluded people, the Nonjurors were inventing schemes for the subversion of government.

The English Nonjurors contrived all things wrong. In plotting against the government, they involved their hearers in many difficulties, and some of them were apprehended and executed. This, indeed, is not much to be wondered at ; for the Nonjurors were, in those times, what mock patriots are at present in England. All their ceremonies are the same as those of the established church, and the difference is only of a political nature. They are, however, dwindling away, and possibly there are not above twenty meetings of them in England. They read the church service, but instead of praying for king George, they pray for the king in general terms ; but then it must be observed, that no more than five of them are permitted to meet together, exclusive of the minister and the clerk. That they should subsist long cannot be expected, that they have subsisted so long, is an insult to common sense.



*Account of the Scottish Nonjurors.*

The Scottish Nonjurors were more numerous than those in England, and, in some respects, they were more respectable.

The nobility of Scotland had just notions of public liberty, whether civil or ecclesiastical; and had the episcopal party acted with prudence, modesty and decency at the revolution, their order would not have been overturned. But quite the reverse took place. King William was desirous of establishing episcopacy in Scotland, or rather continuing it upon its former establishment, and most of the Scottish nobility concurred in that sentiment. However, the episcopal clergy acted just as they had done some time before, namely, as if they had laboured under a penal infatuation.

Dr. Alexander Ross, a man of some learning, but high clerical notions, was at that time bishop of Edinburgh. This man was deputed, by his brethren the Scottish clergy, to wait on king James, when they heard that the prince of Orange intended landing in England. They offered, that if king James would support them and their order, they would stand by him to the last. The meaning was, they would assist him in establishing popery and persecuting the Presbyterians.

This, however, was rather the act of the bishop's than of the whole body of the clergy, for many of the episcopal clergy were at that time shining ornaments to religion in Scotland. Mr. Nairn, Mr. Charters, and Mr. Annan, were men of great moderation, and wrote some things that will ever do honour to their memory. But to return to Dr. Ross.

The bishop had not got above half way to London, when he heard that the king was fled, and that the prince of Orange had arrived in London. Under such circumstances he knew not how to act, and therefore wrote to his brethren in Scotland for their advice. In the mean time he continued his journey to London, where he met with Dr. Hickes, dean of Worcester, and some other clergymen, who afterwards made a shining figure among the English Nonjurors.

Had Dr. Ross considered the interests of his brethren, he would have in their name, without any authority from them, professed loyalty to king William, especially as the convention of estates both in England and Scotland, had voted him and his prince the crown.

We have already taken notice of the behaviour of some of the Scottish bishops in our account of the episcopal church of that nation, namely, that as the Presbyterians were mad, so the bishops persecuted them not only with unrelenting cruelty, but actually committed depredations on the liberties of the subjects, and the fundamental laws of the constitution.

For these, and for many other malversations, they had great reason to imagine that they would be brought to a severe account, had their religion been countenanced, and men of virtue and moderation would have been placed in their room. It is true, that they knew the greatest part of the nation was inclined to support the order, while

they hated the prelates. Many of the ancient nobility, who above thirty years ago had suffered under the merciless cruelty of the Presbyterians, were still alive, and they dreaded being brought under the same inquisitorial power.

It is certain, that the Scottish nobility, and a vast majority of the commons, would have supported episcopacy, had the bishops taken the oaths to the new government; but the whole number (14) remained obstinate, and above five hundred private ministers followed their example.

Under such circumstances it was necessary that there should be some form of religion established; and in the midst of their disputes, the following article was presented to the convention of estates at Edinburgh, and was admitted an article in the claim of rights: "That prelacy, or the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is and hath been a constant grievance to this nation, ever since the reformation (they having been reformed from popery by presbyters) therefore it ought to be abolished."

Upon this article being admitted in the claim of rights, episcopacy was overturned, and presbytery established.

As it was on the construction of this article in the claim of rights that the Scottish Nonjurors always vindicated their conduct in opposing the government, so we shall consider it more particularly.

And the first enquiry is, were the Scots reformed from popery, by persons solely clothed with the character of presbyters? The answer is in the negative. In the first general assembly which met at Edinburgh 1560, there were no less than thirteen bishops and mitred abbots, all of whom embraced the reformation, and three of them secularized. Now the whole assembly did not consist of above thirty persons, as appears from their records in the advocate's library, and about seven of these were country gentlemen who had never entered into orders. This brings the number up to twenty, and if to these were added William Harlaw, a taylor, and Andrew Scrimshaw, a baker, there will only remain eight; four of whom had been popish priests, and the other four were zealous preachers, but not clerically ordained. Thus it appears, the church of Scotland was reformed from popery more by the assistance of prelates than of presbyters.

Secondly, whatever the character of the Scottish reformers was, whether of Presbyterian principles or not, can it be inferred that presbytery was more esteemed, and episcopacy an intolerable grievance, from the reformation to the revolution?

The answer is, it was not. For even the reformation was itself a sort of moderate episcopacy, and even presbytery had not been long established, when the insolence, ignorance and hypocrisy of the clergy, lost them the affections of all those who had the least regard to decency and good order.

Whatever might have been the conduct of the bishops in Scotland before the breaking out of the civil wars, this much is certain, that the inferior clergy were an ornament to their profession. Nay, such was the lenity of government, that the Presbyterian ministers were tolerated in their



their parishes, without being obliged to take institution from the bishop.

Another circumstance may serve to shew, that the people of Scotland were not averse to episcopacy at that time, nor indeed during the whole of that period alluded to, namely, the answer which the doctors of Aberdeen gave to the Presbyterian ministers who came to desire them to sign the national covenant. They said, they could not do it without a breach of their oath, to maintain episcopacy as by law established. To this it was answered by the Presbyterians, that there was nothing in the covenant against episcopacy, but that they might swear it without injuring their order.

Again, when the restoration took place, the Scottish nobility and gentry denied to restrain the power of the Presbyterian clergy, and whatever violences were committed during the reigns of the two royal brothers, yet this much is certain, that episcopacy, had it been properly conducted, was not then a grievance to the nation.

The third inquiry suggested by this article is, was episcopacy a grievance when the article was established in the claim of rights? It is answered, it was not. So far from being a grievance, it was received by nine-tenths of the people. It is true, there were several court-sycophants who were longing to enjoy the estates that had been set apart for the support of the bishops; and in the western counties many of the people were led by some Presbyterian ministers, who endeavoured to drive all things into a state of confusion. These men, who had nothing in view besides that of supporting their interests, and nourishing their pride, went all round the country endeavouring to influence the elections of members who were to compose the convention of estates at Edinburgh. There is no wonder that they should be able to procure a majority; for wherever they went, they pulled down the houses of the episcopal clergy, turned them and their families out of doors, and stripped them of every thing that was valuable, setting fire on what they could not carry away.

The fourth question is, whether, supposing the affirmatives included within the parenthesis, would that have been good and sufficient reason for the abolition of episcopacy?

The affirmatives are two, first, prelacy was an intolerable grievance, and, secondly, the Scots were reformed from popery by Presbyters.

In answer to the first, namely, that it was an intolerable grievance, the fact has been already disproved; but that does not come within the limit of the argument. It is, whether the real existence of the grievance can vindicate the conduct of those who abolished episcopacy, or, in other words, whether such an assertion, included within a parenthesis, could, with any propriety, make an article in the claim of rights?

The answer is obvious. It could not.

For, first, was not the Jewish institution under the Mosaic œconomy, a most intolerable grievance to the people, and yet they were obliged to submit to it, because it was the command of God? Secondly, when the Christian religion

received a civil establishment, under the emperor Constantine the Great, the Heathen priests considered this as an intolerable grievance; but that did not invalidate the authenticity of the gospel. No civil establishment of religion can become an intolerable grievance, unless power is either abused or misapplied.

The second article within the parenthesis, is, they were reformed from Popery by Presbyters. The contrary has been already proved; but we are to suppose the assertion to be true, and try its validity by the strength of reason.

Now it is well known, that in Scotland, the people were converted to the knowledge of Christ, by the ministry of some poor monks, who certainly had no ceremonial ordination at all, for this plain reason, there was no such thing as canonical ordination at that time in the world. Now, can it be inferred from this, that monks not ordained are always to govern the church of Scotland? Consider the absurdity; but this is not all.

Some nations in the eastern parts have been converted by Jesuits; but is this any reason that they should still govern them? Nay, if we can pay any regard to ecclesiastical history, we may affirm, that some people were converted by the ministry of females; and for that reason must the churches in that country, or those countries, be now governed by women; the thought is absurd, and nothing less than the distraction of the times could have given countenance to it, so as to put it into a public claim, made by the people of Scotland, to have the whole form of their religion changed.

These arguments are not ours, but those of Mr. Sage, the learned author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, and who was himself a nonjuring minister. It is certain, that they carry some sort of conviction along with them; and it is equally certain, that the poor Nonjurors in Scotland suffered many cruel hardships during the reign of king William, and under the whig ministry in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne.

In 1711, an act passed, by which the Nonjuring ministers were permitted to open meetings, upon condition of their reading the book of Common Prayer; and some of them complied with it. But the greatest part retained their antient form of worship, which came more near to the primitive plan than any of the Protestant churches whatever.

However, the gentry were fond of the English ceremonies, and the Nonjuring clergy were willing to comply, in order to procure a subsistence. Thus when the last rebellion broke out in Scotland, there were above three hundred of their meetings in that country, who all read the book of Common Prayer, only they omitted the name of the king, but prayed for the king in general, by whom they meant the pretender.

They are now dwindled away, and although there are still a great number of Episcopalians in Scotland, yet they are mostly such as are well affected to government.



## *An* ACCOUNT *of the* PEOPLE *called* METHODISTS.

**T**HESSE people are the most numerous at present of any sect that has sprung up since the revolution. That they have been much traduced is certain, but whether they deserve all the epithets that have been bestowed upon them, the reader may judge for himself. Some of their first founders are still alive, and one of them has written the following account of their principles. Dr. Johnson has justly observed, that every man is the best judge of his own opinions; and therefore we shall, in compliance with what the doctor says, lay before our readers those principles which they hold in their own words.

“ 1. The distinguishing marks of a Methodist are not his opinions of any sort. His assenting to this or that scheme of religion, his embracing any particular set of notions, his espousing the judgement of one man or of another, are all quite wide of the point. Whosoever therefore imagines, that a Methodist is a man of such or such an opinion, is grossly ignorant of the whole affair: he mistakes the truth totally. We believe indeed, that all scripture is given by inspiration of God; and herein we are distinguished from Jews, Turks, and Infidels. We believe the written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule, both of Christian faith and practice; and herein we are fundamentally distinguished from those of the Romish church. We believe Christ to be the eternal Supreme God; and herein we are distinguished from the Socinians and Arians. But as to all opinions which do not strike the root of Christianity, we think and let think. So that whatsoever they are, whether right or wrong, they are no distinguishing marks of a Methodist.

2. Neither are words or phrases of any sort. We do not place our religion, or any part of it, in being attached to any peculiar mode of speaking, any quaint or uncommon set of expressions. The most obvious, easy, common words, wherein our meaning can be conveyed, we prefer before others, both on ordinary occasions, and when we speak of the things of God. We never therefore willingly or designedly deviate from the most usual way of speaking; unless when we express scripture truths in scripture words (which we presume no Christian will condemn.) Neither do we affect to use any particular expressions of scripture, more frequently than others, unless they are such as are more frequently used by the inspired writers themselves. So that it is as gross an error, to place the marks of a Methodist in his words, as in opinions of any sort.

3. Nor do we desire to be distinguished by actions, customs or usages, of an indifferent nature. Our religion does not lie in doing what God hath not enjoined, or abstaining from what he hath not forbidden. It does not lie in the form of our apparel, in the posture of our body, or the covering of our heads; nor yet in ab-

staining from marriage, nor from meats or drinks, which are all good if received with thanksgiving. Therefore neither will any man who knows whereof he affirms, fix the marks of a Methodist here; in any actions or customs purely indifferent, undetermined by the word of God.

4. Nor, lastly, is he to be distinguished by laying the whole stress of religion on any single part of it. If you say, “Yes, he is; for he thinks we are saved by faith:” I answer, you do not understand the terms. By salvation he means, holiness of heart and life. And this he affirms to spring from the faith alone. Can even a nominal Christian deny it? Is this placing a part of religion for the whole? Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid! Yea, we establish the law. We do not place the whole of religion, as too many do, God knoweth, either in doing no harm, or in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God: No, nor in all of them together; wherein we know, by experience, a man may labour many years, and at the end have no true religion at all, no more than he had at the beginning. Much less in any of these; or, it may be in a scrap of one of them: like her who fancies herself a virtuous woman, only because she is not a prostitute; or he who dreams he is an honest man, merely because he does not rob or steal. May the Lord God of my fathers preserve me from such a poor starved religion as this! Were this the mark of a Methodist, I would sooner chuse to be a sincere Jew, Turk, or Pagan.

5. What then is the mark? Who is a Methodist according to your own account? I answer: A Methodist is one, who has the love of God shed abroad in his heart, by the Holy Ghost given unto him: one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength. God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul; which is constantly crying out, “Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee! My God and my all! thou art the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!”

6. He is therefore happy in God, yea always happy, as having in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life, and overflowing his soul with peace and joy. Perfect love having now cast out fear, he rejoices evermore. He rejoices in the Lord always, even in God his Saviour: and in the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom he hath now received the attonement. Having found redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of his sins, he cannot but rejoice, whenever he looks back on the horrible pit out of which he is delivered, when he sees all his transgressions blotted out as a cloud, and his iniquities as a thick cloud. He cannot but rejoice, whenever he looks on the state wherein he now is, being justified freely, and having



having peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. For he that believeth hath the witness of this in himself: being now the Son of God by faith; because he is a Son, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into his heart, crying out, Abba, Father! And the Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God. He rejoiceth also, whenever he looks forward in hope of the glory that shall be revealed; yea, this his joy is full, and all his bones cry out, Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten me again to a living hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for me.

7. And he who hath this hope thus full of immortality in every thing giveth thanks; as knowing that this (whatsoever it is) is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning him. From him therefore he cheerfully receives all, saying, Good is the will of the Lord; and whether the Lord giveth or taketh away, equally blessing the name of the Lord. For he hath learned in whatsoever state he is, therewith to be content. He knoweth both how to be abased, and how to abound. Every where and in all things he is instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and suffer need. Whether in ease or pain, whether in sickness or health, whether in life or death, he giveth thanks from the ground of his heart to him who orders it for good: knowing that as every good gift cometh from above, so none but good can come from the Father of Light, into whose hands he has wholly committed his body and soul, as into the hands of a faithful creator. He is therefore careful (anxiously or uneasily careful) for nothing; as having cast all his care on him that careth for him, and in all things resting on him, after making his request known to him with thanksgiving.

8. For indeed he prays without ceasing. It is given him always to pray and not to faint. Not that he is always in the house of prayer; though he neglects no opportunity of being there. Neither is he always on his knees, although he often is, or on his face, before the Lord his God. Nor yet is he always crying aloud to God, or calling upon him in words. For many times the Spirit maketh intercession for him with groans that cannot be uttered: but at all times the language of his heart is this, "Thou brightness of the eternal glory, unto thee is my mouth, though without a voice, and my silence speaketh unto thee." And this is true prayer, the lifting up the heart to God. This is the essence of prayer, and this alone. But his heart is ever lifted up to God, at all times and in all places. In this he is never hindered, much less interrupted by any person or thing. In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down or rise up, God is in all his thoughts; he walks with God continually, having the loving eye of his mind still fixed upon him, and every where seeing him that is invisible.

9. And while he thus always exercises his love

to God, by praying without ceasing, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks, this commandment is written in his heart, that he who loveth God, loves his brother also. And he accordingly loves his neighbour as himself; he loves every man as his own soul. His heart is full of love to all mankind, to every child of the Father of the spirits of all flesh. That a man is not personally known to him, is no bar to his love: no, nor that he is known to be such as he approves not, that he repays hatred for his good-will; for he loves his enemies, yea and the enemies of God, the evil and the unthankful: and if it be not in his power to do good to them that hate him, yet he ceases not to pray for them, though they continue to spurn his love, and still spitefully use him and persecute him.

10. For he is pure in heart. The love of God has purified his heart from all revengeful passions, from envy, malice, and wrath, from every unkind temper or malign affection. It hath cleansed him from pride and haughtiness of spirit, whereof alone cometh contention; and he hath now put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering: so that he forbears and forgives, if he had a quarrel against any, even as God in Christ hath forgiven him. And indeed all possible ground for contention, on his part, is utterly cut off; for none can take from him what he desires, seeing he loves not the world, nor any of the things of the world, being now crucified to the world, and the world crucified to him; being dead to all that is in the world, both to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; for all his desire is unto God, and to the remembrance of his name.

11. Agreeable to this his one desire, is the one desire of his life, namely, not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him. His one intention at all times, and in all things, is, not to please himself, but him whom his soul loveth. He has a single eye; and because his eye is single, his whole body is full of light. Indeed, where the loving eye of the soul is continually fixed upon God, there can be no darkness at all, but the whole is light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth enlighten the house. God then reigns alone. All that is in the soul is holiness to the Lord. There is not a motion in his heart but is according to his will. Every thought that arises points to him, and is in obedience to the law of Christ.

12. And the tree is known by its fruits; for as he loves God, so he keeps his commandments; not only some, or most of them, but all, from the least to the greatest. He is not content to keep the whole law, and offend in one point, but has in all points a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. Whatever God has forbidden, he avoids; whatever God hath enjoined, he doth; and that whether it be little or great, hard or easy, joyous or grievous to the flesh. He runs the ways of God's commandments, now he hath set his heart at liberty. It is his glory so to do; it is his daily crown of rejoicing, to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven; knowing it is the highest privilege



privilege of the angels of God, of those that excel in strength, to fulfil his commandments, and hearken to the voice of his word.

13. All the commandments of God he accordingly keeps, and that with all his might; for his obedience is in proportion to his love, the source from whence it flows; and therefore, loving God with all his heart, he serves him with all his strength. He continually presents his soul and body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God; entirely and without reserve devoting himself, all he has, and all he is, to his glory. All the talents he has received he constantly employs, according to his Master's will; every power and faculty of his soul, every member of his body. Once he yielded them unto sin and the devil, as instruments of unrighteousness: but now, being alive from the dead, he yields them all, as instruments of righteousness, unto God.

14. By consequence, whatsoever he doth, it is all to the glory of God. In all his employments of every kind, he not only aims at this (which is implied in having a single eye) but actually attains it. His business and refreshments, as well as his prayers, all serve to this great end. Whether he sit in his house or walk by the way, whether he lie down or rise up, he is promoting in all he speaks or does, the one business of his life: whether he put on his apparel, or labour, or eat and drink, or divert himself from too wasting labour, it all tends to advance the glory of God, by peace and good-will among men. His one invariable rule is this, Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.

15. Nor do the customs of the world at all hinder his running the race that is set before him. He knows that vice does not lose its nature, though it becomes ever so fashionable; and remembers, that every man is to give an account of himself to God. He cannot, therefore, even follow a multitude to do evil. He cannot fare sumptuously every day, or make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof. He cannot lay up treasures upon earth, no more than he can take fire into his bosom. He cannot adorn himself (on any pretence) with gold or costly apparel; he cannot join in, or countenance any diversion which has the least tendency to vice of any kind. He cannot speak evil of his neighbour, no more than he can lie, either for God or man. He cannot utter an unkind word of any one; for love keeps the door of his lips. He cannot speak idle words: no corrupt communication ever comes out of his mouth, as is all that which is not good, to the use of edifying, not fit to minister grace to the hearers. But whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are justly of good report, he thinks, and speaks, and acts, adorning the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things.

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he labour to do good to their souls, as of the ability which God giveth: to awaken those that sleep in death; to bring those who are awakened to the atoning blood, that, being justified by faith, they may have peace with God, and to provoke those who have peace with God to abound more in love and in good works; and he is willing to spend and be spent herein, even to be offered up on the sacrifice and service of their faith, so they may all come unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

17. These are the principles and practices of our sect, these are the marks of a true Methodist. By these alone do those who are in derision so called, desire to be distinguished from other men. If any man say, "Why these are only the common, fundamental principles of Christianity!" Thou hast said: so I mean; this is the very truth; I know they are no other; and I would to God both thou and all men knew, and walked by the common principles of Christianity. The plain, old Christianity that I teach, renouncing and detesting all other marks of distinction; and whosoever is what I preach (let him be called what he will, for names change not the nature of things) he is a Christian, not in name only, but in heart and in life. He is inwardly and outwardly conformed to the will of God, as revealed in the written word. He thinks, speaks, and lives according to the method laid down in the revelation of Jesus Christ. His soul is renewed after the image of God, in righteousness and in all true holiness, and having the mind that was in Christ, he so walks as Christ also walked.

18. By these works, by these marks of a living faith, do we labour to distinguish ourselves from the unbelieving world; from all those whose minds and lives are not according to the gospel of Christ. But from real Christians, of whatsoever denomination they be, we earnestly desire not to be distinguished at all; nor from any who sincerely follow after what they know they have not attained. No: whoever doth the will of my father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother. And I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that we be in no wise divided among ourselves.

Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thine? I ask no farther questions. If it be, give me thy hand. For opinions or tenets let us not destroy the work of God. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough. I give thee the right-hand of fellowship. If there can be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of mercies, let us strive together for the faith of the gospel, walking worthy of the vocation wherewith we were called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another with love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Let us remember there is one body and one spirit, even as we are called with one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."

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having peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. For he that believeth hath the witness of this in himself: being now the Son of God by faith; because he is a Son, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into his heart, crying out, Abba, Father! And the Spirit itself beareth witness with his Spirit, that he is a child of God. He rejoiceth also, whenever he looks forward in hope of the glory that shall be revealed; yea, this his joy is full, and all his bones cry out, Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten me again to a living hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for me.

7. And he who hath this hope thus full of immortality in every thing giveth thanks; as knowing that this (whatsoever it is) is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning him. From him therefore he cheerfully receives all, saying, Good is the will of the Lord; and whether the Lord giveth or taketh away, equally blessing the name of the Lord. For he hath learned in whatsoever state he is, therewith to be content. He knoweth both how to be abased, and how to abound. Every where and in all things he is instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and suffer need. Whether in ease or pain, whether in sickness or health, whether in life or death, he giveth thanks from the ground of his heart to him who orders it for good: knowing that as every good gift cometh from above, so none but good can come from the Father of Light, into whose hands he has wholly committed his body and soul, as into the hands of a faithful creator. He is therefore careful (anxiously or uneasily careful) for nothing; as having cast all his care on him that careth for him, and in all things resting on him, after making his request known to him with thanksgiving.

8. For indeed he prays without ceasing. It is given him always to pray and not to faint. Not that he is always in the house of prayer; though he neglects no opportunity of being there. Neither is he always on his knees, although he often is, or on his face, before the Lord his God. Nor yet is he always crying aloud to God, or calling upon him in words. For many times the Spirit maketh intercession for him with groans that cannot be uttered: but at all times the language of his heart is this, "Thou brightness of the eternal glory, unto thee is my mouth, though without a voice, and my silence speaketh unto thee." And this is true prayer, the lifting up the heart to God. This is the essence of prayer, and this alone. But his heart is ever lifted up to God, at all times and in all places. In this he is never hindered, much less interrupted by any person or thing. In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down or rise up, God is in all his thoughts; he walks with God continually, having the loving eye of his mind still fixed upon him, and every where seeing him that is invisible.

9. And while he thus always exercises his love

to God, by praying without ceasing, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks, this commandment is written in his heart, that he who loveth God, loves his brother also. And he accordingly loves his neighbour as himself; he loves every man as his own soul. His heart is full of love to all mankind, to every child of the Father of the Spirits of all flesh. That a man is not personally known to him, is no bar to his love: no, nor that he is known to be such as he approves not, that he repays hatred for his good-will; for he loves his enemies, yea and the enemies of God, the evil and the unthankful: and if it be not in his power to do good to them that hate him, yet he ceases not to pray for them, though they continue to spurn his love, and still spitefully use him and persecute him.

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His



His character, both as a preacher and a writer, are so well known throughout every part of the British dominions, that it is needless to enlarge upon either in this place.

### *Of the Principles of the Methodists.*

Although we may have occasion afterwards to treat of some persons called Methodists, who differ much from the followers of Mr. Wesley, yet we considered it as most proper to treat of the latter first, because they are the most antient as well as the most numerous.

We shall, therefore, lay before the reader those principles which every follower of Mr. Wesley professes to hold, in his own words.

And, first, of justification by faith.

"I believe justification by faith alone; for I am firmly persuaded, that every man of the offspring of Adam is very far gone from original righteousness, and is, of his own nature, inclined to evil. That this corruption of our nature in every person born into the world, deserves God's wrath and damnation. That therefore, if ever we receive the remission of our sins, and are accounted righteous before God, it must be only for the merits of Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings of any kind.

Nay, I am persuaded, that all works done before justification, have in them the nature of sin; and that consequently, till he is justified, a man has no power to do any work, pleasing and acceptable to God.

I believe three things must go together in our justification. On God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, the satisfaction of God's justice, by the offering his body, and shedding his blood, and fulfilling the law of God perfectly; and upon our part, true and living faith in the merits of Jesus Christ. So that in our justification there is not only God's mercy and grace, but his justice also. And so the grace of God does not shut out the righteousness of Christ in our justification, but only shuts out the righteousness of man; that is, the righteousness of our works; and therefore the apostle St. Paul requires nothing on the part of man, but only a true and living faith; yet this faith does not shut out repentance, hope, and love, which are joined with faith in every one that is justified, but it shuts them out from the office of justifying; so that although they are all present in him that is justified, yet they justify not all together.

Neither does faith shut out good works necessarily to be done afterwards; but we may not do them to this intent totally to be justified by doing them. Our justification comes freely of the mercy of God: for whereas all the world are not able to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased him, without any of our deservings, to prepare for us Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be paid, his law fulfilled and his justice satisfied. Christ therefore is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him. He for them paid the ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his

life. So that now in him, and by him, every believer may be called a fulfiller of the law.

But let it be observed, the true sense of those words, "we are justified by faith in Christ only," is not, that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith which is within us, justifies us, (for that were to account ourselves justified by some act or virtue that is within us;) but that although we have faith, hope, and love within us, and do never so many good works, yet we must renounce the merit of all, of faith, hope, love, and all other virtues and good works, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as far too weak to procure our justification: for which therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of Christ. For it is he alone that taketh away our sins. To him alone are we to go for this; forsaking all our virtues, good words, thoughts, and works, and putting our trust in Christ only.

In strictness therefore, neither our faith nor our works justify us, that is, deserve the remission of our sins: but God himself justifies us, of his own mercy, through the merits of his Son only. Nevertheless, because by faith we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins, therefore the scripture says, that faith doth justify, yea, faith without works. And as it is all one to say, faith without works, and faith alone justifies us, therefore the antient fathers from time to time speak thus; Faith alone justifies us. And because we receive faith through the only merits of Jesus Christ, and not through the merit of any virtue we have, or work we do; therefore in that respect we renounce, as it were, again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our corruption through original sin is so great, that all our faith, charity, words, and works, cannot merit or deserve any part of our justification for us: and therefore we thus speak, humbling ourselves before God and giving Christ all the glory of our justification. But it should also be observed, what that faith is, whereby we are justified. Now that faith which brings not forth good works, is not a living faith, but a dead and devilish one. For even the devils believe, "That Christ was born of a virgin, that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself to be very God; that for our sakes he died and rose again, and descended into heaven, and at the end of the world shall come again, to judge the quick and the dead." This the devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament; and yet still, for all this faith, they are but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the true Christian faith.

The true Christian faith is, not only to believe the holy scriptures and articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ, whereof doth follow a loving heart, to obey his commandments. And this faith neither any devil hath, nor any wicked man. No ungodly man hath or can have this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and be reconciled to the favour of God."

*Of*



*Of Christian Perfection.*

“ Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian perfection may chiefly arise from a misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no such perfection, in this life, as implies a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood.

First, we not only allow, but earnestly contend, as for the faith once delivered to the saints, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies any dispensation from attending all the ordinances of God, or from doing good unto all men while we have time, though especially unto the household of faith. And whosoever they are who have taught otherwise, we are convinced are not taught of God. We dare not receive them, neither bid them good speed, lest we be partakers of their evil deeds. We believe that not only the babes in Christ, who have newly found redemption in his blood, but those also, who are grown up to perfect men, unto the measure of the fulness of Christ, are indispensibly obliged and that they are obliged thereto is their glory and crown of rejoicing, as oft as they have opportunity to eat bread and drink wine, in remembrance of him; to search the scriptures; by fasting, as well as temperance, to keep their bodies under, and bring them into subjection; and above all, to pour out their souls in prayer, both secretly and in the great congregation.

We secondly believe, and therefore speak, and that unto all men, and with much assurance, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance, either from ignorance or mistake in things not essential to salvation, or from manifold temptations, or from numberless infirmities, wherewith the corruptible body, more or less, presses down the soul. This is the same thing which we have spoken from the beginning; if any teach otherwise, they are not of us. We cannot find any ground in scripture to suppose, that any inhabitant of an house of clay is wholly exempt either from bodily infirmities, or from ignorance of many things; or to imagine any mere man is incapable of mistake, or of falling into divers temptations: No; the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord.

It is enough that every one who is perfect shall be as his master. But what then, it may be asked, do you mean by one that is perfect, or one that is as his master? We mean, one in whom is the mind which was in Christ, and who walketh as he also walked; a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart; or that is cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit: one in whom there is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly doth not commit sin. To define this a little more particularly, we understand by that scriptural expression a perfect man, one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, “ From all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. I will also save you from all your uncleannesses.”

We understand hereby, one whom God hath sanctified throughout, even in body, soul, and spirit: one who walketh in the light, as he is in the light, in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his Son having cleansed him from all sin.

This man can now testify to all mankind, I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. He is holy, as God who hath called him is holy, both in heart and in all manner of conversation. He loveth the Lord his God with all his heart, and serveth him with all his strength. He loveth his neighbour, every man, as himself; yea, as Christ loved us: them in particular that despitefully use him and persecute him, because they know not the Son neither the Father. Indeed his soul is all love, filled with bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering. And his life agreeth thereto, full of the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love: and whatsoever he doth either in word or deed, he doth it all in the name, in the love and power of the Lord Jesus. In a word, he doth the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.

This it is to be a perfect man, to be sanctified throughout, created anew in Christ Jesus: even to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God, to use archbishop Usher's words, as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable unto God through Christ. In every thought of our hearts, in every word of our tongues, in every work of our hands, to shew forth his praise, who hath called us out of darkness, into his marvellous light! O that both we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, may thus be made perfect in one!”

If there be any thing unscriptural in these words, any thing wild or extravagant, any thing contrary to the analogy of faith, or the experience of adult Christians, let them smite me friendly and reprove me; let them impart to me of the clearer light God has given them. How knowest thou, O man, but thou mayest gain thy brother? but he may at length come to the knowledge of the truth? and thy labour of love, shewn forth with meekness of wisdom, may not be in vain?

*Of the Assurances of Justification.*

“ I believe that conversion, meaning thereby justification, is an instantaneous work; and the moment a man has living faith in Christ, he is converted or justified; which faith he cannot have, without knowing he has it.

I believe the moment a man is justified he has peace with God: which he cannot have, without knowing that he has it.

The first sense of forgiveness is often mixed with doubt or fear: but the full assurance of faith excludes all doubt and fear, as the very term implies.

I believe to be justified is the same as to be born of God; and he that is born of God, sinneth not. Which deliverance from sin he cannot have, without knowing that he has it.”



*Of the Conditions of Justification.*

"I believe every man is penitent before he is justified; he repents, before he believes the gospel. But it is never before, and generally long after he is justified, that Christ is formed in him; and that this penitence and contrition is the work of the Holy Ghost.

Yet I believe that all this is nothing towards, and has no influence on our justification.

Again, I believe that in order to obtain justification I must go strait to Christ, with all my ungodliness, and plead nothing else.

Yet I believe we should not insist upon any thing we do or feel, as if it were necessarily previous to justification. No, nor on any thing else."

*Of the Effects of Justification.*

"I believe a man may have a strong assurance if he is justified, and not be able to affirm he is a child of God.

A man may be fully assured that his sins are forgiven, yet may not be able to tell the day when he received this full assurance; because it grew up in him by degrees.

A man may have a weak faith, at the same time that he has peace with God, and no unholy desires.

A man may be justified, who has not a clean heart, neither the indwelling of the spirit."

To sum up the whole, Mr. Wesley desires not a more consistent account of his principles than the following words:

"Our spiritual state should be considered, and distinctly, under each of these views.

1. Before justification; in which state we may be said to be unable to do any thing acceptable to God: because then we can do nothing but come to Christ; which ought not to be considered as doing any thing, but as supplicating, or waiting, to receive a power of doing for the time to come. For the preventing grace of God, which is common to all, is sufficient to bring us to Christ, though it is not sufficient to carry us any further till we are justified.

2. After justification. The moment a man comes to Christ by faith, he is justified, and born again: that is, he is born again in the imperfect sense, for there are two, if not more, degrees of regeneration; and he has power over all the stirrings and motions of sin, but not a total freedom from them. He has Christ with him, but not Christ in him. Therefore he hath not yet, in the full and proper sense, a new and clean heart, or the indwelling of the spirit. But being exposed to various temptations, he may, and will fall again from this condition, if he doth not attain to a more excellent gift.

3. Sanctification; the last and highest state of perfection in this life. For then are the faithful born again in the full and perfect sense. Then have they the indwelling of the spirit. Then is there given unto them a new and clean heart, and the struggle between the old and new man is over."

Mr. Wesley, in "An earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," thus further expresses himself in regard to the principles of the Methodists:

"Although it is with us a very small thing to be judged of you or of man's judgement, seeing we know God will make our innocency clear as the light, and our just dealing as the noon-day; yet are we ready to give any that are willing to hear, a plain account both of our principles and actions; as having renounced the hidden things of shame, and desiring nothing more, than by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

We see, and who does not, the numberless follies and miseries of our fellow creatures. We see on every side, either men of no religion at all, or men of a lifeless formal religion. We are grieved at the sight, and should greatly rejoice, if by any means we might convince some, that there is a better religion to be attained, a religion worthy of God that gave it. And this we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind; the loving God with all our heart, and soul, and strength, as having first loved us, as the fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy; and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth, as our own soul.

This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never failing remedy, for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness going hand-in-hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable and full of glory.

This religion we long to see established in the world a religion of love and joy and peace, having its seat in the heart, in the inmost soul, but ever shewing itself, by its fruits, continually springing forth not only in all innocence, for love worketh no ill to his neighbour, but in every kind of beneficence, spreading virtue and happiness round it.

This religion have we been following after for many years, as many know if they would testify; but all this time, seeking wisdom we found it not; we were spending our strength in vain. And being now under full conviction of this, we declare it to all mankind: for we desire not that others should wander out of the way, as we have done before them; but rather that they may profit by our loss, that they may go, though we did not, having then no man to guide us, the straight way to the religion of love, even by faith.

Now faith, supposing the scripture to be of God, is the demonstrative evidence of things unseen, the supernatural evidence of things invisible, not perceivable by eyes of flesh, or by any of our natural senses or faculties. Faith is that divine evidence, whereby the spiritual man discerneth God and the things of God. It is with regard to the spiritual world, what sense is with regard to the natural. It is the spiritual situation of every soul that is born of God.

Perhaps



Perhaps you have not considered it in this point of view, therefore I will explain it to you a little farther.

Faith, according to the scripture account, is the eye of the new-born soul. Hereby every true believer in God, seeth him who is invisible. Hereby, in a more peculiar manner, true life and immortality have been brought to light by the gospel; he seeth the light of the glorious gospel of God in Christ Jesus, and beholdeth what manner of love it is which the father hath bestowed upon us, that we, who are born of the spirit, should be called the sons of God.

It is the ear of the soul, whereby a sinner hears the voice of the son of God and lives; even that voice alone which awakes the dead, and says, son thy sins are forgiven thee.

It is the palate of the soul, if I may be allowed the expression; for hereby a believer tastes the good word, and the powers of the world to come; and hereby he both tastes and sees that God is gracious and merciful to him as a sinner.

It is the feeling of the soul whereby a believer perceives, through the power of the highest overshadowing him, both the existence and the presence of him, in whom he lives, moves, and has his being; and, indeed, the whole invisible world, the entire system of things eternal. And hereby in particular, he feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart.

By this faith we are saved from all uneasiness of mind, from the anguish of a wounded spirit, from discontent, from fear and sorrow of heart, and from that inexpressible loathsomeness and weariness both of the world, which we had so helplessly laboured under for many years; especially when we were out of the hurry of the world, and sunk into calm reflection. In this we find that love of God, and of all mankind, which we had elsewhere sought in vain. This we know and feel, and therefore cannot but declare saves every one that partakes of it, both from sin and misery, from every unhappy and every melancholy temper.

If you ask, "Why then have not all men this faith; all at least who conceive it to be so happy a thing? Why do they not believe immediately?"

We answer, according to scripture, it is the gift of God. No man is able to work it in himself. It is the work of omnipotence. It requires no less power thus to quicken a dead soul, than to raise a body that lies in the grave.

It is a new creation; and none can create a soul anew, but he who at first created the heavens and the earth.

May not your own experience teach you this? Can you give yourself this faith? Is it now in your power to see, or hear, or taste, or feel God? Have you already, or can you raise in yourself susception of God, or of an invisible world? I suppose you do not deny that there is an invisible world? Now is there any power in your soul, whereby you discern therein him that created you? Or can all your wisdom and strength open an intercourse between yourself and the world of spirits? Is it in your power to burst the veil that is on your hearts, and let in the light of eternity? You know it is not. You

not only do not, but cannot, by your own strength, thus believe. The more you labour so to do, the more you will be convinced, it is the gift of God.

It is the free gift of God, not on those who are worthy of his favour, not on such as are previously holy, and so far to be crowned with all the blessings of his goodness, but on the ungodly and unholy; or on those, who till that hour, were fit only for everlasting destruction; those in whom was no good thing, and whose only plea was, God be merciful to me a sinner. No merit, no goodness in man, precedes the foregoing love of God. His pardoning mercy supposes nothing in us but a scene of want, sin and misery. And to all who see, feel and own their wants, and their utter unbelief to remove them; God then freely gives faith to remove them, for the sake of him in whom he is well pleased.

This is a short plain sketch of the doctrine we teach: These are our fundamental principles; and we spend our lives in confirming others therein, and in a behaviour suitable to them."

After a great deal of shrewd and pertinent reasoning, he goes on to vindicate those doctrines in a manner peculiar to himself.

"Perhaps (says he) the first thing that occurs to your mind at present, relates to the doctrines which we teach. You have heard that we say, "men may live without sin;" and have you not heard that the scriptures say the same? Does not St. Paul plainly say, that those who believe do not continue in sin; that they cannot live any longer therein? Rom. vi. 12. Does not St. Peter say, he that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin? That he should no longer live to the desires of men, but to the will of God. 1 Peter iv. 1, 2. And does not St. John say more expressly, he that committeth sin is of the devil? For this purpose, the son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot commit sin, because he is born of God. 1 John iii. 8. And again, we know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not. ch. v. 18.

You see then it is not we that say this, but the Lord. These are not our words, but his. And who is he that replieth against God? Who is able to make God a liar? Surely he will be justified in his saying, and cleared when he is judged. Can you deny it? Have you not often felt a secret check when you were contradicting this truth? And how often have you wished what you was taught to deny? Nay, can you help wishing for it at this moment? Do you not now earnestly desire to cease from sin, to commit it no more? Does not your soul pant after this glorious liberty of the sons of God? And what strong reason have you to expect it? Have you not had a proof of it already? Do you not remember the time when God first lifted up the light of his countenance upon you? Can it ever be forgotten? The day when the candle of the Lord first shone upon your head? You then had power not to commit sin? You found the apostle's words strictly true? He that is begotten



God purifieth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.

But those whom you took to be experienced Christians, told you this was the only time of your espousals, this could not last for ever, you must come down the mount, and the like, which shocked your faith.

You looked at men more than God, and so became weak like another man, whereas, had you then had any to guide you according to the truth of God, had you then believed the doctrine you now blame, you had never fallen from your steadfastness; but had found that in this sense also, the gifts and calling of God, are without repentance.

Have you another objection nearly allied to this, namely, that we preach perfection? The term you cannot object to, because it is scriptural. All the difficulty is to fix the meaning of it according to the word of God. And this we have done again, and again, declaring to all the world, that Christian perfection does not imply an exemption from ignorance, or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations; but that it does imply the being so crucified with Christ, as to be able to testify, I live not, but Christ liveth in me, and hath purified my heart by faith, Acts xv. 9. It does imply the casting down every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. It does imply the being holy, as he that hath called us is holy in all manner of conversation; and, in a word, the loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and serving him with all our strength.

Now, is it possible for any who believes the scripture to deny one title of this? You cannot; you dare not; you would not for the world; you know it is the pure word of God: and this is the whole of what we preach; this is the height and depth of what we, with St. Paul, call perfection; a state of soul devoutly to be wished for, by all who have tasted of the love of God. O pray for it without ceasing; it is the one thing you want. Come with boldness to the throne of grace, and be assured, that when you ask this of God, you shall have the petition you ask of him. We know indeed, that to man, to the natural man, this is impossible; but we know also, that as no work is impossible with God, so all things are possible to him that believeth.

For we are saved by faith. But have not you heard this urged as another objection against us, that we preach salvation by faith alone? And does not St. Paul do the same thing? By grace, faith he, ye are saved through faith. Can any words be more express? And elsewhere, Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved. Acts xvi. 31.

What we mean by this, if it has not been sufficiently explained already, is, that we are saved from our sins, only by a confidence in the love of God. As soon as we behold what manner of love it is which the Father has bestowed upon us, we love him, as the Apostle observes, because he first loved us; and then is that commandment written in your heart, that he who loveth God loveth his brother also; from which love of God and man, meekness, humbleness of mind, and

all holy tempers spring. Now these are the very essence of salvation, of Christian salvation, salvation from sin; and from these outward salvation flows, that is, holiness of life and conversation. Well, and are not these things so? If you know in whom you have believed, you need no further witnesses.

But perhaps you doubt, whether that faith whereby we are thus saved, implies such a trust and confidence in God as we describe. "You cannot think faith implies assurance; an assurance of the love of God to our souls, of his being now reconciled to us, and having forgiven all our sins." And this we freely confess, that if number of voices is to decide the question we must give it up at once; for you have on your side, not only some who desire to be Christians in deed, but all nominal Christians in every place, and the Romish church, one and all. Nay, these last are so vehement in your defence, that, in the famed council of Trent, they have decreed, "If any man hold trust, confidence, or assurance of pardon, to be essential to faith, let him be accursed."

Thus does that council anathematise the church of England; for she is convicted hereof, by her own confession. The very words in the homily on salvation are, "Even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith the devils believe; and so they believe all that was written in the Old and New Testament; and yet, for all this faith, they are but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the true Christian faith."

The right and true Christian faith is, not only to believe the holy scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ; or, as it is expressed a little after, "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God."

Indeed the bishop of Rome saith, "If any man hold this, let him be an Anathema Maranatha." But it is to be hoped Papal anathemas do not move you. You are a member of the church of England. Are you? Then the controversy is at an end. Then hear the church. Faith is a sure trust which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven. Or if you are not, whether you hear our church or no, at least hear the scriptures. Hear believing Job declaring his faith, I know that my redeemer liveth. Hear Thomas, when having seen he believed, crying out, My Lord and my God. Hear St. Paul clearly describing the nature of his faith, The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. Hear, to mention no more, all the believers who were with Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, bearing witness, We give thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son; in whom we have redemption



tion through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.

But what need have we of distant witnesses? You have a witness in your own breast. For am I now speaking to one that loves God? How came you then to love him at first? Was it not, because you knew that he loved you? Did you, could you love God at all, till you tasted and saw that he was gracious? that he was merciful to you a sinner? What avails then controversy or strife of words? out of thy own mouth! You own you had no love to God, till you was sensible of his to you. And whatever expressions any sinner who loves God uses, to denote God's love to him, you will always, upon examination, find, that they directly or indirectly imply forgiveness. Pardoning love is still at the root of all. He who was offended is now reconciled. The new song which God puts in every mouth, is always to that effect, O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away. Behold, God is my salvation. I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song: he is also become my salvation. Isa. xii. 1, 2.

A confidence then in a pardoning God is essential to true faith. The forgiveness of sins is one of the first of those unseen things, whereof faith is the evidence. And if you are sensible of this, will you quarrel with us concerning an indifferent circumstance of it? Will you think it an important objection that we assert, that this faith is usually given in a moment? First, let me intreat you to read over that authentic account of God's dealings with men, the Acts of the Apostles. In this treatise you will find, how he wrought from the beginning on those who received remission of sins by faith. And can you find one of these (except perhaps St. Paul) who did not receive it in a moment? But abundance you find of those who did, besides Cornelius and the three thousand. And to this also agrees the experience of those who now receive the heavenly gift. Three or four exceptions only have I found in the course of several years. Perhaps you yourself may be added to that number, and one or two more whom you have known. But all the rest of those, who from time to time among us have believed in the Lord Jesus, were in a moment brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

And why should it seem a thing incredible to you, who have known the power of God unto salvation, whether he hath wrought this in your soul or no, for there are diversities of operations by the same spirit, that the dead should hear the voice of the Son of God, and in that moment live? Thus he useth to act, to shew, that when he willeth, to do is present with him. Let there be light, said God, and there was light. He spake the word, and it was done. Thus the heavens and the earth were created, and all the hosts of them. And this manner of acting in the present case, highly suits both his power and love. There is therefore no hindrance on God's part; since, as his majesty is, so is his mercy: and whatever hindrance there is on the part of man, when God speaketh, it is not. Only ask then, O sinner, and it shall be given thee, even

the faith that brings salvation; and that without any merit or good work of thine; for it is not of works, lest any man should boast. No; it is of grace, of grace alone: for unto him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.

"But by talking thus you encourage sinners." I do encourage them, to repent; and do not you? Do you not know, how many heap sin upon sin, purely for want of such encouragement? Because they think "they can never be forgiven, there is no place for repentance left?" Does not your heart also bleed for them? What would you think too dear to part with? What would you not do, what would you not suffer, to bring one such sinner to repentance? Could not your love endure all things for them? Yes, if you believed it would do them good, if you had any hope they would ever be better." Why do you not believe it would do them good? Why have you not a hope that they will be better? Plainly, because you do not love them enough; because you have not that charity, which not only endureth, but at the same time believeth and hopeth all things."

"You still think we are secretly undermining, if not openly destroying the church. What do you mean by the church? A visible church, as our article defines it, is, a company of faithful, or believing people, believing in the truth. This is the essence of a church; and the properties thereof are, as they are described in the words that follow, that the pure word of God be preached therein, and the sacraments duly administered. Now then, according to this authentic account, what is the church of England? What is it indeed, but the faithful people, the true believers of England? It is true, if these are scattered abroad, they come under another consideration. But when they are visibly joined, by assembling together to hear the pure word of God preached, and to eat of one bread, and drink of one cup, they are then properly the visible church of England.

It were well if this were a little more considered by those who so vehemently cry out, The church! the church! as those of old; The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord! not knowing what they speak, nor whereof they affirm. A provincial or national church, according to our articles, is, the true believers of that province or nation. If these are dispersed up and down, they are only a part of the invisible church of Christ: but if they are visibly joined by assembling together to hear of his word and partake of his supper, they are then a visible church, such as the church of England, France, or any other.

This being premised, I ask, how do we undermine or destroy the church? the provincial visible church of England? The article mentions three things as essential to a visible church: 1st. Living faith, without which indeed there can be no church at all, neither visible nor invisible; 2dly. Preaching, and consequently hearing, the pure word of God, else that faith would languish and die; and, 3dly. A due administration of the sacraments, the ordinary means



whereby God increaseth faith. Now come close to the question: in which of these points do we undermine or destroy the church?

Do we shut the door of faith? do we lessen the number of believing people in England? Only remember what faith is, according to our homilies, viz. "a sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ my sins are forgiven, and I am reconciled to the favour of God," and we appeal to all mankind, do we destroy this faith, which is the life and soul of the church? Is there, in fact, less of this faith in England than there was before we went forth? I think this is an assertion which the father of lies himself will scarce dare to utter or maintain.

With regard then to this first point, it is undeniable, we neither undermine nor destroy the church. The second thing is, the preaching and hearing the pure word of God. And do we hinder this? Do we hinder any minister from preaching the pure word of God? If any preach not at all, or not the pure word of God, is the hindrance in us or in themselves? Or do we lessen the number of those that hear the pure word of God? Are then the hearers thereof, whether read or preached, fewer than they were in times past? Are the usual places of worship less frequented by means of our preaching? Wheresoever our lot has been cast for any time, are the churches emptier than they were before? Surely none that has any regard left either for truth or modesty, will say, that in this point we are enemies to, or destroyers of, the church.

The third thing requisite, if not to the being, at least, to the well-being of a church, is the due administration of the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord's supper. And are we, in this respect, underminers or destroyers of the church? Do we either by our example or advice draw men away from the Lord's table? Where we have laboured most, are there the fewest communicants? How does the fact stand in London, Bristol, Newcastle? O that you would no longer shut your eyes against the broad light, which encompasses you on every side!

I believe you are sensible by this time, not only how weak this objection is, but likewise how easy it would be, terribly to retort every branch of it upon most of those that make it; whether we speak of true living faith, of preaching the pure word of God, or of the due administration of the sacraments, both of baptism and the Lord's supper. But I spare you. It sufficeth that our God knoweth, and will make manifest in that day, whether it be by reason of us or you that men abhor the offering of the Lord.

Others object, "That we do not observe the laws of the church, and thereby undermine it." What laws? The rubrics or canons? In every parish where I have been curate yet, I have observed the rubrics with a scrupulous exactness, not for wrath, but for conscience sake: and this, so far as belongs to an unbeneficed minister, or to a private member of the church, I do now. I will just mention a few of them, and leave you to consider which of us has observed or does observe them most.

1. Days of fasting or abstinence to be observed:

The forty days of Lent,  
The Ember-days at the four seasons,  
The three rogation days,  
All Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day.

2. So many as intend to be partakers of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before.

And if any of these be an open and notorious evil liver, the curate shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.

3. Then, after the Nicene creed, the curate shall declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting-days are in the week following to be observed.

4. The minister shall first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests and deacons, in like manner, if any be present, and after that, to the people.

5. In cathedral and collegiate churches, and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall always receive the communion with the priest, every Sunday at the least.

6. The children to be baptized must be ready at the font, immediately after the last lesson.

7. The curates of every parish shall warn the people, that, without great necessity, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses.

8. The curate of every parish shall diligently, upon Sundays and holy-days, after the second lesson at evening prayer, openly in the church, instruct and examine so many children as he shall think convenient in some part of the Catechism.

9. Whensoever the bishop shall give notice for children to be brought unto him for their confirmation, the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop.

Now the question is not, Whether these rubrics ought to be observed, you take this for granted in making the objection, but whether in fact they have been observed, by you or me, most? Many can witness, I have observed them punctually, yea, sometimes at the hazard of my life: and as many, I fear, that you have not observed them at all, and that several of them you never pretended to observe. And is it you that are accusing me, for not observing the rubrics of the church? What grimace is this! "O tell it not in Gath! publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

With regard to the canons, I would in the first place desire you to consider two or three plain questions.

1st, Have you ever read them over.

2dly, How can these be called "the canons of the church of England?" seeing they were never legally established by the church, never regularly confirmed in full convocation?

3dly, By what right am I required to observe such canons as were never legally established?

And then I will join issue with you in one question



question more, viz. Whether you or I have observed them most?

To instance only a few.

Can. 29. No person shall be admitted godfather or godmother to any child before the said person hath received the holy communion.

Can. 59. Every parson, vicar, or curate, upon every Sunday and holy-day, before evening prayer, shall, for half an hour, or more, examine and instruct the youth, and ignorant persons of his parish.

Can. 64. Every parson, vicar, or curate, shall declare to the people every Sunday, whether there be any holy-days or fasting-days the week following.

Can. 68. No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child that is brought to the church to him on Sundays or holy-days to be christened, or to bury any corps that is brought to the church or church-yard.

N. B. Inability to pay fees does not alter the case.

Can. 75. No ecclesiastical persons shall spend their time idly, by day or by night, playing at dice, cards, or tables.

Now, let the clergyman who has observed only these five canons for one year last past, and who has read over all the canons in his congregation, as the king's ratification straitly enjoins him to do once every year, let him, I say, cast the first stone at us, for not observing the canons so called of the church of England.

However we cannot be, it is said, friends to the church, because we do not obey the governors of it, and submit ourselves, as at our ordination we promised to do, to all their godly admonitions and injunctions. I answer, in every individual point of an indifferent nature. We do and will, by the grace of God, obey the governors of the church: but the testifying the gospel of the grace of God, is not a point of an indifferent nature. The ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus, we are at all hazards to fulfil. It is the burthen of the Lord which is laid upon us here; and we are to obey God rather than man. Nor do we, in any ways, violate the promise which each of us made when it was said unto him, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." We then promised to submit, mark the words, to the godly admonitions and injunctions of our ordinary. But we did not, could not promise to obey such injunctions, as we know are contrary to the word of God.

But why then, say some, do ye leave the church? Leave the church! what can you mean? do we leave so much as the church-walls? your own eyes tell you we do not. Do we leave the ordinances of the church? you daily see and know the contrary. Do we leave the fundamental doctrine of the church, namely, salvation by faith? It is our constant theme in public, in private, in writing, in conversation. Do we leave the practice of the church, the standard whereof are the ten commandments? which are so essentially inwrought in her constitution, as little as you may apprehend it, that whosoever breaks one of the least of these, is no member of the church of England. I believe you do not

care to put the cause on this issue. Neither do you mean this, by leaving the church. In truth, I cannot conceive what you mean. I doubt you cannot conceive yourself. You have retailed a sentence from some body else which you no more understand than he."

Mr. Wesley then takes a retrospective view of the state of religion before the Methodistical doctrines were preached, and the happy change produced thereby, in the following words:

"Before I conclude, I cannot but intreat you who know God, to review the whole matter from the foundation. Call to mind what the state of religion was, in our nation, a few years since. In whom did you find the holy tempers that were in Christ? Bowels of mercies, lowliness, meekness, gentleness, contempt of the world, patience, temperance, long-suffering? A burning love to God, rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks; and a tender love to all mankind, covering, believing, hoping, enduring all things? Perhaps you did not know one such man in the world. But how many, that had all unholy tempers? What vanity and pride, what stubbornness and self-will, what anger, fretfulness, discontent, what suspicion and resentment, what inordinate affections, what irregular passions, what foolish and hurtful desires might you find in those who were called the best of men? in those who made the strictest profession of religion? and how few did you know who went so far as the profession of religion, who had even the form of godliness? Did you not frequently bewail, wherever your lot was cast, the general want of even outward religion? how few were seen at the public worship of God? how much fewer at the Lord's table? and was even this little flock zealous of good works, careful, as they had time, to do good to all men? On the other hand, did you not with grief observe, outward irreligion in every place? Where could you be for one week, without being an eye or an ear witness of cursing, swearing, or prophaneness, of sabbath-breaking or drunkenness, of quarrelling or brawling, of revenge or obscenity? Were these things done in a corner? did not gross iniquity of all kinds overspread our land as a flood? yea, and daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the children of God did or could do against it.

If you had been then told, that the jealous God would soon arise and maintain his cause; that he would pour down his spirit from on high and renew the face of the earth; that he would shed abroad his love in the hearts of the outcasts of men, producing all holy and heavenly tempers, expelling anger, and pride, and evil desire, and all unholy and earthly tempers; causing outward religion, the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love, to flourish and abound; and wherever it spread, abolishing outward irreligion, destroying all the works of the devil: if you had been told, that this living knowledge of the Lord would in a short space overspread our land; yea daily increase, in spite of all the opposition which the devil and his children did or could make against it: would you not vehemently have desired to see that day, that you might bless God and rejoice therein?

Behold



Behold the day of the Lord is come. He is again visiting and redeeming his people. Having eyes, see ye not? having ears, do ye not hear? neither understand with your hearts? At this hour the Lord is rolling away our reproach. Already his standard is set up. His spirit is poured out on the outcasts of men, and his love shed abroad in their hearts. Love of all mankind, meekness, gentleness, humbleness of mind, holy and heavenly affections, do take place, of hate, anger, pride, revenge, and vile or vain affections. Hence wherever the power of the Lord spreads, springs outward religion in all its forms. The houses of God are filled; the table of the Lord is thronged on every side: and those who shew their love of God, shew they love their neighbour also, by being careful to maintain good works, by doing all manner of good, as they have opportunity, to all men. They are likewise careful to abstain from all evil. Cursing, sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, with all other, however fashionable, works of the devil, are not once named among them. All this is plain, demonstrable fact. For this is also not done in a corner. Now, do you acknowledge the day of your visitation? do you bless God and rejoice therein?

What hinders? Is it this, that men say all manner of evil of those whom God is pleased to use as instruments in his works? O ye fools, did ye suppose the devil was dead? or that he would not fight for his kingdom? and what weapons shall he fight with if not with lies? Is he not a liar, and the father of it? Suffer ye then thus far. Let the devil and his children say all manner of evil of us; and let them go on deceiving each other, and being deceived: but ye need not be deceived also. Or if you are, if you will believe all they say: be it so, that we are weak, silly, wicked men; without sense, without learning, without even a desire or design of doing good: yet I insist upon the fact. Christ is preached, and sinners are converted to God. This none but a madman can deny. We are ready to prove it by a cloud of witnesses. Neither therefore can the inference be denied, that God is now visiting his people. O that all men may know in this their day, the things that make for their peace!"

Mr. Wesley, in his Farther Appeal, thus answers the charge of enthusiasm brought against the Methodists:

"I assert, that till a man receives the Holy Ghost, he is without God in the world; that he cannot know the things of God, unless God reveals them unto him by his spirit: no, nor have even one holy or heavenly temper, without the inspiration of the Holy One." Now should one who is conscious to himself, that he has experienced none of these things, attempt to confute these propositions, either from scripture or antiquity, it might prove a difficult task. What then shall he do? Why, cry out, "Enthusiasm! Enthusiasm!" and the work is done.

But what does he mean by enthusiasm? Perhaps nothing at all: few have any distinct idea of its meaning. Perhaps, "something very bad," or, "something I never experienced and do not understand." Shall I tell you then, what

that "terrible something" is? I believe, thinking men mean by enthusiasm, a sort of religious madness; a false imagination of being inspired by God; and by an enthusiast, one that fancies himself under the influence of the Holy Ghost, when in fact he is not.

Let him prove me guilty of this, who can. I will tell you once more the whole of my belief on these heads: and if any man will shew me, by argument, not hard names, what is wrong, I will thank God and him.

Every good gift is from God, and is given to man by the Holy Ghost. By nature there is in us no good thing; and there can be none, but so far as it is wrought in us by that good spirit. Have we any true knowledge of what is good? This is not the result of our natural understanding. The natural man discerneth not the things of the spirit of God: so that we never can discern them, until God reveals them unto us by his spirit: reveals, that is, unveils, uncovers; gives us to know what we did not know before. Have we love? It is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. He inspires, breathes, insufls into our soul, what of ourselves we could not have. Does our spirit rejoice in God our Saviour? It is joy in, or by, the Holy Ghost. Have we true inward peace? It is the peace of God, wrought in us by the same spirit. Faith, peace, joy, love, are all his fruits: and, as we are figuratively said to see the light of faith, so by a like figure of speech we are said to feel this peace and joy and love: that is, we have an inward experience of them, which we cannot find any fitter word to express.

The reasons why in speaking of these things I use those terms, inspiration particularly, are, 1. Because they are scriptural. 2. Because they are used by our church. 3. Because I know none better. The word "Influence of the Holy Ghost," which I suppose you use, is both a far stronger and a less natural term than inspiration. It is a far stronger, even as far as "flowing into the soul" is a stronger expression than "breathing upon it:" and less natural; as breathing bears a near relation to spirit; to which flowing in has only a distant relation.

"But you thought I had meant immediate inspiration." So I do, or I mean nothing at all. Nor indeed such inspiration as is fine mediis. But all inspiration, though by means, is immediate. Suppose, for instance, you are employed in private prayer, and God pours his love into your heart. God then acts immediately on your soul: and the love of him which you then experience, is as immediately breathed into you by the Holy Ghost, as if you had lived 1700 years ago. Change the term. "Say, God then assists you to love him?" Well, and is not this immediate assistance? Say, "His spirit concurs with yours." You gain no ground. It is immediate concurrence or none at all. God a spirit acts upon your spirit. Make it out any otherwise if you can.

I cannot conceive how that harmless word immediate came to be such a bugbear in the world: "Why, I thought you meant such inspiration as the Apostles had: and such a receiving the Holy Ghost as that was at the day of Pentecost." I do, in part: indeed I do not mean,



mean that Christians now receive the Holy Ghost in order to work miracles; but they do doubtless now receive, yea, are filled with the Holy Ghost, in order to be filled with the fruits of that blessed spirit. And he inspires into all true believers now, a degree of the same peace and joy and love, which the Apostles felt in themselves on that day, when they were first filled with the Holy Ghost.

I have now considered the most material objections I know, which have been lately made against the great doctrines I teach. I have produced, so far as in me lay, the strength of those objections, and then answered them, I hope, in the spirit of meekness. And now I trust it appears, that these doctrines are no other than the doctrines of Jesus Christ: that they are all evidently contained in the word of God, by which alone I desire to stand or fall; and they are fundamentally the same with the doctrines of the church of England, of which I do, and ever did profess myself a member."

By these extracts the reader will see the principles of these honest, if mistaken people, and will come to such conclusion as his reason and understanding will afford him. It will not be expected of me to give my opinion; it is the business of an historian to relate facts, and not to comment upon them, particularly in cases where religion is the concern, and in which I think, every man has a natural right to follow the determinations of his own judgement: but before I give a brief history of their rise, &c. after this recapitulation of their principles and doctrines, I shall set before my readers what they say in answer to one or two of the most popular objections or calumnies raised against them; the first of which is, "That they create divisions in private families." Their able Apologist thus refutes it, "Accidentally, we do. For instance, suppose the entire family to have the form and not the power of godliness, or to have neither the form nor the power; in either case, they may in some sort agree together. But suppose, when these hear the plain word of God, one or two of them are convinced, "This is the truth, and I have been all this time in the broad way leading to destruction:" these then will begin to mourn after God, while the rest remain as they were. Will they not therefore of consequence divide, and form themselves into separate parties? Must it not be so, in the very nature of things? and how exactly does this agree with the words of our Lord?

Suppose ye that I came to send peace upon earth? I tell you nay: but rather division. For from henceforth there shall be five divided in one house, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father: the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother: the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law. Luke xii. 51, 52, 53. And the foes of a man, shall be they of his own household. Matthew x. 36.

Thus it was from the very beginning. For is it to be supposed, that a Heathen parent would long endure a Christian child? or that a Heathen husband would agree with a Christian wife? un-

less either the believing wife could gain her husband; or the unbelieving husband prevailed on the wife to renounce her way of worshipping God: at least, unless she would obey him in going no more to those societies or conventicles, as they termed the Christian assemblies.

Do you think now, I have an eye to your case? Doubtless I have; for I do not fight as one that beateth the air. Why have not I a right to hinder my own wife or child from going to a conventicle? and is it not the duty of wives to obey their husbands? and of children to obey their parents? Only set the case seventeen hundred years back, and your own conscience gives you the answer. What would St. Paul have said to one whose husband forbid her to follow this way any more? What direction would our Saviour have given to him, whose father enjoined him not to hear the gospel? His words are extant still, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." Matt. x. 37, 38. Nay more, "If any man cometh to me, and hateth not, in comparison of me, his father and mother, and wife and children, yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple." Luke xiv. 26.

O, but this is not a parallel case; for they were Heathens; but I am a Christian. A Christian! Are you so? Do you understand the word? Do you know what a Christian is? If you are a Christian, you have the mind that was in Christ; and you so walk as he also walked. You are holy, as he was holy both in heart and in all manner of conversation. Have you then the mind which was in Christ? and do you walk as Christ walked? are you inwardly and outwardly holy? I fear, not even outwardly. No; you live in known sin. Alas! how then are you a Christian? What, a railer, a Christian? a common swearer, a Christian? a sabbath-breaker, a Christian? a drunkard or whoremonger, a Christian? Thou art a Heathen barefaced? the wrath of God is on thy head, and the curse of God upon thy back. Thy damnation slumbereth not. By reason of such Christians it is that the holy name of Christ is blasphemed. Such as thou they are, that cause the very savages in the Indian woods to cry out, "Christian much drunk, Christian beat men, Christian tell lies, Devil-Christian! me no Christian."

It may be observed above, that the Methodists do not separate from the church, nor dispute about the externals or circumstances of religion; they approve of and adhere to them, all that they learned when they were children, in their Catechism and Common Prayer book. They were born and bred up in the church of England, and desire to die therein. They always were, and now are, they say, zealous for the church; only not with a blind zeal.

They do not, indeed, lay the stress of their religion, on any opinions, right or wrong; neither do they ever begin, or willingly join, in any dispute concerning them. The weight of all religion, they apprehend, rests on holiness of heart and life; and, consequently, wherever they come, they press this with all their might. How wide then is their case from that of the Protestant Dis-



senters in general? They avowedly separated from the church: the Methodists utterly disavow any such design. They severely, and almost continually, inveighed against the doctrine and discipline of the church they left: these approve both the doctrines and discipline of our church, and inveigh only against ungodliness and unrighteousness. They spent great part of their time and strength in contending about externals and circumstantial; the Methodists agree with the church of England in both; so that having no time to spend in such vain contention, they have their desire in spending and being spent, and promoting plain practical religion. "I am sick," says Mr. Wesley, of opinions: I am weary to bear them: my soul loths this frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion: give me an humble, gentle lover of God and man: a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy: a man, laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love. Let my soul be with these Christians, wheresoever they are, and whatsoever opinion they are of. Whosoever thus doth the will of my father which is heaven, the same is my brother, and sister and mother."

With regard to the charges of making men idle, and thereby beggaring their families, and of driving men out of their senses, Mr. Wesley thus answers: "This objection having been continually urged for some years, I will trace it from the foundation. Two or three years after my return from America, one Captain Robert Williams of Bristol, made affidavit before the then Mayor of the city, that "it was a common report in Georgia, Mr. Wesley took people off from their work, and made them idle, by preaching so much."

The fact stood thus: At my first coming to Savannah, the generality of the people rose at seven or eight in the morning; and that part of them who were accustomed to work, usually worked till six in the evening. A few of them sometimes worked till seven; which is the time of sun-set there at Midsummer.

I immediately began reading prayers and expounding the second lesson, both in the morning and evening. The morning service began at five, and ended at, or before six: the evening service began at seven. Now supposing all the grown persons in the town had been present every morning and evening, would this have made them idle? Would they hereby have had less, or considerably more time for working? The same rule I follow now, both at London, Bristol, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne: concluding the service at every place, winter and summer, before six in the morning, and not ordinarily beginning to preach till near seven in the evening.

Now do you, who make this objection, work longer throughout the year, than from six to six? Do you desire that the generality of people should? Or, can you count them idle, that work so long? Some few are indeed accustomed to work longer. These I advise not to come on week-days: and it is apparent that they take this advice, unless on some rare and extraordinary occasion. But I hope none of you who turn them out of their employment, have the confidence to talk of my making

them idle! Do you, as the homely phrase is, cry Wh—— first? I admire your cunning but not your modesty. So far am I from either causing or encouraging your idleness, that an idle person, known to be such, is not suffered to remain in any of our societies; we drive him out, as we would a thief or a murderer. "To shew all possible diligence," as well as frugality, is one of our standing rules: and one, concerning the observance of which, we continually make the strictest enquiry.

"But you drive them out of their senses. You make them run mad." Nay, then they are idle with a vengeance. This objection therefore being of the utmost importance, deserves our deepest consideration.

And, first, I grant, it is my earnest desire to drive all the world into what you probably call madness: I mean inward religion, to make them just as mad as Paul was when he was so accounted by Festus. I grant, secondly, it is my endeavour to drive all I can into what you may term another species of madness, which is usually preparatory to this, and which I term repentance or conviction.

Now, what if your wife, or daughter, or acquaintance, after hearing one of these field-preachers, should come and tell you, that they saw damnation before them, and beheld with the eye of their mind the horror of hell? What if they should tremble and quake, and be so taken up, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, as to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour to shew themselves weary of life? Would you scruple to say, that they were stark mad? that these fellows had driven them out of their senses? and that whatever writer it was, that talked at this rate, he was fitter for Bedlam than any other place?

You have overshot yourself now to some purpose. These are the very words of our own church. You may read them, if you are so inclined, in the first part of the homily on fasting. And, consequently, what you have peremptorily determined to be mere lunacy and distraction, is that repentance unto life, which, in the judgement both of the church and of St. Paul, is never to be repented of.

I grant, thirdly, that extraordinary circumstances have attended this conviction in some instances. A particular account of these I have frequently given. While the word of God was preached, some persons have dropped down as dead; some have been, as it were, in strong convulsions; some roared aloud, though not with an articulate voice; and others spoke the anguish of their souls.

This, I suppose, you believe to be perfect madness: but it is easily accounted for, either on principles of reason or scripture.

First, on principles of reason. For how easy is it to suppose, that a strong, lively and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pains of eternal death, should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union; should intercept or disturb the ordinary circulation, and put nature



ture out of its course. Yea, we may question, whether while this pain subsists, it be possible for the mind to be affected in so violent a degree, without some or other of these bodily symptoms following.

It is likewise easy to account for these things on principles of scripture; for when we take a view of them in this light, we are to add to the consideration of natural causes, the agency of those spirits who still excel in natural strength; and as far as they have leave from God, will not fail to torment whom they cannot destroy; to tear those that are coming to Christ. It is also remarkable, that there is plain scripture precedent, of every symptom which has lately appeared; so that we cannot allow even the conviction attended with them to be madness, without giving up both reason and scripture.

I grant, fourthly, that touches of extravagance, bordering upon madness, may sometimes attend severe convictions. And this also is easy to be accounted for, by the present state of the animal œconomy. For we know fear or grief, from a temporary cause, may occasion a fever, and thereby a delirium.

It is no way strange that some, while under strong impressions of grief or fear, from a sense of the wrath of God, should for a season forget almost all things else, and scarce be able to answer a common question. That some should fancy they see the flames of hell, or the devil and his angels around them; or that others, for a space, should be afraid, like Cain, who said, "whosoever meeteth me will slay me."

All these, and whatever less common effects may sometimes accompany this conviction, are easily known from the natural distemper of madness, were it only by this one circumstance, that whenever the person converted tastes the pardoning love of God, they all vanish away in a moment.

Lastly, I have seen one instance, and I pray God I may never see another, of real lasting madness.

Two or three years since I took one along with me to Bristol who was under deep convictions, but of as sound an understanding, in all respects, as ever he had been in his life. I went a short journey, and when I came to Bristol again, found him really distracted. I enquired particularly at what time and place, and in what manner this disorder began. And I believe there are above threescore witnesses alive (1749) who are ready to testify the truth of what follows.

When I went from Bristol, he contracted an acquaintance with some persons who were not of the same judgement with me. He was soon prejudiced against me. Soon after, when our society were met together in Kingwood-house, he began a vehement invective, both against my person and my doctrine. In the midst of this he was struck raving mad, and so he continued till his friends put him into Bedlam; and, probably, his madness was imputed to me. Perhaps there may be many instances of madness proceeding from a variety of causes that we cannot comprehend.

Supposing, for instance, that a person hearing me, is strongly convinced that a liar cannot enter

the kingdom of heaven; he comes home and relates this to his parents, or friends, and appears to be very uneasy. These good Christians are disturbed at this, and afraid he is running mad too. They are resolved he shall never hear any of those fellows more, and keep to it in spite of all his entreaties.

They will not suffer him while at home to be alone, lest he should read or pray; and, perhaps, in a little while they will constrain him, at least by repeated importunities, to do again the very thing for which he was convinced the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.

What is the event of this?

Sometimes the spirit of God is quenched, and departs from him. Now you have carried the point. The man is as easy as ever, and sins on without any remorse. But in other instances, where those convictions sink deep, and the arrows of the Almighty stick fast in the soul, you will drive that person into real settled madness, before you can quench the spirit of God. I am afraid there have been several instances of this. You have forced the man's conscience, till he is stark mad; but then, pray do not impute the madness to me. Had you left him to my direction, or rather to the direction of the spirit of God, he would have been filled with love and a sound mind: but you have taken the matter out of God's hand. And now you have brought it to a fair conclusion!

How frequent this case may be, I know not. But doubtless most of those who make this objection, of our driving men mad, have never met with such an instance in their lives. The common cry is occasioned, either by those who are convinced of sin, or those who are inwardly converted to God; mere madness both, as was observed before, to those who are without God in the world. Yet I do not deny but you may have seen one in Bedlam who said he had followed me. But observe, a madman's saying this is no proof of the fact; nay, and if he really had, it should be farther considered, that his being in Bedlam is no sure proof of his being mad. Witness the well-known case of Mr. Periam; and I doubt more such are to be found. Yea, it is well if some have not been sent thither, for no other reason but because they followed me; their kind relations either concluding, that they must be distracted before they could do this, or perhaps hoping, that Bedlam would make them mad, if it did not find them so.

And it must be owned, that a confinement of such a sort is as fit to cause as to cure distraction; for what scene of distress is to be compared to it? To be separated at once from all who are near and dear to you; to be cut off from all reasonable conversation, to be secluded from all business, from all reading, from every innocent entertainment of the mind, which is left to prey wholly upon itself, day and night to prone over your misfortunes; to be shut up day by day in a gloomy cell, with only the walls to employ your heavy eyes, in the midst either of melancholy silence, or horrid cries, groans, and laughter intermixed; to be forced by the main strength of those "who laugh at human nature and compassion;" to take drenches of nauseous, perhaps



haps torturing medicines, which you know you have no need of now, but know not how soon you may, possibly by the operation of these very drugs on a weak and tender constitution. Here is distress! It is an astonishing thing, a signal proof of the power of God, if any creature who has his senses when that confinement begins, does not lose them before it is at an end!

How must it heighten the distress, if such a poor wretch, being deeply convinced of sin, and growing worse and worse, as he probably will, seeing there is no medicine here for his sickness, no such physician as his case requires, be soon placed among the incurables! Can imagination itself paint such a hell upon earth? where even "hope never comes, that comes to all!" For what remedy? If a man of sense and humanity should happen to visit that house of woe, would he give the hearing to a madman's tale? or if he did, would he credit it? "Do we not know, might he say, how well any of these will talk in their lucid intervals?" So that a thousand to one he would concern himself no more about it, but leave the weary to wait for rest in the grave!"

The first public appearance of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was an ordained clergyman of the church of England, about London, was in the year 1737, when he and his associates preached up and down in the fields to vast multitudes of people, with an energy that struck every one, particularly in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, Blackheath, &c. and for some time they were admitted also into the churches to declare their peculiar opinions, till the indolent clergy were roused by their extraordinary popularity; and the church-wardens fearing damages to their pews, &c. they were generally refused the use of the public pulpits. The uncommon fervour they expressed, a simple yet persuasive eloquence, and the mortified and laborious life they led, procured them not only most numerous auditors, but their doctrines such a multitude of followers, as astonished the guardians of our church: but whilst they themselves indolently persisted in their old rout of stated preaching, Mr. Whitefield, particularly, with a rapid progress, took from them thousands of their hearers, especially of the lower sort, and brought many more to a sense and abhorrence of their vices, and to attend his preaching, who, perhaps, had never been at any kind of worship before.

Whilst the clergy raved both in the pulpit and in print against this novel doctrine, as they styled it, and with what justice may be seen above, this laborious preacher, despising all danger and fatigue, not only formed societies in England of his followers, but traversing, time after time, immense tracks of land and water, proselyted multitudes in all parts of North America, and extended his cares even to the inhabitants of the infant colony of Georgia, where that wise and excellent governor, Mr. Oglethorpe, well knowing an attachment to religious principles, and a life of virtue and self-denial, were spurs to industry and economy, received him with open arms, and gave him all manner of assistance.

Here he at length erected an Orphan-house for poor and deserted children; an institution that bid fair to be an extraordinary benefit in that country; the most authentic account of which establishment, by an impartial eye-witness, and published in justice to the Methodists, may be seen in the London Magazine for the year 1745, page 603.

In these Christian labours, perilous voyages, and painful journeys through the wilderness of America, he was followed by Mess. John and Charles Wesley, his faithful and able coadjutors, who with a zeal and constancy second only to those which actuated the primitive Apostles and disciples of our Saviour, thought no hardships insurmountable, no dangers too terrifying in prosecuting the work they supposed themselves appointed to.

Of his own and his brother's conversion, &c. and of the necessity of becoming field preachers, Mr. John Wesley gives the following account: "I was ordained deacon in 1725, and priest in the year following: but it was many years after this before I was convinced of the great truths above recited. During all that time, I was utterly ignorant of the nature and condition of justification. Sometimes I confounded it with sanctification, particularly when I was in Georgia.

At other times I had some confused notions of the forgiveness of sins: but then I took it for granted, the time of this must be, either the hour of death, or the day of judgement. I was equally ignorant of the nature of saving faith; apprehending it to mean no more, than a "firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testament." As soon as, by the great blessing of God, I had a clear view of these things, I began to declare them to others also. I believed, and therefore I spake. Wherever I was now desired to preach, salvation was my only theme. My constant subjects were, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins." These I explained and enforced with all my might, both in every church where I was asked to preach, and occasionally in the religious societies of London and Westminster; to some or other of which I was continually pressed to go by the stewards or other members belonging to them.

Things were in this posture, when I was told, "I must preach no more in this, and that, and another church." The reason was usually added without reserve, "Because you preach such doctrine." So much the more those who could not hear me there, flocked together when I was at any of the societies; where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in could contain. But after a short time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England which I had often done in a warmer climate; namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first at Bristol, where



where the society-rooms were exceeding small, and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterwards in or near London. And I cannot say I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when, on Rose-Green, or the top of Hannam-Mount, some thousands of people were calmly joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while "they stood, and under open air adored the God who made both air, earth, heaven, and sky." And whether they were listening to his word, with attention still as night, or were lifting up their voice in praise, as the sound of many waters, many a time have I been constrained to say in my heart, "How dreadful is this place? This also is no other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven!"

Be pleased to observe, 1. That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church, though not by any judicial sentence, for preaching such doctrine. This was the open, avowed cause: there was at that time no other, either real or pretended. 2. That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air, till long after this prohibition. 3. That when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation. There was no scheme at all previously formed, which was to be supported thereby; nor had I any other end in view than this, to save as many souls as I could. 4. Field-preaching was therefore a necessary expedient, a thing submitted to, rather than chosen; and therefore submitted to, because I thought preaching, even thus, better than not preaching at all; first, in regard to my own soul; because a dispensation of the gospel being committed to me, I did not dare not to preach the gospel; secondly, in regard to the souls of others, whom I every where saw seeking death in the error of their life."

The effects of their preaching are thus described by the same hand. "Just at this time, when we wanted little of filling up the measures of our iniquities, two or three clergymen of the church of England began vehemently to call sinners to repentance. In two or three years they sounded the alarm to the utmost borders of the land. Many thousands gathered together to hear them; and in every place where they came, many began to shew such a concern for religion, as they never had done before.

A stronger impression was made on their minds, of the importance of things eternal, and they had more earnest desires of serving God, than they had ever had from their earliest childhood. Thus did God begin to draw them towards himself, with the cords of love, with the hands of a man. Many of these were in a short time deeply convinced of the number and heinousness of their sins. They were also made thoroughly sensible of those tempers which are justly hateful to God and man, and of their utter ignorance of God, and entire inability either to know, love, or serve him. At the same time, they saw in the strongest light the insignificance of their outside religion; nay, and often confessed it before God, as the most abominable hypocrisy. Thus did they sink deeper and deeper into that repentance which must ever precede faith in the Son of God. And from hence springs fruits meet for repentance. The drunkard commenced

sober and temperate; the whoremonger abstained from adultery and fornication; the unjust from oppression and wrong. He that had been accustomed to curse and swear for many years, now swore no more. The sluggard began to work with his own hands, that he might eat his own bread. The miser learned to deal his bread to the hungry, and to cover the naked with a garment. Indeed the whole form of their lives was changed. They had left off doing evil, and learned to do well.

But this was not all. Over and above this outward change, they began to experience inward religion. The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, which they continue to this day. They love him, because he first loved us, and withheld not from us his Son, his only Son: and this love constrains them to love all mankind, all the children of the Father of heaven and earth, and inspires them with every holy and heavenly temper, the whole mind that was in Christ. Hence it is that they are now uniform in their behaviour, unblameable in all manner of conversation; and in whatsoever state they are, they have learned therewith to be content: inasmuch that now they can in every thing give thanks. They more than patiently acquiesce, they rejoice and are exceeding glad, in all God's dispensations towards them; for as long as they love God, and that love no man taketh from them, they are always happy in God. Thus they calmly travel on through life, being never weary nor faint in their minds, never repining, murmuring, or dissatisfied, casting all their care upon God, till the hour comes that they should drop this covering of earth, and return unto the great Father of spirits; then especially it is that they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. You who credit it not, come and see."

In London, particularly, a great change was soon perceived in the majority of the common people; an unusual seriousness appeared in their countenances, they refrained from prophane cursing and swearing, and the alehouses were deprived of their usual inebriated guests. Meantime the more abandoned of the canaille, whom no precepts could reach, no future denunciations of punishment deter from wickedness, spared not reproaches, and even frequently proceeded to open insults and abuses of the preachers, who were as warmly defended by their partisans, so as often to occasion tumults and riots, that were mutually charged by the Methodists and their opposers on each other, and kept the public for years in perpetual dispute and agitation. But, at length, now increased to a prodigious number, they began to form societies apart, for worship in their own way, and to appoint stewards and other officers for the better regulation and government of those societies; the principal of which, in London, are the Tabernacle and Foundery near Moorfields, the Tabernacle in Tottenham-Court-road, with many others, in the city and suburbs. Their founders have increased their numbers in Scotland and Ireland also, where they pursued their mission with the utmost success; and in many places in England, where religion was seldom heard of, they have produced order, humanity, civility, and a serious



regard to divine things, particularly amongst the colliers of Kingwood, and the fells about Newcastle. If the reader desires to enter into particulars with regard to their history, he would do well to peruse the several Journals of Mess. Whitefield and Wesley, as we only propose here a general view of their rise, &c. Indeed it is a peculiar circumstance, that no sect, in so few years, ever became so numerous, though they have met with mild treatment from the government, and have endured no persecution for their opinions, which has generally helped to increase, rather than to decrease the followers of a new system of doctrines. With regard to the common people, or the mob, who are ever of the national religion, so far as drinking, swearing, and rioting for it extends, the appearance of the founders of Methodism, in the usual vestments of clergymen, captivated them, and prevented many disorders that would have arisen, had persons not distinguished by that reverend garb endeavoured to exhort and instruct them; and yet, according to Mr. Wesley's account, he himself was, once particularly, in great danger of losing his life; and the Methodists suffered by the spoils and ravages of desperate and wicked mobs, in Staffordshire, in the year 1743, to the amount of five hundred and four pounds, seventeen shillings, at the lowest computation, owing to a shameful connivance, perhaps under-hand encouragement, of those who should have restrained or punished them for their diabolical excesses. In fact, too many of their opposers merit the character Mr. Wesley has given them. "I have heard some affirm, says he, that the most bitter enemies to the present work of God were Pharisees. They meant men who had the form of godliness, but denied the power of it. But I cannot say so. The sharpest adversaries thereof, unless we might except a few honourable men, whom I may be excused from naming, were the scum of Cornwall, the rabble of Bilston and Darlestone, the wild beasts of Walsal, and the turnkeys of Newgate."

In fine, the very enemies of these people will scarce deny that they have greatly contributed to reform and establish order and civility amongst the common people; that they are (I mean the real Methodists; for Presbyterians, Quakers, and every other sect, have been personated as well as they, for interested or villainous purposes,) are a peaceable, upright, and praise-worthy set of people; that they cannot upon their principles distress, but must add strength to the hands of government, and that their rise and amazing progress have roused the established clergy from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and invigorated them to be attendant on the charge to which they were so solemnly appointed.

Their favourite doctrines have found their way also into the pulpits of our churches, and many excellent preachers, who do not leave the church on that account, inforce them at this day from their pulpits. The great spread of Methodism has certainly contributed to set people in general upon thinking of matters of the greatest moment to them; and I will venture to assert, from my own observation, that there has been such an appearance of seriousness, and such a

concern for religion, visible in all ranks of people, since it has so much prevailed, as cannot be remembered in any such period of time since the restoration.

We shall conclude this head with a brief account of their manner of worship, church discipline, &c.

With regard to their manner of worship, it is like that of the church of England, save that they allow themselves to continue long in extempore prayer, and that they sing such hymns as are approved by the society. Indeed they allow of lay-preachers, or suffer unlearned men to preach or exhort, in their places of worship. "I am bold to affirm, says Mr. Wesley, that these unlettered men have help from God for that great work, the saving souls from death; seeing he hath enabled, and doth enable them still, to turn many to righteousness. Thus hath he destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to nought the understanding of the prudent.

When they imagined they had effectually shut the door, and blocked up every passage, whereby any help could come to two or three preachers, weak in body as well as soul; who they might reasonably believe would, humanly speaking, wear themselves out in a short time: when they had gained their point, by securing, as they supposed, all the men of learning in the nation, He that sitteth in heaven laughed them to scorn, and came upon them by a way they thought not of. Out of the stones he raised up those who should beget children to Abraham. We had no more foresight of this than you. Nay, we had the deepest prejudices against it, until we could not but own, that God gave wisdom from above to these unlearned and ignorant men; so that the work of the Lord prospered in their hand, and sinners were daily converted to God.

Indeed in the one thing which they profess to know, they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination, in substantial, practical, experimental divinity, as few of our candidates for holy orders, even in the university, I speak it with sorrow and shame, and in tender love, are able to do."

There have been some differences amongst the leaders of these people, particularly between Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Wesley, relative to the doctrine of reprobation; but they agree in the terms of acceptance: in smaller points, each thinks and lets think; and Mr. Wesley says he reverences Mr. Whitefield, both as a child of God, and a true minister of Jesus Christ. We could wish all religious disputes had been managed with equal candour.

As to the discipline of the Methodists, we cannot give a better account of it, than is contained in a small tract, entitled, *The Nature, Design, and general Rules of the united Societies in London, Bristol, Kingwood, and Newcastle upon Tyne*, 7th edit. 1762, which we shall therefore lay before our readers.

"1. In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired,



as did two or three more the next day, that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from henceforward they did every week, namely, on Thursday, in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them, for their number increased daily, I gave those advices from time to time which I judged most needful for them; and we always concluded our meeting with prayer suited to their several necessities.

2. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places. Such a society is no other than "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."

3. That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is stiled the leader. It is his business, 1. To see each person in his class, once a-week at the least, in order to enquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor. 2. To meet the minister and the stewards of the society once a-week, in order to inform the minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly and will not be reprov'd; to pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding, and to shew their account of what each person has contributed.

4. There is one only condition previously required in those who desire admittance into these societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins." But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

First, By doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind, especially that which is most generally practised: such as, the taking the name of God in vain; the profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling; drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity; fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling; the buying or selling uncustomed goods; the giving or taking things on usury, that is, unlawful interest; uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers; doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as the putting on of gold and costly apparel; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; the singing those songs,

or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God; softness, and needless self-indulgence; laying up treasures upon earth; borrowing without a probability of paying, or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

5. It is expected of all who continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

Secondly, By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as is possible, to all men: to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by cloathing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison: to their souls, by instructing, reprov'g, or exhorting all we have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that "we are not to do good, unless our heart be free of it:" by doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others, buying one of another, helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only; by all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed: by running with patience the race which is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and off-scouring of the world; and looking that men should say all manner of evil of them falsely, for their Lord's sake.

6. It is expected of all who desire to continue in these societies, that they should shew forth to their brethren that they desire salvation.

Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God; such as the public worship; the ministry of the word either read or expounded; the Supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching, and fasting, or abstinence.

7. These are the general rules of our societies, all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice; and all these we know his spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observes them not, who habitually breaks any one of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways; we will bear with him for a season; but then if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

The Methodists, of whom we are still speaking in general terms, have in some places, as in Tottenham-Court-Road, built alms-houses for their most destitute poor; but still they have a great many in the common workhouses. They have also, at several times, raised considerable sums for the relief of foreign Protestants; and their works of love during the late war, will ever be remembered to their honour.

We shall conclude this general history of the Methodists with another quotation from Mr. Wesley, in answer to the current report of his receiving great emoluments from his situation, as being at the head of a religious body of people.

"But



"But, perhaps, you have heard that we regard no church at all; that gain is the true spring of all our actions; that I, in particular, am well paid for my work, having thirteen thousand pounds a year at the Foundery alone, over and above what I have from Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, and other parts; and that whoever survives me, will find I have made a good use of my time, for I shall not die a beggar.

I freely own, this is one of the best devised objections which has ever yet been made, because it not only puts us upon proving a negative, which is seldom an easy task, but also one of such a nature as scarce admits of any demonstrative evidence at all. But for such proof as the nature of the thing will admit of, I appeal to the manner of my life from the beginning. Ye who have seen it, and not with a friendly eye, for these twelve or fourteen years last past, or for any part of that time, have you ever seen any thing like the love of gain therein? Did I not continually remember the words of the Lord Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Ye of Oxford, do you not know these things are so? What gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? From whom did I covet silver, or gold, or apparel? To whom did I deny any thing which I had, even to the hour I departed from you?

Ye of Epworth and Wroote, among whom I ministered for nearly the space of three years, What gain did I seek among you? Or of whom did I take or covet any thing? Ye of Savannah and Fredrica, among whom God afterwards proved me, and shewed me what was in my heart, what gain did I seek among you? Of whom did I take any thing? Or whose food or apparel did I covet, for silver and gold ye had none; not more than I myself for months when I was in hunger and nakedness. Ye yourselves, and the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, know that I lie not."

Whatever truth may be in what Mr. Westley here insinuates, by making appeals in writing, is not our business to determine; but certainly he took the worst of all methods to prove a negative. A negative can be well supported by granting one half of the positive.

Thus every Methodist will admit that Mr. Westley receives considerable sums annually. Might not he have acknowledged this, and convinced the public that it was spent in works of piety and charity. Had he done so, he would have proved a negative, though not perhaps to the satisfaction of some strict enquirers.

The giving the clergy, of any denomination, money to bestow upon the poor, is one of those weaknesses in human nature, which helped to form, and continues to support, popery. If a man is in possession of money, and has a heart capable of parting with some of it for the use of his fellow creatures, he ought, for two reasons, to be the donor himself. First, because he should know the person whom he relieves; and, secondly, that he may keep himself from pride, by concealing his charity as much as possible.

The author of this work knew a lady of high rank, and of a charitable disposition. As is common in such cases, she was frequently beset

by the clergy, who were constantly representing to her the state of the poor, and begging money for their relief. Her constant answer was, "I will speak to whom I relieve, send them to me."

But to go on with what Mr. Wesley advances further in his defence.

"But, it is said, things are fairly altered now. I cannot complain of wanting any thing; having the yearly income of a bishop of London, over and above what I gain at other places." At what other places, my friend? inform yourself a little better, and you will find, that both at Newcastle, Bristol, and Kingswood, the only places, beside London, where any collection at all is made, the money collected is both received and expended by the stewards of those several societies, and never comes into my hands at all, neither first nor last. And you, or any who desire it, shall read over the accounts kept by any of these stewards, and see with your own eyes, that by all these societies I gain just as much as you do.

The case in London stands thus. In November 1739, two gentlemen, then unknown to me, Mr. Ball and Mr. Watkins, came and desired me once and again, to preach in a place called the Foundery near Moorfields. With much reluctance I at length complied. I was soon after pressed to take that place into my own hands. Those who were most earnest therein, lent me the purchase-money, which was one hundred and fifteen pounds. Mr. Watkins and Mr. Ball then delivered me the names of several subscribers, who offered to pay, some four, or six, some ten shillings a year towards the re-payment of the purchase-money, and the putting the buildings into repair. This amounted one year to near two hundred pounds, the second to about one hundred and forty, and so the last.

The united society begun a little after, whose weekly contribution, chiefly for the poor, is received and expended by the stewards, and comes not into my hands at all. But there is also a quarterly subscription of many of the society, which is nearly equal to that above-mentioned.

The uses to which these subscriptions have been hitherto applied, are, first, the payment of that one hundred and fifteen pounds; secondly, the repairing, I might almost say rebuilding, that vast, uncouth heap of ruins at the Foundery; thirdly, the building galleries both for men and women; fourthly, the enlarging the society-room to near thrice its first bigness. All taxes and occasional expences are likewise defrayed out of this fund. And it has been hitherto so far from yielding any overplus, that it has never sufficed for these purposes yet. So far from it, that I am still in debt, on these accounts, near three hundred pounds, so much have I hitherto gained by preaching the gospel! besides a debt of one hundred and fifty pounds still remaining on account of the schools built at Bristol; and another of above two hundred pounds on account of that now building at Newcastle. I desire any reasonable man would now sit down and lay these things together, and let him see, whether, allowing me a grain of common sense, if not of common honesty, he can possibly conceive, that

a view



a view of gain would induce me to act in this manner.

You can never reconcile it with any degree of common sense, that a man who wants nothing, who has already all the necessaries, all the conveniences, nay, and many of the superfluities of life, and these not only independent of any one, but less liable to contingencies than even a gentleman's freehold estate, that such an one should calmly and deliberately throw up his ease, most of his friends, his reputation, and that way of life which of all others is most agreeable both to his natural temper and education: that he should toil day and night, spend all his time and strength, knowingly destroy a firm constitution, and hasten into weakness, pain, diseases, death, to gain a debt of six or seven hundred pounds!

But supposing the balance on the other side, let me ask you one plain question, "For what gain, setting conscience aside, will you be obliged to act thus? to live exactly as I do? For what price will you preach, and that with all your might, not in an easy, indolent, fashionable way, eighteen or nineteen times every week? and this throughout the year. What shall I give you to travel seven or eight hundred miles, in all weathers, every two or three months? For what salary will you abstain from all other diversions, than the doing good and praising God? I am mistaken if you would not prefer strangling to such a life as this is, even with thousands of gold and silver."

From what is here advanced by Mr. Wesley, nothing conclusive can be drawn. In all disputed points, we are to hear both parties. We are not to be led away by the assertions of an individual, nor by all the opposition made by an adversary. It is certain, that much abuse has been poured out upon the people called Methodists. That some part of it might have been, and still is true, will appear from the concluding part of this narrative; that the greatest part is false, will appear to every unprejudiced reader. If some of the Methodists are uncircumspect, we can only say, that their religion does not teach them to be so. This will appear the more evident, if we consider what they themselves have written concerning their original, and which we shall deliver in their own words.

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*A short History of those Doctrines which are styled Methodism.*

1. It is not easy to reckon up the various accounts which have been given of the people called Methodists: Very many of them as far remote from truth, as that given by the good gentleman in Ireland. "Methodists! Aye, they are the people, who place all religion in wearing long beards."

2. Abundance of the mistakes which are current concerning them, have undoubtedly sprung from this: Men lump together under this general name many who have no manner of connection with each other: And then whatever any of these speaks or does, is of course imputed to all.

3. The following short account may prevent persons of a calm and candid Disposition from doing this: although men of a warm or prejudiced spirit will do just as they did before. But let it be observed, this is not designed for a defence of the Methodists, so called, or any part of them. It is a bare relation of a series of naked facts, which alone may remove abundance of misunderstandings.

In November 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln-college, Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christchurch, Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christchurch, and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading, chiefly the Greek testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and in 1735 Mr. Whitefield.

5. The exact regularity of their lives, as well as studies, occasioned a young gentleman of Christchurch to say, "Here is a new set of Methodists sprung up:" Alluding to some antient physicians who were so called. The name was new and quaint: So it took immediately, and the Methodists were known all over the university.

6. They were all zealous members of the church of England, not only tenacious of all her doctrines, so far as they knew them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance. They were likewise zealous observers of all the university-statutes, and that for conscience sake. But they observed neither these nor any thing else any further than they conceived it was bound upon them by their own book, the bible; it being their own desire and design to be downright Bible Christians: Taking the Bible, as interpreted by the primitive church and our own, for their whole and sole rule.

7. The one charge then advanced against them was, that they were righteous overmuch; that they were abundantly too scrupulous, and too strict, carrying things to great extremes. In particular, that they laid too much stress upon the rubrics and canons of the church; that they insisted too much on observing the statutes of the university; and that they took the scriptures in too strict and literal a sense; so that if they were right, few indeed would be saved.

8. In October 1735, Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and Mr. Ingham, left England, with a design to go and preach to the Indians in Georgia. But the rest of the gentlemen continued to meet; till one and another was ordained and left the university. By which means, in about two years time, scarce any of them were left.

9. In February 1738, Mr. Whitefield went over to Georgia, with a design to assist Mr. John Wesley; but Mr. Wesley just then returned to England. Soon after he had a meeting with Mess. Ingham, Stonhouse, Hall, Hutchins, Kinchin,



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"But, it is said, things are fairly altered now. I cannot complain of wanting any thing; having the yearly income of a bishop of London, over and above what I gain at other places." At what other places, my friend? inform yourself a little better, and you will find, that both at Newcastle, Bristol, and Kingswood, the only places, beside London, where any collection at all is made, the money collected is both received and expended by the stewards of those several societies, and never comes into my hands at all, neither first nor last. And you, or any who desire it, shall read over the accounts kept by any of these stewards, and see with your own eyes, that by all these societies I gain just as much as you do.

The case in London stands thus. In November 1739, two gentlemen, then unknown to me, Mr. Ball and Mr. Watkins, came and desired me once and again, to preach in a place called the Foundery near Moorfields. With much reluctance I at length complied. I was soon after pressed to take that place into my own hands. Those who were most earnest therein, lent me the purchase-money, which was one hundred and fifteen pounds. Mr. Watkins and Mr. Ball then delivered me the names of several subscribers, who offered to pay, some four, or six, some ten shillings a year towards the re-payment of the purchase-money, and the putting the buildings into repair. This amounted one year to near two hundred pounds, the second to about one hundred and forty, and so the last.

The united society begun a little after, whose weekly contribution, chiefly for the poor, is received and expended by the stewards, and comes not into my hands at all. But there is also a quarterly subscription of many of the society, which is nearly equal to that above-mentioned.

The uses to which these subscriptions have been hitherto applied, are, first, the payment of that one hundred and fifteen pounds; secondly, the repairing, I might almost say rebuilding, that vast, uncouth heap of ruins at the Foundery; thirdly, the building galleries both for men and women; fourthly, the enlarging the society-room to near thrice its first bigness. All taxes and occasional expences are likewise defrayed out of this fund. And it has been hitherto so far from yielding any overplus, that it has never sufficed for these purposes yet. So far from it, that I am still in debt, on these accounts, near three hundred pounds, so much have I hitherto gained by preaching the gospel! besides a debt of one hundred and fifty pounds still remaining on account of the schools built at Bristol; and another of above two hundred pounds on account of that now building at Newcastle. I desire any reasonable man would now sit down and lay these things together, and let him see, whether, allowing me a grain of common sense, if not of common honesty, he can possibly conceive, that

a view



a view of gain would induce me to act in this manner.

You can never reconcile it with any degree of common sense, that a man who wants nothing, who has already all the necessaries, all the conveniences, nay, and many of the superfluities of life, and these not only independent of any one, but less liable to contingencies than even a gentleman's freehold estate, that such an one should calmly and deliberately throw up his ease, most of his friends, his reputation, and that way of life which of all others is most agreeable both to his natural temper and education: that he should toil day and night, spend all his time and strength, knowingly destroy a firm constitution, and hasten into weakness, pain, diseases, death, to gain a debt of six or seven hundred pounds!

But supposing the balance on the other side, let me ask you one plain question, "For what gain, setting conscience aside, will you be obliged to act thus? to live exactly as I do? For what price will you preach, and that with all your might, not in an easy, indolent, fashionable way, eighteen or nineteen times every week? and this throughout the year. What shall I give you to travel seven or eight hundred miles, in all weathers, every two or three months? For what salary will you abstain from all other diversions, than the doing good and praising God? I am mistaken if you would not prefer strangling to such a life as this is, even with thousands of gold and silver."

From what is here advanced by Mr. Wesley, nothing conclusive can be drawn. In all disputed points, we are to hear both parties. We are not to be led away by the assertions of an individual, nor by all the opposition made by an adversary. It is certain, that much abuse has been poured out upon the people called Methodists. That some part of it might have been, and still is true, will appear from the concluding part of this narrative; that the greatest part is false, will appear to every unprejudiced reader. If some of the Methodists are uncircumspect, we can only say, that their religion does not teach them to be so. This will appear the more evident, if we consider what they themselves have written concerning their original, and which we shall deliver in their own words.

#### *A short History of those Doctrines which are styled Methodism.*

1. It is not easy to reckon up the various accounts which have been given of the people called Methodists: Very many of them as far remote from truth, as that given by the good gentleman in Ireland. "Methodists! Aye, they are the people, who place all religion in wearing long beards."

2. Abundance of the mistakes which are current concerning them, have undoubtedly sprung from this: Men lump together under this general name many who have no manner of connection with each other: And then whatever any of these speaks or does, is of course imputed to all.

3. The following short account may prevent persons of a calm and candid Disposition from doing this: although men of a warm or prejudiced spirit will do just as they did before. But let it be observed, this is not designed for a defence of the Methodists, so called, or any part of them. It is a bare relation of a series of naked facts, which alone may remove abundance of misunderstandings.

In November 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln-college, Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christchurch, Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christchurch, and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading, chiefly the Greek testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and in 1735 Mr. Whitefield.

5. The exact regularity of their lives, as well as studies, occasioned a young gentleman of Christchurch to say, "Here is a new set of Methodists sprung up:" Alluding to some antient physicians who were so called. The name was new and quaint: So it took immediately, and the Methodists were known all over the university.

6. They were all zealous members of the church of England, not only tenacious of all her doctrines, so far as they knew them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance. They were likewise zealous observers of all the university-statutes, and that for conscience sake. But they observed neither these nor any thing else any further than they conceived it was bound upon them by their own book, the bible; it being their own desire and design to be downright Bible Christians: Taking the Bible, as interpreted by the primitive church and our own, for their whole and sole rule.

7. The one charge then advanced against them was, that they were righteous overmuch; that they were abundantly too scrupulous, and too strict, carrying things to great extremes. In particular, that they laid too much stress upon the rubrics and canons of the church; that they insisted too much on observing the statutes of the university; and that they took the scriptures in too strict and literal a sense; so that if they were right, few indeed would be saved.

8. In October 1735, Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and Mr. Ingham, left England, with a design to go and preach to the Indians in Georgia. But the rest of the gentlemen continued to meet; till one and another was ordained and left the university. By which means, in about two years time, scarce any of them were left.

9. In February 1738, Mr. Whitefield went over to Georgia, with a design to assist Mr. John Wesley; but Mr. Wesley just then returned to England. Soon after he had a meeting with Mess. Ingham, Stonhouse, Hall, Hutchins,



Kinchen, and a few other clergymen, who all appeared to be of one heart as well as of one judgement, resolved to be bible Christians at all events, and, wherever they were, to preach with all their might, plain, old, Bible-Christianity.

10. They were hitherto perfectly regular in all things, and zealously attached to the church of England. Meantime they began to be convinced, that by grace we are saved through faith; that justification by faith was the doctrine of the church, as well as of the bible. As soon as they believed, they spake, salvation by faith being now their standing topic. Indeed, this implied three things, 1. That men are all by nature dead in sin, and consequently children of wrath. 2. That they are justified by faith alone. 3. That faith produces inward and outward holiness. And these points they insisted on, day and night. In a short time, they became popular preachers. The congregations were large wherever they preached. The former name was then revived. And all these gentlemen, with their followers, were intitled Methodists.

11. In March 1741, Mr. Whitefield being returned to England, entirely separated from Mr. Wesley and his friends, "Because they did not hold the decrees." Here was the first breach, which warm men persuaded Mr. Whitefield to make, merely for a difference of opinion. Those indeed who believed Universal Redemption, had no desire at all to separate. But those who held Particular Redemption, would not hear of any accommodation, being determined to have no fellowship with men that "were in so dangerous errors." So there were now two sorts of Methodists, so called; those for Particular, and those for General, Redemption.

12. Not many years passed, before William Cudworth and James Relly separated from Mr. Whitefield. These were properly Antinomians, absolute, avowed enemies to the law of God, which they never preached or professed to preach, but termed all Legalists who did. With them, preaching the law was an abomination. They had nothing to do with the law. They would preach Christ, as they called it; but without one word of holiness or good works. Yet these were still denominated Methodists, although differing from Mr. Whitefield, both in judgement and practice, abundantly more than Mr. Whitefield did from Mr. Wesley.

13. In the mean time, Mr. Venn and Mr. Romaine began to be spoken of: And not long after, Mr. Madan and Mr. Berridge, with a few other clergymen, who, although they had no connection with each other, yet preaching salvation by faith, and endeavouring to live accordingly, to be Bible-Christians, were soon included in the general name of Methodists. And so indeed were all others who preached salvation by faith, and appeared more serious than others. Some of these were quite regular in their manner of preaching: Some were quite irregular, though not by choice; but necessity was laid upon them; they must preach irregularly, or not at all: And others were between both; regular in most though not in all particulars.

14. In 1762, George Bell, and a few other persons, began to speak great words. In the latter end of the year, they foretold, that the world would be at an end on the 28th of February. Mr. Wesley, with whom they were then connected, withstood them both in public and private. This they would not endure: So, in January and February 1763, they separated from him, under the care of Mr. Maxfield, one of Mr. Wesley's preachers. But still Mr. Maxfield and his adherents, even the wildest Enthusiasts among them, go under the general name of Methodists, and so bring a scandal upon those with whom they have no connection.

15. At present, those who remain with Mr. Wesley, are mostly church of England men. They love her articles, her homilies, her liturgy, her discipline, and unwillingly vary from it in any instance. Meantime, all who preach among them declare, We are all by nature children of wrath. But by grace we are saved through faith: Saved both from the guilt and from the power of sin. They endeavour to live according to what they preach, to be plain, Bible-Christians. And they meet together at convenient times, to encourage one another therein. They tenderly love many that are Calvinists, though they do not love their opinions. Yea, they love the Antinomians themselves, but it is with a love of compassion only, for they hate their doctrines with a perfect hatred; they abhor them as they do hell-fire: being convinced nothing can so effectually destroy all faith, all holiness and all good works.

16. With regard to these, Mr. Relly and his adherents, it would not be strange, if they should grow into reputation. For they will never shock the world, either by the harshness of their doctrine, or the singularity of their behaviour. But let those who determine both to preach and live the gospel, expect that men will say all manner of evil of them. The servant is not above his master, nor the disciple above his Lord. If then they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household? It is their duty indeed, as lieth in them, to live peaceably with all men. But when they labour after peace, they will make themselves ready for battle. It is their constant endeavour, to please all men, for their good, to edification. But yet they know, it cannot be done. They remember the word of the Apostle, If I yet please men, I am not the servant of Christ. They go on therefore, through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report: Desiring only, that their master may say in that day, "Servants of God, well done."

As these people are extremely numerous in England; as there are undoubtedly among them many men of real piety; and as Mr. Wesley has declared himself to be an Arminian, we must here take notice of what he says on that subject.

We have already taken notice of the Arminian Presbyterians, but their notions are not the same with those of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Wesley's notions are the same as those taught by Arminius himself; and we must acknowledge he has defined



finer them in a clear as well as a judicious manner.

1. To say, "This man is an Arminian," has the same effect on many hearers, as to say, "This is a mad dog." It puts them into a fright at once: They run away from him with all speed and diligence: And will hardly stop, unless it be to throw a stone at the dreadful, and mischievous animal.

2. The more unintelligible the word is, the better it answers the purpose. Those on whom it is fixt, know not what to do: Not understanding what it means, they cannot tell, what defence to make, or how to clear themselves from the charge. And it is not easy to remove the prejudice, which others have imbibed, who know no more of it, than that it is, something very bad, if not all that is bad!

3. To clear the meaning therefore of this ambiguous term, may be of use to many: To those who so freely pin this name upon others, that they may not say what they do not understand: To those that hear them, that they may be no longer abused by men, saying they know not what: And to those upon whom the name is fixt, that they know how to answer for themselves.

4. It may be necessary to observe, first, that many confound Arminians with Arians. But this is entirely a different thing: the one has no resemblance to the other. An Arian is one who denies the godhead of Christ: We scarce need say, the supreme, eternal godhead; because there can be no God but the supreme, eternal God, unless we will make two Gods, a great God and a little one. Now none have ever more firmly believed, or more strongly asserted the godhead of Christ, than many of the, so called, Arminians have done; yea, and do at this day. Arminianism therefore, whatever it be, is totally different from Arianism.

5. The rise of the word was this, Jame Harmens, in Latin, Jacobus Arminius, was first one of the ministers of Amsterdam, and afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden. He was educated at Geneva; but in the year 1591, began to doubt of the principles which he had till then received. And being more and more convinced that they were wrong, when he was vested with the professorship, he publicly taught what he believed the truth, till in the year 1609 he died in peace. But a few years after his death, some zealous men, with the prince of Orange at their head, furiously assaulted all that held what were called his opinions, and having procured them to be solemnly condemned, in the famous synod of Dort, not so numerous or learned, but full as impartial as the council or synod of Trent, some were put to death, some banished, some imprisoned for life, all turned out of their employments, and made incapable of holding any office either in church or state.

6. The errors charged upon these, usually termed Arminians, by their opponents are five; 1. That they deny original sin. 2. That they deny justification by faith. 3. That they deny absolute predestination. 4. That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible. And 5. That they affirm, a believer may fall from grace.

With regard to the two first of these charges,

they plead not guilty. They are entirely false. No man that ever lived, even John Calvin himself, even asserted either original sin or justification by faith, in more strong, more clear and express terms, than Arminius has done. These two points therefore are to be set out of the question: In these both parties agree. In this respect there is not an hair's breadth difference between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield.

7. But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, with regard to the three other questions. Here they divide: The former believe absolute, the latter only conditional predestination. The Calvinists hold, 1. God has absolutely decreed, from all eternity, to save such and such persons, and no others, and that Christ died for these, and none else. The Arminians hold, God has decreed from all eternity, touching all that have the written word, He that believeth, shall be saved: He that believeth not, shall be condemned. And in order to this, Christ died for all, all that were dead in trespasses and sins: that is, for every child of Adam, since in Adam all died.

8. The Calvinists hold, secondly, That the saving grace of God is absolutely irresistible: That no man is any more able to resist it, than to resist the stroke of lightening. The Arminians hold, that although there may be some moments wherein the grace of God acts irresistibly, yet in general any man may resist, and that to his eternal ruin, the grace whereby it was the will of God, he should have been eternally saved.

9. The Calvinists hold, thirdly, That a true believer in Christ, cannot possibly fall from grace. The Arminians hold, that a true believer may make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience: That he may fall, not only foully, but finally, so as to perish for ever.

10. Indeed the two latter points, irresistible grace and infallible perseverance, are the natural consequence of the former, of the unconditional decree. For if God has eternally and absolutely decreed to save such and such persons, it follows, both that they cannot resist his saving grace, else they might miss of salvation, and that they cannot resist. So that in effect, the three questions come into one, "Is predestination absolute or conditional?" The Arminians believe, it is conditional: the Calvinists, that it is absolute.

11. Away then with all ambiguity! Away with all expressions which only puzzle the cause. Let honest men speak out, and not play with hard words, which they do not understand. And how can any man know what Arminius held, who has never read one page of his writings? Let no man bawl against Arminians, till he knows what the terms mean. And then he will know that Arminians and Calvinists are just upon a level. And Arminians have as much right to be angry at Calvinists, as Calvinists have to be angry at Arminians. John Calvin was a pious, learned, sensible man: And so was James Harmens. Many Calvinists are pious, learned, sensible men: And so are many Arminians. Only the former hold absolute predestination, the latter, conditional.

12. One word more. Is it not the duty of every Arminian preacher, first, never in public



or in private, to use the word Calvinist as a term of reproach; seeing it is neither better nor worse than calling names? A practice no more consistent with good sense, or good manners, than it is with Christianity. Secondly, To do all that in him lies, to prevent his hearers from doing it, by shewing them the sin and folly of it? And is it not equally the duty of every Calvinist preacher, First, never in public or in private, in preaching or in conversation, to use the word Arminian as a term of reproach? Secondly, to do all that in him lies to prevent his hearers from doing it, by shewing them the sin and folly thereof? And that the more earnestly and diligently, if they have been accustomed so to do? Perhaps encouraged therein by his own example!

The Arminian Methodists have several different sorts of societies, and likewise charitable institutions, of which we shall take notice as they lay in order, according to their seniority. The first of all these was called the Band Society, because they entered into it upon promises and engagements to abide by a certain number of rules.

The design of our meeting, is to obey that command of God, Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.

To this end, we intend,

1. To meet once a week, at the least.
2. To come punctually at the hour appointed, without some particular reason.
3. To begin, those of us who are present, exactly at the hour, with singing or prayer.
4. To speak each of us in order, freely and plainly the true state of our souls, with the faults we have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting.

5. To end every meeting with prayer, suited to the state of each person present.

6. To desire some person among us to speak his own state first, and then to ask the rest in order, as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations.

Some of the questions proposed to every one before he is admitted among us, may be to this effect.

1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?
3. Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your Spirit, that you are a child of God?
4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?
6. Do you desire to be told of your faults?
7. Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and home?
8. Do you desire, that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?
9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you?
10. Do you desire, that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should

cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom?

11. Is it your desire and design, to be on this and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise and without reserve?

Any of the preceding questions may be asked as occasion may offer: the five following at every meeting:

1. What known sins have you committed since our last meeting?
2. What temptations have you met with?
3. How was you delivered?
4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?
5. Have you nothing you desire to keep secret?

You are supposed to have the faith that overcometh the world. To you therefore it is not grievous,

I. Carefully to abstain from doing evil: in particular,

1. Neither to buy or sell any thing at all on the Lord's Day.
2. To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician.
3. To be at a word, both in buying and selling.
4. To pawn nothing, no, not to save life.
5. Not to mention the fault of any behind his back, and to stop those short that do.
6. To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.
7. To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

II. Zealously to maintain good works; in particular,

1. To give alms of such things as you possess, and that to the uttermost of your power.
2. To reprove all that sin in your sight, and that in love and meekness of wisdom.
3. To be patterns of diligence and frugality, of self-denial, and taking up the cross daily.

III. Constantly to attend on all the ordinances of God: in particular,

1. To be at church, and at the Lord's table every week and at every public meeting of the bands.
2. To attend the ministry of the word every morning, unless distance, business, or sickness prevent.
3. To use private prayer every day, and family prayer, if you are the head of a family.
4. To read the scripture, and meditate thereon, at every vacant hour. And,
5. To observe, as days of fasting or abstinence, all Fridays in the year.

It is in general a maxim in morals, that there can be no existence of religion without knowledge, and knowledge must be acquired by education, by instructions from those advanced in years, and by conversation with the world. By the world, we mean those people who have a great deal of human knowledge, and behold human nature operating in practice. We shall take



it for granted, that what Mr. Wesley says concerning his own schools is true; and, indeed, there can remain little doubt of it, because, as the Methodists have many enemies, so if a falsehood was advanced in print, it would be no difficult matter to contradict it.

*The following Account of the Methodist School near Bristol, is thus related.*

1. Our design is, with God's assistance, to train up children in every branch of useful learning.

2. We teach none but boarders. These are taken in, being between the years of six and twelve, in order to be taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew; History, Geography, Chronology; Rhetoric; Logic, Ethics; Geometry, Algebra, Physics; Music.

3. The school contains eight classes:

In the first class the children read instructions for children, and lessons for children; and begin learning to write.

In the second class they read the manners of the antient Christians, go on in writing, learn the short English grammar, the short Latin grammar, read *Prælectiones Pueriles*; translate them into English, and the Instructions for Children into Latin; part of which they transcribe and repeat.

In the third class they read Dr. Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, go on in writing, perfect themselves in the English and Latin Grammar; read *Corderii Colloquia Selecta* and *Historiæ Selectæ*; translate *Historiæ Selectæ* into English, and Lessons for Children into Latin: Part of which they transcribe and repeat.

In the fourth class they read the *Pilgrim's Progress*, perfect themselves in writing: learn *Dilworth's arithmetic*: read *Castellio's Kempis* and *Cornelius Nepos*: translate *Castellio* into English, and manners of the antient Christians into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

In the fifth class they read the life of Mr. Haliburton, perfect themselves in arithmetic; read select dialogues of Erasmus, Phœdrus and Salust: translate Erasmus into English, and *Primitive Christianity* into Latin; transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

In the sixth class they read the life of Mr. De Renty, and Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*: they learn Randal's geography: read Cæsar, select parts of Terence and Velleius Paterculus: translate Erasmus into English, and the Life of Mr. Haliburton into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of sacred hymns and poems.

In the seventh class they read Mr. Law's *Christian perfection*, and archbishop Potter's *Greek antiquities*: They learn Bengelii *Introductio ad Chronologiam*, with Marshall's *Chronological Tables*: read Tully's *Offices* and Virgil's *Æneid*: translate Bengelius into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: Learn, those who have a turn for it, to make verses, and the short Greek Grammar: read the epistles of St. John: transcribe and repeat select portions of Milton.

In the eighth class they read Mr. Law's *Serious Call*, and Lewis's *Hebrew Antiquities*: They learn to make themes and to declaim: Learn Vossius's *Rhetoric*: Read Tully's *Tusculan Questions*, and *Selecta ex Ovidio*, Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale, Persio, Martiale: Perfect themselves in the Greek Grammar; Read the Gospels and Six Books of Homer's *Iliad*: Translate Tully into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: Learn the Short Hebrew Grammar, and read Genesis: Transcribe and repeat *Selecta ex Virgilio*, Horatio, Juvenale.

4. It is our particular desire, That all who are educated here, may be brought up in the fear of God: And at the utmost distance as from vice in general, so in particular from idleness and effeminacy. The children therefore of tender parents, so called, (who are indeed offering up their sons and their daughters unto devils) have no business here; for the rules will not be broken in favour of any person whatsoever. Nor is any child received unless his parents agree, 1. That he shall observe all the rules of the house, and 2. That they will not take him from school, no, not a day, till they take him for good and all.

5. The general rules of the house are these:

First, The children rise at four, winter and summer, and spend the time till five in private: Partly in reading, partly in singing, partly in self-examination or meditation, (if capable of it) and partly in prayer. They at first use a short form (which is varied continually) and then pray in their own words.

Secondly, At five they all meet together. From six they work till breakfast. For as we have no play-days (the school being taught every day in the year but Sunday) so neither do we allow any time for play on any day. He that plays when he is a child, will play when he is a man.

On fair days they work, according to their strength in the garden; on rainy days in the house. Some of them also learn music: And some of the larger will be employed in philosophical experiments. But particular care is taken that they never work alone, but always in the presence of a master.

We have three masters; one for teaching reading, and two for the languages.

Thirdly, The school begins at seven, in which languages are taught till nine, and then writing, &c. till eleven. At eleven the children walk or work. At twelve they dine, and then work or sing till one. They diet nearly thus;

Breakfast, Milk-porridge and water-gruel, by turns:

Supper, Bread and butter, or cheese, and milk by turns:

Dinner, Sunday, cold roast beef:

Monday, Hashed meat and apple-dumplings:

Tuesday, Boiled mutton:

Wednesday, vegetables and dumplings:

Thursday, boiled mutton or beef:

Friday, vegetables and dumplings. And so in Lent:

Saturday, bacon and greens, apple-dumplings.

They drink water at meals; nothing between meals. On Friday, if they chuse it, they fast till three in the afternoon. Experience shews, this



this is so far from impairing health, that it greatly conduces to it.

Fourthly, from one to four languages are taught, and then writing, &c. till five. At five begins the hour of private prayer. From six they walk or work till supper. A little before seven the public service begins. At eight they go to bed, the youngest first.

Fifthly, They used to lodge all in one room, but now in two, in which lamps burn all night. Every child lies by himself. A master lies at each end of the room. All their beds have mattresses on them, not feather-beds.

Sixthly, on Sunday, at six they dress and breakfast; at seven, learn hymns or poems; at nine, attend the public service; at twelve, dine and sing; at two attend the public service, and at four are privately instructed.

6. The method observed in the school is this :

#### The First Class.

Morn. 7. Read. 10. Write till Eleven.  
Aftern. 1. Read. 4. Write till Five.

#### The Second Class.

M. 7. Read The Manners of the Antient Christians.  
8. Learn the English Grammar: When that is ended, the Latin Grammar.  
10. Learn to write.  
A. 1. Learn to construe and parse Prælectiones Pueriles.  
4. Translate into English and Latin alternately.

#### The Third Class.

M. 7. Read Primitive Christianity.  
8. Repeat English and Latin Grammar alternately.  
9. Learn Corderius, and when that is ended, Historia Selectæ.  
10. Write.  
A. 1. Learn Corderius and Historiæ Selectæ.  
4. Translate.

#### The Fourth Class.

M. 7. Read The Pilgrim's Progress.  
8. Repeat the Grammar.  
9. Learn Castellio's Kempis, and when that is ended, Cornelius Nepos.  
10. Write and learn Arithmetick.  
A. 1. Learn Kempis and Cornelius Nepos.  
4. Translate.

#### The Fifth Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. Haliburton's Life.  
8. Repeat the Grammars.  
9. Learn Erasmus; afterwards Phædrus; then Sallust.  
10. Learn Arithmetick.  
A. 1. Learn Erasmus, Phædrus, Sallust.  
4. Translate.

#### The Sixth Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. de Renty's Life.  
8. Repeat the Grammars.  
9. Learn Cæsar; afterwards Terence; then Velleius Paterculus.  
10. Learn Geography.  
A. 1. Learn Cæsar; Terence; Paterculus.  
3. Read Roman Antiquities.  
4. Translate.

#### The Seventh Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. Law's Christian Perfection.  
8. { M. W. F. Learn the Greek Grammar: and read the Greek Testament.  
Tu. Th. Sat. Learn Tully; afterwards Virgil.  
10. Learn Chronology.  
A. 1. Learn Latin and Greek alternately, as in the Morning.  
3. Read Grecian Antiquities.  
4. Translate and make Verses alternately.

#### The Eighth Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. Law's Serious Call.  
8. { M. Th. Latin.  
Tu. Frid. Greek.  
W. S. Hebrew: And so at One in the Afternoons.  
10. Learn Rhetorick.  
A. 3. Read Hebrew Antiquities.  
4. Mond. Thurs. Translate.  
Tues. Frid. make Verses.  
Wed. make a Theme.  
Sat. write a Declamation.

All the other classes spend Saturday afternoon in arithmetick, and in transcribing what they learn on Sunday, and repeat on Monday morning.

The price for the board and teaching of a child, including his books, pens, ink and paper, is fourteen pounds a year, while he is in the school; after he has gone through the school, twenty, and he is then to find his own books.

The following method is to be observed, by those who design to go through a course of academical learning.

#### FIRST YEAR.

Read Lowth's English Grammar.	Spanheim's Introduction on the Ecclesiastical History,
Latin } Grammars,	Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe,
Greek }	Moral and sacred Poems.
Hebrew }	Hebrew Pentateuch,
French }	with the Notes,
Corn. Nepos,	Greek Testament,
Sallust,	Matt.—Acts, with the Notes,
Cæsar,	Xenophon's Cyrus,
Tully's Offices,	Dilworth,
Terence,	
Phædrus,	
Æneid,—	



Dilworth, Randal, Ben- gel. Voffius, Aldrich and Wallis's Logic, Langbain's Ethics, Hutchinson on the Pas- sions,	Homer's Iliad, Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Ten Volumes of the Christian Library, Telemaque.
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## SECOND YEAR.

Look over the Gram- mars, Read Vell. Paterculus, Tusculan Questions, Excerpta, Vidæ Opera, Lusus Westmonasteri- ensis, Chronological Tables, Euclid's Element, Well's Tracts, Newton's Principia, Moshem's Introduction to Church History,	Usher's Annals, Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Spenser's Fairy Queen, Historical Books of the Hebrew Bible, Greek Test. ad finem Kurou 'Anabasis, Homer's Odyssey, Twelve Volumes of the Christian Library, Ramfay's Cyrus, Racine.
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## THIRD YEAR.

Look over the Gram- mars, Livy, Suetonius, Tully de Finibus, Musæ Anglicanæ, Dr. Burton's Poemata, Ld. Forbes' Tracts, Abridgment of Hut- chinson's Works, Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation, Rollin's Antient His- tory,	Hume's History of Eng- land, Neal's History of the Puritans, Milton's Poetic Works Hebrew Bible, Job — Canticles, Greek Testament, Plato's Dialogues, Greek Epigrams, Twelve Volumes of the Christian Library, Pascal, Corneille,
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## FOURTH YEAR.

Look over the Gram- mars, Tacitus, Grotii Historia Belgica Tully de Natura Deorum, Prædium Rusticum, Carmina Quadragesi- malia, Philosophical Transac- tions abridged, Watts's Astronomy, Compendium Meta- physicæ, Watts's Ontology, Locke's Essay, Malebranche,	Clarendon's History, Neal's History of New England, Antonio Solis' History of Mexico, Shakespear, Rest of the Hebrew Bible, Greek Testament, Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, Poetæ Minores, End the Christian Li- brary, La Faussite de les Ver- tues humaines, Ques- nel sur les Evangiles.
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Whoever carefully goes through this course, will be a better scholar than nine in ten of the graduates at Oxford or Cambridge.

The only remarks we would make on this plan of education is, that it is far from being a bad one; but some of the books are not well chosen, because they clash with each other in sentiment. It is true, that learning cannot be

acquired properly without hearing both sides of the argument; but this would be much better in riper years, than when people are unacquainted with knowledge.

As for their Love-feasts, we shall only observe that something of a similar nature was observed in the primitive times; but that arose from motives of necessity, when the poor slaves who had been converted to the Christian religion, were entertained at the public expence. At present there can be no necessity for any such thing, because those who seek to relieve the poor, may do it at their own homes. They are very free in inviting strangers to these Love-feasts, where they eat a biscuit or bun, drink a glass of water, and sing about half a score of hymns. The whole expence for buns, water, and hymns, is one shilling each person; and we are credibly informed, that five-hundred shillings are given in one night.

What becomes of all this money, we shall not take upon us to say; but certain it is, that it is not all given to the poor. And we have reason to believe, and really know it, that many assignations are made at these meetings.

They have another ceremony which has been much complained of, as coming too near the grossest dregs of popery; and that is what they call their watch-nights; in which they sit whole nights, singing hymns in their meetings; of which the following is a specimen:

1. Join all ye ransom'd sons of grace  
The holy joy prolong,  
And shout to the Redeemer's praise  
A solemn midnight song.
2. Blessing, and thanks, and love, and might,  
Be to our Jesus given,  
Who turns our darkness into light,  
Who turns our hell to heaven.
3. Thither our faithful souls he leads,  
Thither he bids us rise,  
With crowns of joy upon our heads  
To meet him in the skies.
4. To seal the universal doom  
The skies he soon shall bow;  
But if thou must at midnight come,  
O let us meet thee Now.

It is true, the primitive Christians met in the night, as appears from the famous epistle written by Pliny, the consul to the emperor Trajan, about the beginning of the second century. But this was owing to persecution, when they were prohibited from meeting in the day. The followers of Mr. Wesley are under no such necessity; for they are not persecuted, nor are they excluded from any of the benefits in the toleration act. It is very certain, that their sitting up a whole night in their meetings, must render them incapable of labour next day; and this, instead of being consistent with religion, is quite contrary to it. For God has ordered every thing so wisely, that one shall not clash with another.

The last thing to be taken notice of concerning these people is, the manner in which they are, or at least believe themselves to be, converted. And yet they are very contradictory in these things.



A person of high rank shewed the author the following epitaph, which he copied from one of their grave-stones at Margate.

“ Here lies A. B. who was sanctified from the womb, and whose sins were pardoned through the merits of Christ.”

Where the epitaph-maker learned his divinity, we shall not say, but surely the absurdity is unparalleled. A man was sanctified from the womb, which implies, that he had never been guilty of sin, and yet his sins were pardoned through the merits of Christ!

We could give many instances of these real or imaginary conversions; but some of them would rather offend a delicate ear, and others would afford matter of lamentation to those who love Christ in reality, and rejoice to do his will. We shall, however, insert the account of one written by a father relating to his son. It is an honour for a man to love his child, but it is a real happiness to see him going on in the fear of God through all the afflictions of this life.

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*Account of the Conversion and Death of Thomas Hitchens.*

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My son, Thomas Hitchens, was born April 14, 1723. He went to school till he was about ten years old. From school he went to work at the stamps, in dressing of tin ore, in which employment he continued about six years. Afterwards he wrought in the tin-works under ground, till about a year before his death. Then he went to dress tin-leavings for me, having five or six boys under him. At the same time he plowed, sowed, mowed, reaped, and managed my husbandry; understanding every thing both as to the tin and the land, so that we had scarce one in the neighbourhood like him.

He was from a child of a very sober and a very sweet behaviour, and remarkably dutiful to his parents. But about nineteen he began to go to revellings and hurlings, and sometimes to be merry with his companions. Of this I now and then told him, but not sharply; for I counted both him and his brother mighty good young men: And was not a little proud, when people told me, “I had two likely sons, and as stout men as any in the parish.” I thought it best, therefore, to let him have his liberty; especially as I then saw no great harm in these things.

But he had done with these, from the hour he first heard the Gospel of the grace of God. He then chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy all the pleasures of sin. He had no fear, in the hottest of the persecution. While the mob were pulling down the house in which we used to meet, he stood at a small distance all the time, being nothing terrified; and encouraged his brother and said, “God will deliver us: Only let us trust in Him.” Nor was he at all moved, when the showers of stones obliged us to stop up all our windows with whole deals. One night we heard a great tumult and noise, as of much people and many cries. And it was told us, they were at the house of one of our brethren,

who lived about a quarter of a mile off: Thomas did not take time to go the road way, though it was exceeding dark, but ran directly through the grounds and over the hedges, till he came to the house.

The mob, hearing the sound of feet, ran away, not one being left behind. So, said Thomas, the scripture is fulfilled, “One of you shall chase a thousand.” As he came into the house, the family too, were preparing to run out of it. But he soon convinced them, they had no cause to fear, and they mightily rejoiced together, and praised God who had delivered them out of the hands of unreasonable and cruel men. All the windows and doors were dashed in pieces; but none of the family hurt at all, notwithstanding the vast quantities of stones which had fallen on all sides of them. One very large stone they found in the cradle, close by a little child. But the child was not hurt. So that in all things they saw the hand of God was over them for good.

About eighteen months ago, while his brother William and he were working in the pit with another man, who cried for help, and Thomas ran toward the place where he was. In running his light went out; but he found the man by his voice, though not till he was almost covered in. Before he had cleared him, the earth calved in again, and he was very near covered himself. And but that it stopt, they knew not but in one minute more they must both have perished together. William hearing the noise, made up to the place, and in some time relieved them both. Of this Thomas often made mention, praising God for his wonderful deliverance.

Some account of the manner wherein he found peace with God, two or three months after his brother, I lately found in his pocket-book. The substance of it was this:

“In reading the three first chapters of St. John, while I was in much trouble and heaviness of soul, the Lord gave me great comfort: especially from these words, “To as many as believe in his name, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.” But soon after I was tript of all, and thought God had left me, a final cast-away. Nevertheless I went into my closet, and with a heavy heart said, Lord, I praise thee, that thou hast not given me over unto death. But how shall I appear before thee? While I spoke, the Lord answered, and applied these words, I am thy righteousness; which burst the cords that before kept my spirit down.”

He often complained, that when he found great joy, he was in the greatest danger, both of pride and lightness: And therefore said, he had much rather, if it were the will of God, be always in a mourning state. He likewise found great temptation to pride when he was most blest in speaking to the people. And this was the main reason of his not stirring up the gift of God which was in him.

He frequently repeated those words of St. Paul, “It is good for a man not to touch a woman:” And those of Job, “I have made my covenant with my eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?” He was very jealous over himself when he was in company with those of a different sex. And if no man besides himself was there, he generally quitted the company as soon as he could.

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In the latter part of his life he was much grown in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. He sometimes saw, as he said, anger or pride in himself; but they had no power: Neither had they love or desire of any creature; they were all in subjection under his feet: he was more and more dead to all earthly things, and filled with the fire of God's love. The work of God had a deeper root in his heart, and he was more settled and established in the grace of God.

After his brother's death, he declared he could not rest through the earnestness of his desire to follow him. However, in the mean time, he put in practice what Samuel spoke of, namely, meeting all the family once a week. He reproved me and his mother in several things; but we could not reprove him in any. I could not convince him or Samuel of sin, for two years or more.

On Wednesday, September 10, in the evening he found himself out of order: He went to bed something earlier than usual, and soon appeared to be in a high fever. But his confidence in God was still the same, and all his words, both that night and the next day, convinced all who came near him, that the peace of God continually ruled in his heart.

On Thursday evening, between nine and ten, his sisters sitting by him, he said, "Lord, shall I call, and wilt Thou not answer? No; It cannot be. Thou hast promised, every one that asks in faith shall receive." Then he began praying for his father and mother; for his brothers and sisters, and in particular for her that sat by him. "O my God, marry her to thyself. Make her all glorious within. Give her an undivided heart." He then prayed for himself. "Now come, O my God, and sanctify me wholly. Press me closer to thyself. Thou knowest, this is all my desire. Give me power to declare thy wonderful works before I go hence. "O Death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

As Mary Bisvine came to the bedside, he looked on her and said, "Now I am free. Now my heart is at liberty. I will praise my God as long as I have breath." After speaking much to the same effect, he lay still a small time, and then broke out into exceeding loud, vehement prayer, his voice being quite altered and every sentence pronounced with uncommon emphasis. He prayed first for all estates and conditions of men; that the church of Christ might spread over all nations; that ten thousand times ten thousand might be converted to God, and all the people of the earth praise him. Then he prayed for all the ministers of the gospel, from the greatest even to the least: especially for those whom God had lately employed to seek and save those that were lost in Cornwall. Afterwards he prayed for John Trembath that he might live to the glory of God, who had brought him back from the gates of death, and might be a means of saving many souls from the bitter pains of eternal death. He then prayed for the society, O Lord, unite them as the heart of one man. O Lord give them eyes to see whereinssoever they have departed from Thee. O take from them the spirit of unthankfulness, and suffer them not to bite or devour one another. Heal thou their backslidings and spread over them the banner of thy love!"

With prayer there was continual praise intermixt. Sometimes he was blessing God for what he had done, then praying, "O my God, finish thy work and take me into thy kingdom, Is this the day, O my God, that I shall kiss my brother in Paradise? — O Lord, the angels have already praised Thee at my conversion. Is this the day that I shall praise Thee with them? Yes, O my God, I am now going to join them, to sing praises to thee for ever."

Then he prayed with great earnestness for Mary Bisvine and his own sister, both whom he had in the beginning of the evening desired to stay with him till he was in eternity, that they might never grow weary or faint in their minds, that God would send down the spirit of sanctification into their hearts, and give them resigned wills to bear whatever his providence should lay upon them: Adding, They shall run and not be weary. I know we shall meet together, and sing praises unto him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever."

He went on, "O how good is God to me, that he hath given me a tongue to praise him! A little while, yet a little while, and I shall praise him in heaven! O the goodness of God, that I a worm of the earth, shall stand there, upon Mount Sion, with the three hundred forty and four thousand, which have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb! Here is a privilege; here is a wonder; that I am made a son of God! I am a son of God and a joint-heir with Christ, and I shall soon be where I shall behold him for ever; I, even I, who have been a backslider from God! But he has healed my backslidings and loved me freely."

Soon after he said, "I love thee, O my God, thou knowest that I love thee, because thou hast first loved me. O what manner of love is this, that God should stoop to love me! And he is coming to carry me home. O! I see, thousands and ten thousands of angels! Do you not see them? O brother Trembath, do you not see what a glorious place I am going to? I am going to join with angels and arch-angels, and with all the company of heaven. I am going to reign with God, among ten thousands of his saints, and to bask in the beams of his love for ever."

Then looking on Mary Bisvine he said, "Can't you see Jesus Christ coming, with an innumerable company of angels, and the golden banner displayed! They are coming to carry me to the bosom of my God. Open their eyes O God, that they may see them. O what a good God have I served! I am sanctified, soul, body and spirit. I am whiter than snow. I am washed in the blood of my redeemer. Why, I am all God. My heart is full of God! O let them who hear me now, praise thee for ever and ever."

"And yet I have been unfaithful to my God. For he gave me a gift, but I improved it not. I thought I was not worthy to stand in the highways and call sinners to repentance. But, O God, thou hast forgiven me this also, and I will preach thee now as long as I have breath."

He ceased not thus praying and praising for an hour. His parents then coming in, early on Friday morning, he said, "O my mother, you will not weep to see me going to such a loving God.



My father and mother will not be backsliders. No; I know that God loves them, and that we shall all meet together in heaven, to praise him to all eternity." Then looking on his brother, about twelve years old, he said, "Stand off, for fear you catch the distemper: For I fear you are not prepared to die. You have played away the grace of God. The harvest may come, before you are renewed in the image of God, and then how will you appear? Cry mightily to God. Strive with all your might. Call upon him, and God will hear."

He then said, "Right my feet, that I may lie straight, to resign my breath. When I am dead, do you sing me all the way, sing my body to the grave, lay me by my brother, and at the same time my spirit shall be joined to his, and to ten thousand times ten thousand of angels and spirits, singing praises to God and the Lamb for ever."

Having spoken till he had no breath left, he paused; and in a short time began again, "Hear now the words of a dying man, a living wonder, a Christian triumphing over death! O what a God do the Christians serve! What a God I have

served! Praise him with me for ever. Behold the immense goodness of our God. O that all the world knew our God! He has now made my heart free, that I may praise him, and I cannot stop while I have breath. Go, tell all the world of this. O bretheren! What a good God do we serve! Be not afraid to tell it abroad! Go, shew it to all people, that they may come and serve him too."

When he stopt speaking, the oppression on his breast returned. This he took notice of, and said, "While I am praising God, my heart is free; but when I cease, I feel this load again. But I may well bear this; for this is all the hell I shall have." Then he broke out,

"See a soul escape to bliss,  
"Keep the Christian Festival!"

"He hath washed me, and I am whiter than snow. God is mine and I am God's. I shall soon be with him." Thus he continued, till he could speak no more.

## A C C O U N T of the A N T I N O M I A N S.

**T**HIS sect is so named from two Greek words, which mean contrary to the law; signifying a contradiction between two laws, and between two articles of the same law.

The first whom we read of was one John Agricola, who lived about the middle of the fourteenth century, and who taught that the law is no way necessary under the gospel: that good works do not promote our salvation, nor ill ones hinder it. That repentance is not to be preached from the ten commandments, but only from the gospel; or, in other words, he was for carrying gospel liberty above all moral rectitude, and for slighting the motives of virtue as insufficient to further salvation.

They were not, however, in England till after the reformation, and there were few of them till the time of the civil wars in the last century. Some of the Scottish Presbyterians wrote against them, and Rutherford in particular was for having them all hanged. Rutherford was learnedly answered by several clergymen, among whom were the following:

Tobias Crisp, D. D. who died in the year 1641. He was a good preacher, and a good man; was first zealously attached to the principles of Arminianism, but changing his opinions, ran into the contrary extreme of Antinomianism. The publisher of his works says, "That his life was so innocent and free from all evil, so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed to be designed as a practical confutation of the slander of those who would insinuate, that his doctrine tended to licentiousness." He was possessed of

a very large estate, with which he did a great deal of good.

Mr. John Saltmarsh, of Magdalen College, a man of a fine active fancy, says Neale, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher, and chaplain in the parliament-army. The manner of his death, as related by Rushworth, was very extraordinary. December 4, 1637, being at his house at Ilford, in Essex, he told his wife that he had been in a trance, and received a message from God, which he must immediately deliver to the army. He went that night to London, and next day to Windsor. Being come to the council of officers, he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not prosper their consultations, but destroy them by divisions among themselves, because they had sought to destroy the people of God, those who had stood by them in the greatest difficulties. He then went to the general, and without moving his hat, told him, that God was highly displeased with him for committing of saints to prison. The like message he delivered to Cromwell, and required him to take effectual measures for the enlargement of the members of the army, that were committed for not complying with the general council. He then took his leave of the officers, telling them, that he had now done his errand, and must leave them, never to see them any more. After which he went to London, and took leave of his friends there, telling them his work was done, and desiring some of them to be careful of his wife. Thursday, December 9, he returned to Ilford, in perfect health; next day he told his wife, that he had now finished his



work, and must go to his father. Saturday morning, December 11, he was taken speechless, and about four in the afternoon he died.

It is certain, that in the two volumes of sermons published by Dr. Crisp's executors, and to which notes have been added by the late Dr. Gill, there are many things very exceptionable. It does not satisfy him to say, that Christ's sufferings were for the guilty, but he boldly asserts, that he was even sin itself; a sentiment we know not what to make of. It is true, the Apostle says, He hath made him to be sin for us; but in another place the Apostle explains what he means by these words; for he says, "He suffered, the just for the unjust." Thus had Christ been sin itself, how could he have made an atonement for it? The words mean no more than imputation, or a vicarious sacrifice, by which Christ was the substitute in the room of sinners.

With respect to the writings of Saltmarsh, they are very engaging at first sight, but upon a sober review, the force of the argument wears off. As the Antinomians were never very numerous, so there are but few particulars relating to them worthy of notice till the present age. In the time of the civil wars, the churches were filled with preachers of many different denominations; some of whom were Antinomians; but from that time till the rise of Methodism, about forty years ago, they were not much heard of in England. Perhaps there were not two meetings; but we shall now proceed to point out what they then believed; and, secondly, what they are at present.

They believed, that the whole work of man's salvation was accomplished by Jesus Christ, on the cross. That Christ's blood and our sins went away together. That then all our sins were taken away by Christ, and blotted out for ever. That nothing else beside faith is required in order to justification and salvation. That there is but one duty, which is that of believing; one must do nothing, but quietly attend the voice of the Lord. The gates of heaven are shut upon workers and open to believers. If we do nothing for heaven, we do as much as God requires. To believe certainly that Christ suffered death for us, is enough; we want no more. We are justified by our submitting in our judgments to the truth of God's grace in Christ Jesus. It is not necessary that a man do any works that he may be justified and saved. God doth not require thee to do any thing that thou mayest be saved or justified. The law sets thee to work; but the gospel binds thee to do nothing at all. Nay, the works are not only not required, but forbidden. God forbids us to work for justification; and when the apostle Paul presseth men to believe, it is as much as if he had bid them not to work. That the moral law is nothing to man. From any demand of the law, no man is obliged to go one step, to give away one farthing, to eat, or omit one morsel. For what did our Lord do with the law? He abolished it. That a spiritual man beholdeth justifying grace in believing, without his obedience to commands for external worship and good works. Col. ii. 20. That outward things do nothing avail to salvation. If love to God, and love to our neighbour, and relieving the poor,

be altogether unprofitable and unavoidable, either to justification or salvation; then these outward works, in submitting to outward ordinances, viz. the ordinances of Christ, are much less available. Those persons bring in the most dangerous kind of popery, and pervert the gospel of Christ, who persuade men, that if they do not submit to the ordinances of the Lord Jesus, he will not confess them before his father. It is better not to practise them on these gospel destroying principles, to the ruining of our souls. A believer has no inherent righteousness: God will save us to the utmost without any righteousness or holiness of our own. To look for inherent righteousness is to deny the spirit, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant. But believers have not any inherent righteousness in them. Our righteousness is nothing but the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. A believer has no holiness in himself, but in Christ only. The trials of the spirit, commonly called sanctification, such as love, gentleness, long suffering, goodness, meekness, temperance, neither make us holy before God, nor in our own consciences, that is, we are not made good or holy by any inward qualities or dispositions; but being made pure and holy in our consciences, by believing in Christ, we bear forth inwardly and outwardly the fruits of holiness. A believer does not increase in holiness as he increases in the love of God and man. The very moment he is justified, he is wholly sanctified, and he is neither more nor less holy from that hour to the day of his death. Entire justification, and entire sanctification, are in the same instant, and neither of them is, therefore, capable of increase or decrease. We are to grow in grace, but not in holiness. The moment we are justified, we are as pure in heart as ever we shall be. A new born babe is as pure in heart as a father in Christ; there is no difference.

In addition to this collective detail of the principles of the Antinomians, we shall give our readers the substance of a letter received from one of them, which, perhaps, is a more perfect view of the principles of the sect, and of many popular preachers, who yet do not separate from the church, or the sects with which they are united, on that account.

"This I have had occasion to observe, that no sooner does a person believe and profess salvation alone by Christ, without works of righteousness, as done by him, but immediately upon his embracing such a profession, he shall be branded with the name of an Antinomian, tho' he should be at the same time, notwithstanding his change of profession, as to his behaviour and deportment in life, as unblameable as the strictest legalist whatever; from whence it is pretty evident, that the name of an Antinomian is given to many by way of reproach or ridicule, and that there are many so accounted, to whom the charge does not justly belong; because they disown all their own works in point of merit or acceptance with God; yet that is no proof, but what they may be found in the practice of all such good works as are necessary for good government and œconomy in society. They own the reasonableness and necessity of these, but that they



they do not make up or constitute any part of that kingdom which is spiritual, and is not of this world. As I am far from thinking that the religion of Jesus consists merely in externals, neither do I think that an intricate system of doctrines, such as are superior to a common understanding, is in the least necessary, but rather prejudicial to those who would be edified by what they profess. There seems to me to be two very essential points absolutely necessary, namely, the knowledge of ourselves, of the true state of human nature, and the knowledge of salvation, in and through the promised Messiah or Redeemer; or, in other words, that Jesus is the son of God, that he died for our sins and rose again for our justification, agreeable to the scripture testimony; that man is a sinner, reason and revelation afford us the most ample proof: from whence it is likewise evident, that he stands convicted in his best doings and performances by the law of his maker, which spiritual and divine commandment entails condemnation on all who hope for mercy and acceptance by a partial and imperfect obedience. As opposites tend to illustrate, so does an acquaintance with ourselves, with the frailty and infirmity of our nature, serve to illustrate the beauty and extent of divine grace, as manifest in the person of Christ our Saviour. To speak with candour and impartiality for myself, without reference to any person or party whatever. As a Christian, I acknowledge Christ as the only foundation of my hope towards God, my acceptance with him, and rejoicing in him: I rest all my concerns for time and eternity with him, as my wisdom to guide me through all the mazes of life: I see mercy consistent with justice, and a plenitude of grace extending to the guilty, and all in harmony with every attribute of deity, in and through the one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus: the harmony and consistency of the sacred pages I likewise see in him, of whom Moses and the prophets spake, every precept fulfilled by him, every threatening endured by him, and every promised blessing I lay claim unto, as my lawful inheritance, in and through him, my glorious and exalted head. In consequence of this relation between Christ, as the head, and the church, his members, unspeakably great and extensive are the privileges which they have a claim unto, and yet with reverence they acknowledge the pre-eminence of their head in all things. The name of Jesus, a Saviour, is to me a sound more striking, more excellent, more harmonious, than the most melodious notes from the best tuned instruments. The whole creation, in its vast extent and variety, is to me as so many striking figures of that consummate beauty and perfection, which dwells in his adorable person; every amiable character by which he stands distinguished, is to me full fraught with instruction, admiration, and consolation: he is precious and honourable in my esteem, and the language of the Apostle is with me very familiar; that is, "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, &c." While I hear of various sounds from the various sectaries, as having learned to distinguish the

voice of the true shepherd, I know that never varies. I see no danger of running into error, while I have recourse to, and gather all my supplies from him, as the fountain of truth itself. Thus I go on in dependence upon and intercourse with my Lord and Saviour, as, having a glimpse of his glory, I sometimes contemplate the pleasures that must necessarily result from a happy and immortal existence. Till that period shall commence, my prevailing prayer and supplication is, that he would teach me in all things by his influence and spirit, that, under a sense of my own insufficiency, I may rely upon his fulness; that, with a becoming gratitude of soul, I may acknowledge every instance of his goodness in all the dispensations of his providence and grace; that I may have a continued sense of his presence, which contains the fulness of joy; the views of his reconciled countenance, which makes life pleasant, and gives a true relish for every rational enjoyment, in forming a just estimation of persons and things; imploring in all submission to the divine will, so as to be able to justify him in the whole of his dealings towards the children of men. But perhaps you may say, what is all this, without the external or practical part? I answer, as the lesser must of consequence be subservient to the greater; so, where the religion of Jesus has its proper influence on the mind, every thing that is commendable and praise-worthy, every thing becoming a reasonable man, becoming a Christian, will be the natural product, as much as good fruit is the natural product from a good tree."

Perhaps persons acquainted with the principles of the modern Antinomians will be surprised at some things in this letter, and the vein of Christian charity that is visible in it. In short, the writer seems not to be willing to be called by that name.

With respect to the present state of the Antinomians, they are much on the decline. God has implanted something in human nature that teaches even the Heathens to shudder at the thoughts of a religion, which does not inculcate morality. Why did Christ do good here below, unless it was to shew us an example, as well as to make an atonement for our sins? Why did Christ teach his followers to do good, and at the same time point out to them the nature and necessity of holiness, if it was not to make a part of his religion. All the apostolical epistles are full of injunctions of that nature.

Religion has been defined by that great divine Mr. Clement Ellias, in his Scripture Catechist, to be a dedication of the whole man to the will of God. Now, surely Christ never came into this world to establish a system of licentiousness, and licentiousness it must be, unless the subject matter is bordered by sanctions. The sanctions of all religions are obligations to duty; and the word duty implies three things, namely, our duty to God, to our neighbour, and to ourselves. Our duty to God, implies our attendance upon all such divine ordinances as are prescribed in his word. To be sincere and keep ourselves pure from all manner of pollution, and to wean ourselves as much as possible from the world. Our duty



to our neighbour consists in doing them all the good offices we can, consistent with the nature of our consciences; and, lastly, our duty to ourselves consists in attending to those two above-mentioned, because the more we do so, the more we promote our own temporal and eternal interests.

All these things are, however, despised by the Antinomians, and they teach, that men may sin as much as they please; because however God may hate sin, yet he takes pleasure in forgiving it. This sentiment will, perhaps, appear dreadful to those who have any idea of the Divine perfections, of the state of human nature, and the Christian dispensation. Those who name the name of Christ, should depart from iniquity; but what encouragement can there be for virtue, or moral duties, while people are taught to believe, that they are altogether unnecessary.

So far as we know, these people have not above two or three meetings in England, but consistent with the nature of their practices, and indeed the practices of all those who believe in such sentiments, they discuss their religion in public houses.

As morality is an unnecessary thing, and as holiness, say they, can be no evidence of faith, so some of them meet in a room in a public house every Sunday evening, having before them that much despised book the Bible. Each member pays for a pot of beer, which is drank by the company in a social manner. Then a text of the sacred scripture is read, and every one in his turn is called to deliver his opinion concerning it. A great deal of jargon with no meaning ensues,

and every thing is said that can possibly be thought of against holiness or good works. The sacred scriptures are debased to the worst of purposes, namely, to set open the flood-gates of profaneness; and youth are corrupted under the prostituted name of religion.

A few foolish, weak and insignificant persons attend these meetings; and we may venture to affirm, that it is the worst thing they can do. They do all they can to pervert the scriptures, and to trample under foot every Divine institution. Self-interest may teach or induce them to mind their duty in this world, but as for eternity, they are so unconcerned about it, that those awful thoughts which generally affect the minds of Christians, make no impression on them.

We are sorry to conclude this article with declaring, from the best information, that all the Antinomians in England, were originally what we commonly call Irregular Methodists. The warmth of the imagination often misleads the judgement, and induces men to take that to be true, which afterwards they find to be false. The knavish tricks practised by men who pretend to a superior rank in piety, prejudice weak minds against religion, and lead them into all sorts of absurdities. Constantine the Great used to say, that if he saw a bishop guilty of an irregularity, he would conceal it, lest it should give offence to those who were weak. Happy, if those who pretend to superior knowledge in religion, would attend to this maxim; but this naturally leads us to take notice of another sect not yet fully described.

## ACCOUNT of those PEOPLE who are commonly called CALVINISTICAL METHODISTS.

**T**HERE was nothing more necessary than that these people should follow after the Antinomians, for the two following reasons.

The Arminian Methodists have acted upon a plan which we shall not call consistent, though it is plausible. On the other hand, the Antinomians have ran into a wide extreme, and set up a system of licentiousness.

We have already seen that the Arminian Methodists make faith the condition of salvation; that is, that every person who believes the gospel as revealed in the New Testament, and practises the duties enjoined, will be saved. On the other hand, we have considered the Antinomians as overthrowing all the sanctions by which religion is bounded, and trampling upon the rights of human society. Between these two extremes, we have seen the Calvinistical Dissenters, screwing things up to an ungovernable height, trampling on the right of private judgement, and establishing sentiments of a very disputed nature, with a dogmatical certainty.

Whether the Arminians, the Calvinists, and the Antinomians, are in some things mistaken, is not a matter of proper enquiry in this work; but certain it is, the Methodistical Calvinists have interwoven with their system something from Arminius, and something from Calvin. They were to abide by all the high points in disputed theology, but they were to draw from them what conclusions they pleased, and they thought proper to steer such a course as should take in those of different sentiments.

At the head of these Methodistical Calvinists was the late celebrated and reverend Mr. George Whitefield. He was, in all respects, an original. He had, perhaps, never his fellow in England, or indeed in the world. From what motives he acted we shall not say, for to his own master he standeth or falleth. We have read those letters which give an account of his conversion, but whatever may be contained in them, we shall draw no harsh conclusions. To preach, to write, and to live, are all different things. Preaching may nourish our pride, in consequence of public



popularity; writing accounts of God's dealing with us, may cause us to be esteemed as saints of God, while we have no interest in his favour, and consequently do not live a life corresponding with the holy gospel of Jesus Christ, who requires sincerity in all our actions. But all these things we have nothing to do with, on the present occasion, nor do we think them at all applicable to Mr. Whitefield, whom we believe to have been an eminent servant of God, and a happy instrument in his hand of turning many from the evil of their ways.

Mr. Whitefield had been early connected with Mr. Wesley, but they separated their interests, on account of a difference in sentiments; Mr. Whitefield holding fast the Calvinistical doctrines, while Mr. Wesley embraced the Arminian system, and propagated his notions with the greatest assiduity.

Notwithstanding, at the decease of Mr. Whitefield, in consequence of an agreement made between themselves, that the survivor should preach the other's funeral sermon, Mr. Wesley delivered a discourse to his memory, at Tottenham-court chapel, before a very crowded auditory. Adjoining to this chapel they have a burying ground, which has been properly consecrated, and where every office is observed in the most regular manner.

Considerable collections are made at this part of the town, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields; the expences of carrying them on being very great, but the surplus is always employed in sending out ministers to various parts of the kingdom, and the residue divided amongst the poor and necessitous.

The followers of Mr. Whitefield are, in some of their practices, much the same as the adherents of Mr. Wesley. They have also their love feasts, and preaching thrice on sabbath-day, besides service at two or three times in the week.

The executors of Mr. Whitefield have the direction of those two very large places of worship in the neighbourhood of London, which we have already mentioned, and where vast numbers of people attend the ministrations of those who occasionally officiate.

These people have also a great number of other meetings, but so far as we know, they have no stated preachers, but admit all those who offer their services.

As they have been always patronized by the Countess of Huntingdon, so that lady has caused several chapels to be erected for them in the most populous towns in England. Here however it is necessary to observe, that in those chapels of Lady Huntingdon, the service of the church of England is used; so that none are admitted, but such as have received canonical ordination. In some of those chapels, clergymen preach who have been brought up in the university; but in general, they are such as have received a private education. To make up some of the deficiencies in the want of preachers, Lady Huntingdon has established an academy in South Wales, where young men are brought up,

and when they have acquired the rudiments of learning, these young gentlemen get into orders; we are not certain how much this practice is approved of by many learned men in the church, who are of the same sentiments with her ladyship.

A little learning with much reading, a good memory, and a sound judgment, might easily qualify a man to be a good preacher, and a very useful pastor. If these young men really serve God; if they are what they call themselves, regenerated persons, then they will, by all means, teach their people equally by their examples as by their preaching; if it makes an impression on their hearts, they will be afraid to give any offence, so as to have the gospel blamed.

It is certain that the rules laid down by Mr. Wesley, for the regulation of his societies, have more the appearance of primitive Christianity, than those of Mr. Whitefield. Why the latter did not strike into the same line, we know not, but notwithstanding, the Whitefield, or rather the Calvinistical Methodist preachers are more popular than Mr. Wesley's Arminian ones.

Their public service in their meetings has little difference, and indeed the chief distinction consists in their hymns. The Calvinists use a set of hymns for themselves, calculated according to the doctrines they maintain; but Mr. Wesley has hymns for all occasions whatsoever. There is generally much heat among new converts; and thus it happened, that some years ago persons, were employed to sing hymns in support of each other's doctrines.

We have an instance of a similar nature in ecclesiastical history:

When Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople, he wrote hymns in defence of the trinity in unity, and employed several to sing them about the streets. The Arians did the same in favour of their opinions; and it frequently happened that when two of these hymn-singers met, a battle ensued, a circumstance that might have been reasonably expected.

In their private families, the Methodists are all, more or less, very fond of singing of hymns. It was first proposed by their leaders as useful, to take place of the common songs which are profanely sung, many of which contain much obscenity. In this respect the design of the Methodists seems to have arisen from pious motives; but then we should attend to what our Saviour says, "never to cast our pearls before swine."

Thus it too frequently happens, that as obscene ballads inflame the passions of youth, so the frequently singing of hymns, especially in the presence of a promiscuous company, takes off the force of religion, defeats its own intention, and without design opens the mouths of blasphemers.

We know but little of any public charities established by these people, except a few alms-houses in Tottenham-Court-Road. As for sentiments concerning church government, they are professed Latitudinarians. They look upon all forms of church government in the same point

tion,



of view, which is as much as to say, that they look upon them as not of Divine institution. In this they are not singular; for Mr. Hooker, bishop Stillingfleet, and archbishop Leighton, were all of the same opinion.

It is certain, that we ought not to contend much about the externals of religion, so as we

can only attend to the internals; but notwithstanding, there ought to be a form of church government, according to the original plan. But we shall conclude this article with one observation, namely, "That loose notions concerning the externals of religion, lead to loose practices in the internals."

## *An A C C O U N T of those* P R O T E S T A N T S *who are called* M O R A V I A N S.

**I**T is well known that every denomination of Christians in the world pretend, that their doctrine, worship, discipline and government, comes nearest to the primitive plan. And here it is necessary to observe, that the few lights we have to direct us for upwards of one hundred years after the death of the Apostles, have rendered things very confused; for we may be almost certain, that the rites and ceremonies used in the third century, were, for the most part, human inventions.

That the Moravians should pretend to the same high original, is not to be doubted; and we find them doing so, and they call themselves by the name of United Brethren.

Count Nicholas Lewis Zinzendorf, prince of the German empire, gave rise to this sect. He was born 1700, and in 1721, when he came of age, he began to put in practice a scheme he had formed some years before when he was very young. He was joined by several persons, who were of his own way of thinking, and settled at Bertholdsdorf in Upper Lusatia, an estate which he had purchased, giving the curacy to a student of the same sentiments with himself.

Bertholdsdorf soon came to be known for this sort of piety. News thereof were brought to Moravia, by a carpenter named Christian David, who had been before in that country. He embraced every opportunity of instilling his sentiments into the minds of the people, with a distaste for the superstitions of the church of Rome, and an inclination to the Protestant religion.

Having engaged two or three of these proselytes to leave their native country, with their families, count Zinzendorf received them kindly at Bertholdsdorf. They were directed to build an house in a wood, about half a league from that village, so that on St. Martin's Day 1722, these people held their first meeting there. It is said, that they foresaw that God would kindle a light in this place that should enlighten all the country. Christian David was so sure of the future growth of this settlement, that he divided the spot of ground round it into quarters, and marked out in what directions the streets were to run.

The event has not contradicted his prognostication. A good many people from Moravia and elsewhere, to shelter themselves under the protection of count Zinzendorf, flocked to this new settlement, and built houses, and the count himself fixed his residence there. In a few years it became a considerable village, having an orphan-house, and other public buildings. Thirty-four houses were built there in the year 1728, and in 1730 the number of its inhabitants amounted to six hundred. An adjacent hill, called The Huth-Berg, gave occasion to these colonists to call their place Huth-dez-Heman, and afterwards Hern-Huth, which may be interpreted the guard or protection of the Lord, and from this the whole sect has taken its name.

The HERNHUTERS soon established among themselves a sort of discipline, which closely unites them to each other, divides them into different classes, puts them under an entire dependence on their superiors, and confines them to customs, exercises of devotions, and to the observing of different sorts of little rules which, in some respects, may be called a proper bond of union.

The difference of age and sex, and the situation their members are in with respect to matrimony, constitute these different classes. There are classes of married men, married women, widowers, widows, maids, batchelors, and children. Each has its director chosen by its members. The same employments the men have among themselves, are also among the women, which are exercised by persons of their own sex.

Every member is daily visited by one of his class, who gives him exhortation, and takes care of the actual state of his soul, whereof he makes a report to the elders. Frequently particular assemblies are held in each class, and general ones by the whole society. The overseers, or leaders, have also their private meetings, to instruct one another concerning the guidance of souls. The members of each class are sub-divided into people that are unconverted, or, as they call it, dead, the awakened, the ignorant, willing disciples, and disciples that have made a progress.

Proper



Proper progress in spiritual things is given to each of these sub-divisions; but above all, great care is taken of those that are spiritually dead.

They pay great attention to the instruction of youth. Besides those that have the care of orphans, there are others intrusted with the education of other children. Count Zinzendorf's zeal sometimes carried him so far, as to take children to his own house to instruct them, and these amounted in number to twenty; whereof nine or ten slept in his bed-chamber. There are assemblies held of little children, who are not in a condition to walk, and these are carried thither. Hymns are sung in these meetings, and prayers made, suitable to the capacity of these infant hearers.

The elder, co-elder, and vice-elder, superintend all the classes. There are likewise informers by office, some of them known, some of them kept secret, besides a great many other employments and titles, the detail of which would be too long and too tedious here.

A great part of their worship consists in singing. They pretend that children in particular are instructed in their religion by hymns. Count Zinzendorf relates a very extraordinary thing in his *Natural Reflections*, viz. "that the chanters of the society must have received a particular and almost inimitable gift of God: for when they are obliged to sing at the head of the congregation, their songs are always a connected repetition of those matters that had been preached just before."

At all hours, whether day or night, some persons, of both sexes, are appointed by rotation to pray for the society. And what is most remarkable, these people, without call, clock or watch, are acquainted, by an inward feeling, when their hour comes in which they are to perform their duty.

When the brethren perceive that the zeal of the society is declining, their devotion is revived, by celebrating Agapes or love-feasts.

The casting of lots is much practised among them. They make use of it to learn the will of the Lord.

The elders have the sole right of making matches. No promise of marriage is of any validity without their consent. The maids devote themselves to the Saviour, not that their intent is never to marry, but to marry only such a person, with respect to whom God shall have made known to them with certainty, that he is regenerated, instructed in the importance of the conjugal state, and appointed by the divine director to enter into that state.

All is extraordinary at Herrnhut. The most stubborn diseases vanish there without help: very rarely one dies there of a fever. But it is common to die there of a cold, defluxion, or such like other slight indisposition. These are at least things count Zinzendorf affirms in a writing, dated January 24, 1732, and presented to the ministry of the court of Dresden.

We do not find that the Herrnhuters to the year 1729, pretended to be any thing more than members of the Lutheran church at Berthelsdorf. Indeed, they were all of them either born among Lutherans, or converted from popery to the faith

of the Augsburg confession; and if some amongst them entertained ideas of Calvinism, count Zinzendorf took care to cure them of it. But from this time the Herrnhuters, undoubtedly with a view to set their society off to better advantage, would pass for a sprig of those Bohemian and Moravian brethren, who, a long time before Luther, lived separated from the Romish church, and who in the time of the reformation entered into brotherly correspondence with the two great Protestant societies, but without uniting with either of them. And count Zinzendorf has since that time ever talked in this strain. He pretends, that these brethren originally were of the Greek church, and in process of time had united with the Waldenses, who derived their original from the Latin church.

He bestows the greatest encomiums on this Moravian church, so much renowned in former times, eclipsed and forgot afterwards, and at length, if credit may be given him, revived under his auspices at Herrnhut. He gives her the most pompous titles; as, The Church of the Cross, The Church of the Lamb, The Church of the Blood and Wounds, The Theocracy, A People whereunto never was seen the like. They are the hundred forty-four thousand servants of God marked on their foreheads, whereof St. John makes mention in his Revelation.

This descent would, without doubt, do honour to Herrnhutism, but there is a necessity of proving it first. Let us examine whether it ever has yet been proved? So far from it, that even setting aside the doctrine of the Herrnhuters, which openly contradicts this vain-glorious pretension, it has been acknowledged and proved by one of their own bishops, that the ancient Moravian brethren mixed with the reformed in Poland, and that not one of those that professed their doctrine remained in Bohemia and Moravia, where it has been entirely extirpated ever since the year 1620. The Moravians, who retired to Herrnhut, and who are the most considerable part of the inhabitants of that village, have nothing common with the antient Bohemian and Moravian brethren. They are Roman Catholics converted to the Protestant religion, as the Herrnhuters themselves acknowledge.

As the Herrnhut society was begun upon the estate of count Zinzendorf, under his protection, by his care and benefactions, and according to his ideas and views, it was but natural he should have a very great authority over it. And so it happens; he has always been the soul, the oracle, and the primum mobile of it. He tells us himself that he has always been at the head of his sect, both in temporals and spirituals, and his disciples say the same. Though titles could add nothing to his authority, yet he has not disdained them. He has even made alterations in them at different times. From the year 1726, he was called the Trustee or Guardian of the Brethren, which happened in a singular manner, as he tells us himself.

Christian David, the carpenter, of whom mention has been made, being once in the count's apartment to talk with him, all on a sudden gave him this title; which afterwards was confirmed by the unanimous consent of the society. In the



the month of March 1730, he resigned this dignity. In September 1732, the society pressed him to take it upon him, delivering to him an appointment or call for that purpose, in form of an act, signed by the brethren and sisters that were of the privy council of the society. At that time he refused to comply, but granted their request some months after, upon a new appointment, dated January 26, 1733.

In 1737, count Zinzendorf, who, from the age of seventeen, had believed he had a call from providence to an ecclesiastical state or condition in life, and who had already publicly preached in some of the Lutheran churches, got himself consecrated bishop of his sect. From that time, according to the custom of bishops, he made use of his Christian name, and that of his see, viz. Ludovicus Moravienfis. The prelate of this new-fashioned creation, nevertheless did not suffer himself to be dazzled by the lustre of his mitre. He tells us himself, that he had very little forwardness to make a figure as a bishop; and in the third general synod of Herrnhutism, held in Gotha in 1740, he laid down his episcopal dignity; which however had made no change with respect to his office of trustee or guardian of the brethren. It appears at least, that he was still vested with it in 1742, because at that time the brethren discharged him from it. But this was only done with a view to give him a much more honourable title, viz. that of minister plenipotentiary and œconomist, with a power to nominate a successor, and an express clause, that nothing should be done or concluded without his consent. He did not accept this new promotion till towards the close of the following year. Lately we see him stile himself Lord Advocate of the Unitas Fratrum.

Count Zinzendorf has very early been about extending his sect. He has sent his fellow-labourers throughout the world. He himself has been over all Europe, and at least twice in America. From the year 1733, a new society has been set up in Greenland; and before the end of the preceding year the missionaries of Herrnhutism had already passed the line. The society possesses Bethlehem in Pennsylvania: and has a settlement amongst the Hottentots. China is entered into its plan. But it has no where made better conquests than in the British European dominions, in the United Provinces, and in Wetteravia; in the last province, however, where their views were discovered, they have again lost ground. They have also been turned out of the Danish dominions, where they had made a settlement.

A discipline so much overburdened as that of Herrnhutism, could not very well take place but in a small society; and we find, that in proportion as this sect came to spread abroad, it was thought necessary to forego, in some measure, the rigour of its rule, in order to accommodate the institution to the taste, humour, and ideas of the new profelytes. This gave rise to the modifications, forms, and different usages now in being among these sectaries. Count Zinzendorf calls them tropes, types, and at this very time there are three of them, viz. the Moravian trope or type, which is the most ancient; the

Lutheran, which appears to him the most salutary to the children of God; and the reformed or Calvinist trope, for which he also has a great regard, and whereof Mr. de Watteville, his son-in-law, was elected bishop in 1743. We cannot exactly say wherein the above three modifications differ from each other: these are secrets probably known by the adepts alone.

Thus much they have thought fit to acquaint the public with, that the Bohemian confession is received by the first trope, the confession of Augsburg by the second, and that of the reformed churches in the United Provinces by the third. Indeed, from the year 1748, count Zinzendorf has made all the tropes receive the Augsburg confession; however, it is pretended, that this has made no confusion among these several modifications.

Condescension being what has given rise to these tropes, Count Zinzendorf, from the same motive, shews a general inclination to all Christian communions. He would have wrote to the pope, had he known what title to give him. He has even been persecuted for having maintained, that the pope was not the Antichrist. He has sent a deputation to the patriarch of Constantinople, which has been very well received. He shews a great attachment to Lutheranism, wherof he constantly pretends himself to be a member. He boasts of being a minister of that church, and affirms, in spite of all that can be said to the contrary, that he and his brethren believe no other doctrine than what is taught by that communion. He is of late become more favourable to Calvinism, than he was in the beginning. It was in his power, says he, to have rooted it out from among the brethren; he however declined it. Although, according to him, the taking of oaths is not prohibited; yet the society, wherever it settles, is known to be averse to them, and that probably out of complaisance to the Mennonists or Anabaptists. He declares in general, that whoever embraces Herrnhutism need not change his religion. Such advances as these cannot but infinitely facilitate the propagation of the sect, which already boasts of decimating all nations, and pretends it has a right to all the children of God, of whatever persuasion they be.

Though count Zinzendorf tells us, that he has sometimes met with resistance from the brethren, and that they have contradicted him; yet it appears in general, that they have shewed great docility both for him and those he has been pleased to make partakers of his authority. Submission to the will of the superiors of the society is a very essential article of his system.

He teaches, in his sermons to the synod of Zeist, that God obeys the voice of his servants, that is to say, of the brethren; but that it is required, that first of all they agree with their friends, that they act in concert with their chief. The tractableness which he prescribes them must go so far as to suffer themselves to be led step by step, like little children, by men whom he calls ministers of the Holy Ghost, and of the church, representing them as being so many living images of our blessed Saviour. The irksomeness of thus obeying without reserve is great it must be



owned; but then it is much alleviated by the notion that is instilled into them, that their superiors receive from Christ himself the orders that are given. This the count inculcates among his flock with equal care and assiduity. Every thing is done by the Saviour's injunction; "Jesus will have it so, the Lamb commands it;" this is the stile of the ministers of the society. According to them, the Saviour gives his orders on the very moment they are to be executed. He will not suffer that those who are to obey them have time to consider. "Thus business is done quickly, all at once; and, as it were, in post haste." These are the count's own expressions, who looks upon this method of the Saviour, as a condescension he has for his children, with whose weakness he is not unacquainted. He knows, adds he, for instance, how it is with a maid, when she is apprised she is to marry: therefore he doth not willingly let persons know their destination much before-hand.

The sending of missionaries, according to this sect, is a business in which the Saviour is particularly concerned. Count Zinzendorf informs us minutely what the Saviour prescribes in this matter. For instance, some of the society earnestly desiring that those of their brethren, who had been pitched upon to be sent away, should be dispatched a day sooner than the Saviour had appointed: the count opposed this motion with so much steadiness, that it was dropped. It was to no purpose they objected, that the captains, who were to take them on board at Rotterdam, would pay no regard to the day appointed by the Saviour: he resolutely answered, "They will do it; or if not, our missionaries will come, in another manner, to the place for which they are destined." This example of the count's boldness will appear less astonishing, when we attend to what he tells us further, viz. that he has found by experience, that the brethren, when the Saviour directed them in their travels, have performed amazing things, things which no art, no human precaution ever could attain to. He himself has once, without human assistance, made a voyage in eleven weeks, which another Herrnhuter could not compass in less than sixty-six, because he was in the hands of men. "The Saviour, continues this great apostle, in a prophetic strain, in his 33d sermon, preached at Zeist, protects his people in a quite wonderful manner. My wishes and desires are, that I could bring it to pass, that we could have a couple of ships, no matter of what bulk, that belonged solely to the society, and which the maritime powers might not suspect of carrying on a trade, or being employed in smuggling: which may be possible to obtain, and depends only on a favourable moment: then we should see wonders. For, at present, our affairs are too much blended with the business of men, with their interest and views; this makes a great alteration, and cannot but have, some way or other, an influence over the brethren. But were it once to become the Saviour's business alone, then he would let us see wonders on the sea. He would not only cause us to make voyages with great swiftness, but to land where never any body landed. A tempest would be sufficient to bring us to the

intended place. In case leave was denied us to enter a port, we should be conveyed into some inaccessible bay, at some miles distance from the port, where we might land, and no body could find fault with it, because it would appear, that we were arrived there by stress of weather. This would cost nothing to the Saviour, it would be a play to his angels."

Count Zinzendorf tells us himself, that the commission of the society was never calculated for a general conversion of the Heathen; that the time of this great event is not as yet come; but that the society being an election, a chosen people, it must have the firstlings or first-fruits, here and there among the Heathen.

The little number the brethren have hitherto converted to the Christian faith, is but a comfort, which the Saviour has granted them to make them amends for their labours, and they believe themselves well rewarded for their toil, if in two hundred voyages they make but one hundred converts. He also tells us, that the Herrnhuters, in order to acquire the firstlings of Paganism, chuse to look out for them amongst those Heathens, that have had the least or no communication at all with the pretenders to Christianity, rather than among the last.

As the brethren have always a great number of labourers on the roads, oftentimes among these their chief himself with his family and retinue; and as, besides, their undertakings, and the acquisitions they make, require considerable expence, it is necessary they should have what is called the sinew of all great schemes, money. Thus we find they have betimes established a fund called by them the Lamb's or the Saviour's chest, which is become very considerable by the contributions and donations of the profelytes of Herrnhutism, and its favourers. From the beginning, two brethren were trusted with it; of whom, one kept the chest, and the other the key; but count Zinzendorf has always had the principal direction over it. This addition of temporal concerns must infallibly have crushed him under its weight, he being already so much taken up with the spiritual ones of the society, had he not found in the countess, his spouse, a proper assistant to share his fatigues with him. In a manuscript history of the society, whereof the count gives us some abstracts in the appendix of his Natural Reflexions, it is said, that his lady, during a time of twenty-six years, has so well husbanded the scanty funds of the society, that nothing was ever wanting, either in his family, or amongst the brotherhood, though there had been a necessity of furnishing from thence above one million of crowns for sundry undertakings. Upon the whole, it is well known, that whoever desires to be received as a brother, is not welcome among them, unless he contributes to the chest. The count says himself, "That the economists of the society may say to a young rich man, Either give us all thou hast, or get thee gone; give us all thou hast, or thou canst not be with us."

We have already hinted at the rapid progress made by Herrnhutism. Here follows another curious detail, which count Zinzendorf himself gives us in his Natural Reflexions, &c. wrote in the



years 1748 and 1749. This will shew, if credit may be given to what he says, what situation the sect was in at that time. The society, says he, had almost a thousand labourers dispersed all over the world. This number, however, was not yet sufficient; for, in proportion as they worked, the harvest increased. Twenty-four nations had been awakened from their spiritual drowiness, by the care of these apostles. "We preach, says he, to an innumerable number of souls in fourteen languages, amongst whom, without reckoning those that do not belong to the Protestant religion, nor the Jews and Heathens, there are at least twenty thousand people that were not born Lutherans, whom we nevertheless convert to the Augsburg confession, and indeed we cannot recommend to them a better constitution, than the church of the brethren. We have, adds he, ninety-eight establishments, amongst which are castles that have 20, 50, or 90 apartments." The missionaries of the Herrnhuters do not go and preach in every place, where their ministry is required. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1748, they had received above one hundred and seventy invitations, only from Easter of the foregoing year, with regard to which they had not as yet taken any resolution. In the mean while they are not idle; in the year 1740, they had already made two hundred voyages by sea. As to the progress the sect has made abroad for these three years past, I shall not venture to speak of, as we have not sufficient materials for the purpose; but as for the success they have met with in these kingdoms, and are daily making, every body is an eye witness of. It is to be supposed, that their success from the year 1749, must surpass that of the two years above-mentioned."

Since the publication of the above account, the Moravians have not, perhaps, increased, as the writings of Mr. Rinius, and the narrative of Andrew Frey, have done them great disservice with the sober part of mankind. They were established here, in England, by an act passed in June 1749, and are in considerable numbers in this kingdom and its plantations, as well as in Ireland and Scotland. The public have yet felt no inconveniency from their admission and toleration, nor are likely to feel any, as they are, in general, an industrious set of people.

We come now to the tenets of Herrnhutism. As long as Herrnhut belonged to the church at Bertholdsdorf, the society was held in great esteem, and not at all suspected to differ from the confession of Augsburg. This was the reason, for which the theological faculty at Tübingen, did not scruple to grant them those testimonials, to which count Zinzendorf has since that time always referred himself, to prove the soundness of his doctrine. We do not know, nor is it material to enquire, whether count Zinzendorf began to broach his new doctrine, immediately upon the beginning of the first establishment of the society at Herrnhut; it seems more likely, that as he enlarged his plan, he enlarged his notions also. Thus much is certain, that it is no easy matter to come at the tenets of this sect, on account of the great obscurity affected by their teachers. They seem to make it their study, to speak and write that they may not be understood. It is a rule

among them, to speak to those, that are not initiated into the mysteries of the theology of blood and wounds, that is to say, their own theology, in a manner, that they may not be able to tell again any thing of what they have heard. They act, says count Zinzendorf himself, in the same manner as one would do, who, to catch people that are too curious, writes in a character they are not able to decypher. They succeed wonderfully in this kind of stile. Sometimes they are quite unintelligible. At other times they begin to express themselves clearly, but on a sudden become too obscure to be understood. They are seldom entirely clear, and nevertheless shew often too great a clearness. For, indeed, those things that escape them, and are easy to be understood, do no honour either to their judgement or understanding. The reader will be convinced of it by the specimens we are going to lay before him. We shall take a great number of them from count Zinzendorf's theological opinions, and his sermons preached in America, and at Zeist in the province of Utrecht. These last, to the number of fifty-six, were delivered to the synod of the brethren, held at the last mentioned place in 1746, and are printed and published by the society in one volume. The count has not put his name to it; for, according to a letter, inserted in Siegfried's *bescheidene Beleuchtung*, directed by him to all kings, electors, princes, &c. he has left off long ago, to put his name to his writings. But it is impossible to read these sermons, without perceiving him to be the author; besides this, he declares himself very clearly in the preface, where he says, that the business of the author of these sermons, is to exercise the office of syndic of the synods, to superintend the records, to administer the liturgy, to prepare matters and propose them. We the more willingly make use of these sermons, as they have been preached for the instruction of several fellow-labourers, English and Dutch, lately received among the sect, and since the preacher proposes there to himself, to put into a better light certain central ideas, by which one ought to regulate one's actions, words and thoughts. If it be possible, to meet any where with the tenets of Herrnhutism, it must be in them.

We begin with the idea this sect has of the scripture. Though count Zinzendorf doth not, as yet, think proper to disown the scripture; yet the indifferent manner, in which he gives his opinion of it, shews what he aims at. He says in a sermon preached at Philadelphia, that the stile of the scripture is sometimes like that of a carpenter, sometimes like that of a fisherman, or of a toll-gatherer. Christ himself had spoke very meanly, and used many a phrase becoming a peasant, which is now looked upon to imply something of quite a different nature, since we are unacquainted with the manner of speaking used by the journeymen at Nazareth. He prescribes a method to his missionaries, how to deal with the comptrollers of the scripture, by whom he means those that desire proofs of every doctrine out of the scripture, viz. that they ought to prove all such things by the defects or imperfections of these writings, which those comptrollers



trollers pretend to make good by the perfection and infallibility of the scripture. The reading of the scripture appears to him to be more dangerous than useful to the society.

According to count Zinzendorf, the doctrine that God the Father is our Creator, the Son our Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost our Sanctifier, is a false doctrine, and one of the capital errors that reign in Christendom. Creation and sanctification ought not to be ascribed to the Father and Holy Ghost. To avoid idolatry, people ought to be taken from the Father and Holy Ghost, and conducted to Christ, with whom alone we have to do. The ancients never dreamt of a Trinity; whoever adores the Father and the Holy Ghost, differs not from a servant of Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, or of any great hero to whom the ancients gave the title of God. Our great doctor appears so positive of the orthodoxy of his new opinion, that he calls the theology received among Christians, a dry one, and good for nothing else than to amuse dogs and swine, unbelievers and atheists, invented by the devil, and that such as teach it are Satan's professors. Satan has thought within himself, says he, "Men shall not come to see the Father," that is the true Father, who is the Saviour, according to Count Zinzendorf: "I'll conduct them round about the Saviour, I'll represent to them a phantom of a Father, and they shall think, as the Jews formerly did, that this is their God; thus the Saviour shall not get them. By this means, I'll keep them in my power, whilst they think within themselves they are very wise. The mistake among Christians, adds he, arises from their not comprehending, that it is honour enough for the Father, to be the Father of God the Creator of all things, and to be his own and only Father."

The Holy Ghost is called by the Herrnhuters, the eternal wife of God, the mother of Christ, the mother of the faithful, the mother of the church. Count Zinzendorf, in the sixth part of his Natural Reflexions, gives a long detail to justify this change he makes in the common theology. He looks upon it as important and necessary; complaining much, that, since the reformation, people are in gross ignorance concerning the person of the Holy Ghost, and that the divines in this article commit a very palpable omission. He adds, that such as cannot comprehend the mystery of the Trinity in the manner he explains it, want undoubtedly uprightness of heart more than understanding.

Thus it appears, that the son is chiefly the object of the Herrnhuters worship. Though count Zinzendorf in plain words calls him the carpenter Jesus, having taken along with him, into his glory, the poor figure he made in this world, yet the most tender names are given him. He is called their Lamb, their little Lamb, their little Jesus. They make his name of the feminine gender, calling him their mother, their mamma Jesus. The creation, redemption, and sanctification is the work of Christ, but the Father and Holy Ghost minister to him in all of them, which is the identical word they use in expressing themselves on this head. "Whoever believes in Christ, though he knows nothing

more of the Godhead, will be saved. The apostles, to avoid idolatry, had not baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, but in Christ's name only. God had darted his Son as a flash of lightning, and the Son by his incarnation had made a parenthesis in the Godhead. What in common life is called a grandfather, a father-in-law, such was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Son had taken it as a favour, that he was allowed to become man and go out of the Godhead. Christ had not conquered as God, but as a man, with the same strength we conquer. God had assisted him, and he assists us also. Christ had not had the least power more than we have. He had laid aside his Godhead, and wrought miracles as men are able to do."

They have a great devotion for the five red wounds of the crucifixion, but that which Christ received in his side is extolled above all the rest. This is "their favourite wound, the very dear little holy opening, the precious and thousand times pretty little side." They kiss this wound, they kiss the spear that made it, and would kiss the soldier whose hand had conducted the spear; they thank him for it. It is in this opening that the faithful reposes himself; there he breathes, there he sports, there he lays down, sometimes length-wise, sometimes crosswise: there is his country, his house, his hall, his little bed, his little table: there he eats, there he drinks, there he lives, there he praises the dear little Lamb.

The Herrnhuters have this distinguishing character of fanaticism, that they reject reason, reasoning and philosophy. The children of God do not instruct themselves out of books. To demonstrate religion, to make it as evident as four times four are sixteen, is an useless and superfluous labour. Faith does not require the least demonstration. It is brought forth in the heart by the Holy Ghost. The children of God believe, because they find pleasure in believing. Nevertheless this faith produced without reasoning, serves them instead of all other things. No other commandment should be preached to men, than that of believing. This is count Zinzendorf's doctrine.

Regeneration comes of itself, without our being required to do any thing towards it. It is a capital truth, says our Moravian bishop, that such as have not received grace, that are not yet children of God, that have not yet a feeling of their reconciliation, that do not know yet upon what terms they are with their Creator and Saviour, ought not to be engaged to prepare themselves for it by any action, good works, good resolutions. They must be told, that all that has been believed hitherto to be a preparation for coming to God, is rather an hindrance to their salvation. Regeneration is brought about suddenly, all at once. One moment is sufficient to make us free to receive grace, to be transformed to the image of the little Lamb.

A person regenerated enjoys great liberty. He doth what the Saviour gives him an inclination to do, and what he has no inclination for, he is not obliged to do. He doth what the Saviour makes him do, for he is the master, in whose power it is to make laws and to repeal them; who



who at all times can change the œconomy or salvation; make criminal what was virtuous, and virtuous what was criminal.

It is wrong to say that a regenerated person doth any thing: properly speaking they do nothing. It is the Saviour that acts for them. He is with respect to the Saviour as a child, whose hand one guides, yet who believes it is himself that works, and rejoices at it.

On the great day of judgment, the Herrnhuters will not be placed on the Saviour's left-hand among those that are goats; this is to be understood of course. Nor will they be amongst those called the sheep on the right-hand of the judgment-seat, a place of honour they look upon too mean to be assigned them. Count Zinzendorf tells us, that the words, "Holy angels, coming with the Saviour in his glory," denote the saints coming along with him, and that the Herrnhuters will be those saints that accompany him. He adds, that such as do not die Herrnhuters, will have mercy on that day, provided they think favourably upon their dying bed of those belonging to that sect.

The circumcision of the Saviour has, according to them, served to shew of what sex he was. It has likewise restored to honour that part of the human body, which as a consequence of Adam's fall, was become a disgrace to it; inasmuch, that it is at present the most noble, and the most respectable part of a man's body. The sisters are exhorted never to think of it, but with sentiments of the most profound veneration. They are even thought to make a scruple of respecting men for any other reason. The organ of generation of the other sex is no less honourable. It has been sanctified by the birth of the Saviour. We abate of the strength of our author's expressions whilst we abridge him, for fear of offending the modesty of our readers.

All the souls are of the feminine sex. There are only *animæ*, and no *animi*, says the Moravian bishop with great elegance: To think that there are male souls, would be, according to this profound divine, the greatest folly, a chimera, which ought not to enter the thoughts of a Christian, were he even in the midst of an high fever. All that is of the male quality, and was adapted to our body, is detached from it as soon as it is interred. It belongs not to its natural and primitive state: it is an addition made to it afterwards: it is the seal of the office, which the male sex is intrusted with. For, our sex is an employment, an office. Jesus is the spouse of all the sisters, and the husbands, in the most proper sense, are his procurators, his agents, in every respect like those ambassadors in antient times, who, on marrying a princess in the name of their master, put a booted leg in the wedding-bed. A husband is also properly no more than a chamberlain of his wife; his office is but for a time, and ad interim. However, the titles which the count gives him are not less glorious: he is Vice-Christ, Vice-God. The sisters are conducted to Jesus by the ministry of their husbands, who thus are their favourites in this world. When therefore a marriage is made, what is the reason of it? Because there was a sister, who should be brought to the true spouse by the mediation of such a procurator.

Count Zinzendorf, in a conference on this subject, held at Ofy with the Seventh-day men, made use of the following expressions, which, to avoid scandal as much as possible, we shall soften a little: "Christ, in his person, is not only espoused, but even wedded to every believer."

From what has been said, two consequences naturally result, which have not escaped the count. The one is, that whoever knows himself to be a man, ought to acknowledge the dignity that is in him, and honour the choice that has been made of his person. The other, that marriage is the most precious depositum the Saviour has intrusted with his church; that is to say, without doubt, to the society of Herrnhuters, and the most important mystery to which he has given them the key. Considering this, we cannot at all be surpris'd at being told, that they look upon all that are married out of their society to live in fornication and adultery.

The male sex consists of married men, unmarried men, and widowers. According to their original plan, all that had pass'd the twenty-first year, should be married. After these years, say they, the state of marriage is a brutish state, a state of madness, where no one knoweth himself.

Besides this division of men into these classes, there is another more general one, by which they are distinguished into two choirs; one instructs the married people of both sexes, and the other the unmarried ones. Zinzendorf was very strict in his discipline; and indeed he seems to have had all that austerity which constitutes the founder of a sect. In this he differed much from Christ; for our Saviour not only went about, doing good, but he never refused to eat or drink with men, although of most profane characters.

Such are the outlines of the history of these people; but we shall consider them in a more extensive point of view, after briefly stating some of their opinions, as drawn up by Mr. Wesley; and then, from their own writings, we shall see whether his assertions are true or false.

"They believe and teach, says Mr. Wesley, that Christ has done all that was necessary for the salvation of mankind; that consequently we are to do nothing, as necessary to salvation, but sincerely to believe in him; that there is but one command and one duty now, namely, to believe in Christ; that Christ has taken away all other commands and duties, having wholly abolished the law; that the believer is therefore free from the law, and is not obliged thereby to do or omit any thing, it being inconsistent with his liberty, to do any thing as commanded. That there is no such things as degrees in faith or weak faith, since he has no faith who has any doubt or fear. That we are sanctified wholly the moment we are justified, and neither more nor less holy to the day of our death; entire sanctification and entire justification being in one and the same interest. That a believer is never sanctified or holy in himself, but in Christ only. He has no holiness in himself at all, all his holiness being imputed, not inherent. That a man may feel peace which passeth all understanding, may rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and have the love of God and of all mankind, with dominion over all sin; and yet all this may be only nature, animal spirits, or



the force of imagination. That if a man regards prayer, or teaching the scriptures, is commonly as matters of duty; if he judges himself obliged to do these things, or is troubled when he does them not, he is in bondage, he has no faith at all, but is seeking salvation by the works of the law. That, therefore, till we believe, we ought not to pray, search the scriptures, or communicate.

We leave the reader to form what notion he pleases of these sentiments, which border near upon the Antinomian scheme; but then he must hear what they have to say for themselves, which we shall relate with the strictest impartiality, after we have given the history of their missions.

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*History of the Missions of the United Brethren,  
as given by themselves.*

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The first mission sent out by the United Brethren was to the Island of St. Thomas, the occasion of which was as follows. A negro having come to visit Herrnhut in Germany, where these people were settled, he told the brethren that his mother, a negro woman, who lived in that island, would be glad to hear of the Saviour.

This stirred up a desire in some to go thither, and Leonard Dobec, afterwards a Moravian bishop, resolved for the sake of these poor Heathens, even to become a slave himself, if he could find no other means of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. He went to St. Thomas's in the year 1732, and began to declare to them the word of revelation.

He was followed by others, and the testimony of the death of the Lord of life and glory, for the sins of the world, began to operate upon the hearts of the poor negroes. In 1736, the first of three negroes who had embraced the gospel, was baptized, and then a sort of opposition arose.

The white people, from some false principles, hindered the conversion of the negroes to Christianity. The missionaries, and those negroes who came to them to hear the gospel, were obliged to endure and suffer much. The late count Zinzendorf, whose zeal for the happiness of his fellow creatures, and particularly of the Heathens, could not be restrained by any difficulties, arrived in the island of St. Thomas in the year 1739. He found some of the missionaries in prison; but, upon his request, the governor set them at liberty. From that time the gospel has been preached there uninterruptedly, although the negroes have, ever since then, undergone many hardships, and borne many afflictions for the sake of the gospel.

The ministry of the Brethren of St. Thomas, and the two adjoining islands of St. Crux and St. Jan, has been crowned with great success, so that many thousands of poor benighted negroes have been enlightened, and have believed in the name of the Lord Jesus, and been brought to the enjoyment of the blessings purchased by his blood.

These negroes are also a proof that a genuine reformation in principles and practice is always

inseparable from true conviction, and the proprietors of the estates acknowledge this to be the fruit of the gospel; that their slaves, since they have believed in Jesus, are become faithful, obedient, and diligent; yea, the magistrates themselves have more than once declared, that the baptized nations are a greater security to them than their forts. The brethren have built chapels for the negroes for Divine worship in each of the three Danish islands, and the number of negroes, who are now under the care of the brethren, amount to about six thousand. Many of these poor creatures are very pious, and when they die, it is generally in a triumphant manner, trusting for salvation in the merits of Christ.

In the year 1754, some gentlemen of considerable possessions in Jamaica, being much concerned for the salvation of the souls of their poor negroes, desired that a mission might be established in that island, which was agreed to; and they, with a zeal that is uncommon in this age, made the mission in the beginning to be attended with great success. This mission has been the only one begun by us, that met with encouragement in the beginning. It was soon seen that the Holy Ghost had prepared the hearts of many of the negroes to receive the gospel, and some fruits appeared quickly. But though the difficulties from without were not of such a nature as to obstruct the labours of the brethren, as was apparently the case in other places, yet in a few years, the seed which had sprung up, seemed to wither and die away. But these last years, there has been a most blessed revival, and the word has been preached at several places in the island with such success, that there are now several congregations of baptized negroes, who adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

In the island of Antigua a mission has also been established since the year 1756. Though the progress of the gospel has not been so rapid, nor the effects so striking here as in Jamaica; yet many negroes have received the word of atonement with joy, and are become partakers of the redemption in the blood of Christ. The brethren have a house and chapel at St. John's, where, according to our latest accounts, many negroes attend the preaching constantly. The brethren preach also to the negroes on the several plantations.

The last mission sent to the Caribbee Islands was to Barbadoes. The negroes on this island were often the subject of the thoughts and prayers of many of the brethren; but when the way and manner of establishing a mission there was taken into consideration, we saw difficulties which seemed insurmountable. After making an attempt which did not answer, in the year 1765, a brother in England resolved to go thither, to attempt to bring the negroes to the knowledge of the truth. He was joined soon by another brother from America. These missionaries found favour in the eyes of some of the gentlemen of the island, and many negroes shewed a desire to hear the glad tidings of redemption from sin by the blood of Christ. The work of the Holy Ghost was soon apparent. The missionaries were enabled to purchase a spot of ground, to fit up a dwelling for themselves, and a hall in which the



the negroes could meet. Many fruits already appear, and some negroes have been baptized.

Besides these islands on which missions are established, the brethren have visited several others; and as the negroes, who have received the faith, are often either sold or transported to estates of their masters on other islands, they have brought the glad tidings of great joy to the negroes there; and we have reason to believe, that they prove a good favour, even where there are no established missions.

We will now turn our eyes to Asia, though we cannot give you so joyful an account from that quarter of the globe, as you have above from America.

In the year 1759, with the concurrence of the court of Denmark and the Asiatic Company at Copenhagen, a colony of brethren went to Tranquebar, in the neighbourhood of which they formed a settlement, with a view to a mission among the Indians on the coast of Coromandel, and particularly to establish a settlement on the Nicobar islands. At length, in the year 1768, they accomplished what they had almost given up as impracticable, viz. the establishment of a small colony in the Nicobar islands. The Indians received them kindly, gave them land to live on, and by the last accounts we have reason to believe, that as our brethren learn the language, these poor Indians will reap the blessings of the gospel. Of the six who went the first time to these islands, two departed this life very soon.

Some brethren have also gone to Ceylon at two different times, to try, if possible, to bring the gospel among the Cingalese; but they could not obtain their aim, though their abode there was not entirely without fruit.

In the year 1747, two brethren went to Persia, with the view of finding the followers of the antient Magi or Gauri; but they could not obtain their aim, on account of the troubles of the war, which raged there at that time.

The empress of Russia having granted the brethren some land in the kingdom of Astracan, on the banks of the Wolga, a colony is now established there, and we are not without good hopes, that God will bless and enable them to bring the gospel among the Heathens who are on the borders of that country, and who already shew a particular affection for them.

Thus in Asia a beginning is made, and we cannot but hope, that our Lord, who has opened the door, will grant us to see the same happy effects as are evident in so many other places.

The fruits of the travail of Christ's soul upon the natives of this quarter of the globe, are seen in the greatest numbers among the negroes in the American islands, who came from the coast of Guinea, and other parts of Africa. Even as early as in the year 1737, two brethren went to Guinea, to preach the gospel to the negroes there; but one of them departing this life soon after their arrival, no farther attempt was made to establish a mission on the coast of Guinea till the year 1767, when at the desire of the African Company at Copenhagen, and after an agreement had been made by the said company, and confirmed by his Danish majesty, five brethren went thither in one of the company's ships.

But very soon after their arrival three of them, among the rest the chief missionary, were taken off by a malignant fever. The remaining two spent some time in a sickly state at the Danish fort; but last year three brethren more went to them, attended by another to assist them in settling in their proper habitation. One, of the three who went last, departed this life soon after his arrival.

The Danish governor presented the brethren to the king of Achem, who received them into his friendship, and gave them leave to settle in any part of his territories wherever they might chuse. Thereupon they sought out a proper place, where, by the last accounts, they were employed in building a house, in order to enter upon the work of the mission.

An attempt has also been made to bring the gospel among the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope. Our brethren lived five years among them, begun a school for the children, and baptized also seven adult Hottentots. But certain circumstances interfering, this mission could not be continued.

I could also give you an account of some other attempts of the brethren towards the furtherance of the kingdom of Jesus in Africa, but as they do not properly belong to the class of missions among the Heathens, I shall only name two to you.

One of these attempts has the Copta in Egypt and Abyssina for its special object; and three brethren are now resident at Cairo in Egypt, for that purpose.

The aim of the other was directed to the salvation of the poor Christian slaves in Algiers. Our brother Richter went thither in the year 1740, where he, while preaching to the slaves sick of the plague, got the same disorder, which proved the means of his dissolution. Another brother stayed there from the year 1744 to 1748, serving, and preaching to the slaves.

I will not take up more of your time in relating many other important and striking incidents attending our missions. But I cannot conclude this part of my narrative without mentioning our present attempts to form a mission on the coast of Labrador, among the savage Esquimaux.

In the year 1752, some merchants in London fitted out a ship for that coast, and they had the good intention of assisting the brethren to form a mission among the Indians there. Accordingly four missionaries went with this ship, and took the frame of, and materials for a house with them, intending to stay in that country, and to dwell among the Indians. They arrived safely upon the coast, and the missionaries erected their house on a convenient spot. The ship sailing farther northwards, with a view to trade, some Esquimaux came on board, and appeared very kind and loving; but at length enticed the mate, who was a brother, and some others away from the ship, under the pretence of trade, and then murdered them.

After those on board had waited some days in vain for the return of their companions, they sailed back to the place where the four brethren had built their house, and from thence to Europe. The four missionaries were obliged to return with the ship, to help to work her; though some

of



of them left Labrador with great reluctance, notwithstanding the imminent danger to which they would be exposed by their staying alone among the cruel savages. The same vessel sailed thither again next year, and the bodies of those who had been murdered were found: but that was all they obtained by this voyage.

Still the Esquimaux were objects of our special attention; and in the year 1764, a Brother, who had been in Greenland, and had learned the Greenlandish language, being impelled in his own mind to go among the Esquimaux, went with the blessing of the congregation to Newfoundland, and from thence to Terra Labrador, where he, after surmounting many difficulties, got a sight of the Esquimaux. It was a great joy to him, and no less a surprize to them, that they could understand each other. By this means it was discovered, that the supposition of our brethren in Greenland, that the Esquimaux and Greenlanders were originally the same nation, was matter of fact; and thus a friendly intercourse commenced between the Brethren and Esquimaux.

In the year 1765, the same brother, with three others, went again to Newfoundland and to the coast of Labrador, being encouraged thereto by the worthy governor of Newfoundland, commodore Palliser, by the Board of Trade and Plantations, and by the Lords of the Admiralty. Two of them went from Newfoundland in a small vessel, to reconnoitre the coast, but to little purpose. But the chief consequence of this voyage was, that at length the Esquimaux came down to Chateau bay, and our Brethren had frequent opportunities to speak with them of their Creator and Redeemer. There was also a peace and treaty concluded between the Esquimaux and the English, and the former promised that they would be obedient to his majesty king George. &c. By this interval the Brethren and the Esquimaux became better acquainted, and the latter invited the former to come and live among them.

As it was the wish of the brethren to be a blessing to this nation, and to reside among them, so we could not but desire to have it in our power to form a settlement among those heathens, and to have such a parcel of land, that the Esquimaux who sought their salvation, might dwell there together unmolested. Application being made to government for a grant of land, we met with all the encouragement we could wish; but the execution of the grant was delayed till the year 1769.

In the mean time a company of Esquimaux coming in the year 1768 to Chateau bay, began again their old practices of murdering and stealing. These were attacked by a party of English, and several were killed on the spot, and some taken prisoners and brought to Newfoundland. But a woman, and her son about six years old, and a boy of about thirteen or fourteen years old, were brought to England. This boy was given by governor Palliser to the Brethren's Society for the furtherance of the gospel. The woman and her son were treated with great kindness, and her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, the duke of Gloucester, and sundry persons of distinction took notice of her and loaded her with presents. She was sent back with her son in the year 1769, by the officer with whom she came to England. The above-mentioned boy, whose name was Kar-

pik, lived some time with us in Chelsea, and was a real pleasure to all those who saw him. He was lively, docile, and of quick natural parts; and though he had sometimes fits of sullenness and obstinacy, yet in general he was very good natured. He was in June 1769 sent to our settlement at Fulneck in Yorkshire, under the care of one of the four brethren who had made the voyage to Labrador in 1765, and who could speak Greenlandish.

Karpik was taught there to read and write, and made a good proficiency. His kind guardian spoke much with him of the miserable state of an unreconciled sinner, and of the love of his Creator. His heart was touched and often affected, and he would at last begin to ask questions upon these heads himself. At length he was taken ill with the small pox. The missionary, finding that he really was a proper object, baptized him on his sick bed, in the presence of as many as the room where he lay could conveniently hold; and the baptism was performed in the Esquimaux language; soon after he, as the first fruit of this savage nation, departed with joy, calling upon the name of the Lord. We felt pain on account of this loss; for we loved the youth, and hoped, that he would in time prove of real service to his nation.

Every thing touching the intended settlement being agreed upon, some Brethren in London resolved to form a company, and fit out a ship to carry the missionaries to the coast of Labrador in order to visit the Esquimaux, to fix upon the land on which a future settlement should be made, and to prepare every thing in the best manner they could for that purpose. Accordingly a ship was bought, and fitted out and sailed in May 1770. Three Brethren went as missionaries, and several accompanied them as assistants. Our Lord's providence procured us a captain fit for the purpose. This voyage has been crowned with success; they have been preserved from great danger, and have been favourably received by the Esquimaux. The missionaries have preached the gospel often to them in large and small companies, and they have reason to hope, not without effect. Thus far the Lord has graciously helped us.

Now we are preparing to form a settlement among them, and as the Esquimaux are noted for their thieving, treacherous and cruel disposition, we trust in the Lord, that he will protect our Brethren, when they live among them, and help us also with regard to the considerable expences this expedition will be attended with. Having already greatly exceeded the bounds of this narrative we will not dwell upon other attempts of the Brethren which are now in hand, but proceed to the question: By what means are the Brethren enabled to support such very large undertakings?

Our missions among the heathens have been furthered and supported with great zeal and concern of heart by the late count Zinzendorf, from their very beginning, to his entering into the joy of his Lord. At first the missions were but few, and the expences required for their support did not amount to very considerable sums. But as the missions became more numerous from time to time, some members of the congregation, and other friends, found themselves moved to take share in, and promote, by voluntary contributions, the



the furtherance of the gospel; and this they did either by assisting the Brethren's missions in general, or one or another mission in particular.

As these missions continually grew more and more numerous and considerable, God has caused this kind assistance also to encrease. Yet now and then, particularly when new establishments were formed, the Brethren who were appointed to provide for the missions, have been obliged to borrow money for the purchase of as much land as was needful, for the building of dwellings for the missionaries, &c. till they were enabled to pay it off again, as it came in. But that every thing relating to the missions might be transacted in a suitable and orderly manner, sensible and faithful men are chosen from time to time, at the synods of the Unity, who are appointed deputies to manage the diaconate of the missions. They have the general care of the external affairs of the missions in all parts of the world; they receive the voluntary contributions from the Brethren's congregations and from other friends; for the missions have no other funds than those contributions; they do their utmost to defray the necessary expences by this means, and they keep regular accounts of the receipts and disbursements. The diaconate of the missions have not only the care of providing for the missionaries on their voyages and journeys by land and sea; of supporting them, as far as lies in their power, when they are among the heathens; but also of providing for their children in the schools appointed for the education of our children in Europe or America, and also for the widows of such who depart this life in the labour among the heathens.

The Brethren who at present are employed in providing for the missions in general, have an arduous task; they serve joyfully the work of God among the heathens without any salary, and their only recompence is, that they are employed in such an important cause of our Lord, and that they assist in the propagation of the gospel.

It would be impossible for these Brethren to provide all that is required for the support of the missions, if on the one hand the Lord had not enkindled a zeal in our congregations, and in the hearts of the members thereof, and of those friends out of our circle, who wish to see the kingdom of God come, and who have been informed of the circumstances of our missions, to take share in, and to lend real assistance to this work of God, so that the poorest are willing to throw in their mites: and if, on the other hand, our missionaries and their assistants among the heathens, did not make it their concern to be as frugal as possible. The missionaries, as much as their occupation in preaching the gospel, and taking care of the souls of the poor heathens will permit, do their utmost to earn their own bread by their own hands, and thus to make the care of those employed in providing what is necessary for the missions as easy as possible to them. This is more particularly the case in some places, as in St. Thomas, where our Brethren have been able, through the regulations they have made, to provide for their maintenance almost entirely; so that now commonly nothing falls upon the diaconate of the missions, except the journeys

and voyages thither and back again, and such extraordinary expences, as building of chapels, &c.

In the year 1742 some Brethren, who live in London, formed themselves into a society, by the name of the Brethren's Society for the furtherance of the gospel, with a view to assist in this blessed work, to which they were the more encouraged, as a great part of the missionaries who pass and repass, naturally go by the way of London. This little Society in the beginning did more than they themselves, at first, could have expected. It was however for several years in a declining state. But, about two years ago, the old members of the society formed themselves anew into a body, to which they added several others. Since then they have continued in a state of blessed activity, and been enabled, by their own voluntary contributions, by gifts from friends out of our circle, and by two small legacies, to lend real assistance to the missionaries who have passed through London, and among the rest they have defrayed the whole of the passage of the missionaries who went this year to the coast of Labrador; and they hope, by the blessing of the Lord, to lend considerable assistance to the establishment of the mission-settlement on that coast next spring.

Thus they afford a great assistance to the general diaconate of the missions. You have a more full account of this society for the furtherance of the gospel, in a letter from J. H. to a friend, published in the year 1768.

I cannot conclude without observing, that as there is no fixed salary settled upon any missionary, nor any prospect of their ever gaining the least pecuniary advantage by their entering into this service, nothing but the love of Christ can constrain them to engage in this work; and their only reward is, when they see the heathens, overcome by divine Grace, bowing their knees unto, and joining already here below in praising "the Lamb that was slain, who has loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

Notwithstanding all the regulations made, as above related, we are often in pain that it is not in our power to give more effectual assistance to those who in the service of our Lord, among the heathens, venture their lives and carry their souls in their hands, and to render their arduous work more easy to them.

Thus, my dear friend, I have given you a brief, though a much longer account, than I intended.

He who has bought the souls of men with his own blood, and who "shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession," be praised for what he has done by means of the Brethren; and I am persuaded that all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and wish for the happiness of their fellow-creatures, will join in prayer, that the Lord of the harvest may continue to bless and prosper this important work, until "the knowledge of the Lord covereth the earth, even as the waters cover the sea."

The Esquimaux, who are the inhabitants of the coast of Labrador, have been hitherto known under no character but that of thieves, murderers,



and savages; but the brethren of the mission found them much deficient from what they had been represented. They found they were the same with those in Greenland, from the similarity of their language, and the affinity of their customs. Many brethren offered themselves to enter upon this arduous undertaking, though they were not ignorant of the dangers that attended it. Out of these, three married couple, one widower, and seven single men were fixed upon to begin this settlement. The names of them were as follow:

Jens Haven, who was the first brother that went in search of the Esquimaux, felt that even before he went to Greenland, an impulse to carry to this savage nation the gospel of their redemption; and undismayed by the many difficulties and dangers which he had met with, and might still have to encounter, he went with his wife in this company.

The next was Christian Laersen Drahent, an old missionary, who had served the Lord twelve years among the Greenlanders, waited as a widower many years, with earnest desire that the door might be opened to the Esquimaux, and that he might end his days in the ministry of the gospel among them. He accordingly set sail the third time for the coast of Labrador.

The third was Christopher Braasin, a physician and surgeon, who was stirred up in his visit to Greenland; he devoted himself to the service of the Lord, and amongst these savages went thither with his wife.

Next to him was John Shneider, born in Moravia, who had been also several years an assistant to the mission in Greenland, but afterwards waited a considerable time in America, till the door should be opened to the Esquimaux; but at length he obtained his wish to have his wife along with him to Labrador.

Joseph Neceffer was another valuable and pious assistant, who had been many years in Greenland; and along with him was Stephen Senson, who had for some time the care of the mission. To these were added, four other brethren, who were all unmarried, but who did every thing in their power to promote the gospel amongst the Heathens.

These came altogether from their different habitations, to Lindsey-house in Chelsea; and their simplicity, indefatigable zeal, and elevatedness of thought, were an edification to all those who conversed with them.

At the request of some of the brethren, it was resolved upon to send out more missionaries to convert the Heathens, and to collect among themselves sums sufficient for that purpose. As it was necessary that the missionaries should be provided with every thing that was wanting, therefore the materials of a house were formed at Chelsea, and constructed in such a manner, that the whole could be easily taken in pieces, and as easily formed together. This was done in order to accommodate them when they arrived at a distant shore, where they might be in want of the common necessities of life. Bricks, mortar, boards, shingles, cast-iron stoves, and all necessary furniture, was provided for them, partly here, and partly in Newfoundland. And as they

had but very little hopes of procuring their subsistence by husbandry or fishing, therefore a quantity of suitable provisions, for a year at least, and cloaks proper for that inhospitable climate were sent with them. Though what was provided was scanty, yet they received it with great thankfulness; and their joy in hopes of being a blessing to the Esquimaux, made them superior to all the difficulties and inconveniences.

Government shewed a kind attention to their safety; and Mr. Byron, who succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser in the government of Newfoundland and Labrador, was so good as to issue a proclamation, forbidding every one to molest the brethren in their settlement, or to give them any disturbance whatever. The owners, who had resolved to purchase a ship merely for this mission, had in the preceding years sustained a considerable loss, and yet they determined to purchase a larger ship, for the carrying the brethren to Labrador, they being paid by the brethren's society for propagating the gospel.

Every thing being prepared for the voyage, they were at a solemn meeting at the Brethren's chapel, in Fetter-Lane, London, on May 5, 1771, recommended in a sincere and affecting prayer, to the gracious protection and keeping of our father in heaven, and to the grace and presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the kind guidance of the Holy Ghost. On the 8th of the same month, they went on board the ship, with confident and joyful hearts, and arrived after a tedious and troublesome voyage, at St. John's in Newfoundland, on the first of July.

They met here with much kindness from some of the inhabitants; and having soon compleated their stores, sailed on the 7th for Labrador.

This last part of their voyage was still more difficult and dangerous. They were often obliged, on account of storms, to run into bays between numberless islands and sunken rocks, with which this coast abounds. They were often environed with great mountains of ice and ice-fields, which were terrible to the very mariners: but the Lord helped them out of all the dangers with which they were encompassed, and gave them the joy to see, meet and speak, at sundry times, with some of the Esquimaux. As soon as the Indians heard that they were brethren who would dwell among them, and that Jens Ingoak, little Jens, so they called brother Haven, was there, they expressed much joy, and were very ready to serve them, by giving them directions how to find the harbour which they had chosen the foregoing year. They cast anchor in the desired haven on the 9th of August. And their first business was to return thanks and praises to the Lord, whose help they had so often experienced.

They went on shore the next day, being the 10th of August, to take a nearer view of the ground, and to fix upon the spot on which they would erect their house. One of the texts appointed for that day in all the Brethren's congregations was particularly expressive and encouraging. It was,

“Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them  
“in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the  
“place, O Lord, which thou hast made for  
“thee



“ thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary which thine  
“ hands have established.” Exod. xv. 16. To  
which was added the collect,

“ We surely are a work of thine own hand,  
“ Thy souls, on whom thou’st deign’d thy  
“ blood to spend,  
“ By thy holy spirit to thee directed,  
“ A cov’nant people, by free grace, elected  
“ To endless blifs.”

They immediately set about erecting their house, inclosed it with palisades, and were so far ready, on the 22d of September, that they could enter into it and lodge in two rooms; and the worthy captain, who had, with his crew, given them all possible assistance, could set sail for England on the 24th of September.

The place which the brethren have chosen for their habitation upon the main land, is so situated, that both the Nunenguak tribe, who dwell on the islands between them and the open sea, and the Esquimaux, who usually go from the south to the north and back again, pass by it; and thus they have an opportunity to hear the gospel there.

Brother Drachart began directly to preach the gospel of reconciliation to the savages, while the rest of the brethren were employed in building: Their situation was critical, it was, as one of them writes, as if each with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon; for it was necessary for them to use all precaution, and to be constantly upon their guard against the attempts of a nation, to whom stealing and murdering were become, through habit, a second nature. But, praised be God, who preserved them with such a powerful arm, and who turned the hearts of the Esquimaux to such friendship towards the brethren, that there was no occasion to make use of any kind of weapons against them. The brethren soon discovered a very considerable difference between the conduct of these savages now, and when they first saw them. Formerly they were bold and impudent, and looked upon the Europeans as upon dogs, giving them the appellation, Kabluners, that is, Barbarians, but called themselves Innuits, which signifies Men. Now, they expressed their desire to hear the good news, and shewed, of their own accord, that they had no secret murdering knives concealed in their sleeves, nor bows and arrows, nor darts hid in their kajaks, small boats, sharp at both ends, the ribs are made of wood; these are covered altogether with seal skin, in the middle is a hole, into which the man thrusts his legs, and the lower part of his body, and sits with his legs extended. These boats hold but one man, who makes use of a paddle, and can get very speedily forward.

They began to prove by facts, that their usual address to the brethren, when they first met them, Ikingutegek pogut, we are friends, was truth, and flowed from their hearts. The brethren therefore conclude the journal which they sent to Europe with these words, “ We have reason to  
“ thank our Lord for preserving us hitherto  
“ beyond all our expectation, and all our bre-  
“ thren and sisters and friends, who hear this,  
“ will praise the Lord with us.”

The owners resolved to send the ship again in the spring of 1772; but as their former loss was considerably increased by the last voyage, they determined to send her to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, before she sailed to Labrador with the provisions sent for the brethren’s use this year.

The ship staid longer out than was expected, and did not return to London until December. This delay gave us as much concern, and we were not without painful apprehensions; but our good brethren in Nain had reason to have more frightful and anxious thoughts on account of the ship’s remaining so long absent from them.

After the departure of the ship in the foregoing year, they had enough to do to finish their house, and to secure themselves against the cold, which is much more intense there than in Greenland, although their house is almost seven degrees more to the south than our settlement in that country. The ice does not thaw, so as to clear the harbour, till towards the end of June.

Though they did all in their power to obtain fresh provisions by hunting, fowling, and fishing, yet they got but a very small quantity, having shot but two rein-deers, and about an hundred ruypers, a bird a little bigger than a partridge. This was certainly but a small pittance for such a large family.

As the ship, after having concluded the fishing on the Banks, had a very slow passage to Labrador by reason of contrary winds and much ice, and did not reach Unity-harbour until the end of October, the brethren began to give up all hopes of her arrival, and of their getting any provisions this year. They had but two pieces of flesh meat left, and very little of other provisions, and had the dismal prospect of starving for want of the necessaries of life. They therefore sought out and gathered all the red and black berries under the hills, dried them, and laid them carefully by. From the Esquimaux they could expect little or no assistance, notwithstanding the good will several of them testified; for these poor improvident savages suffer often themselves so great want, that some, almost every year, die through hunger.

Thus situated, their distress was turned into the greater joy, when the ship at last, contrary to their expectations, appeared in Unity-harbour on the 28th of October. In their letters they express themselves on this occasion thus:

“ Had you seen the joy that reigned among  
“ us, when we heard that the ship was arrived,  
“ you would certainly never forget it; for we  
“ had given her up, and had devoted ourselves  
“ to the most extreme degree of poverty. I can-  
“ not say that a dejected spirit ruled among us  
“ before; but we were resolved to surrender  
“ ourselves up to all circumstances, hoping and  
“ trusting that he who has sent us hither, who  
“ has counted our hairs, and without whose per-  
“ mission none of them could fall to the ground,  
“ would preserve us.” In another letter it is remarked:

“ The ship’s staying away so long had two ef-  
“ fects; first, it convinced us that nothing was  
“ impossible to the Lord, and that he can com-  
“ mand the seas that they should remain open,  
“ that, though so late in the year, the ship could  
“ come



" come hither. Secondly, it made us more thankful for the provision sent to us."

Touching the main object of their settlement, one of them writes as follows:

" The word of the cross, and of the great atoning sacrifice, has been, at every opportunity, yea without cessation, preached by us unto the Esquimaux. Brother Drachart has particularly shewn great faithfulness herein; for he scarcely ever speaks with them of any thing else. They hear it, and for the greatest part wonder at it. Sometimes they will not hear, go away from him, and begin to laugh; but he is still patient, and goes on in hope. We discover, however, joyful traces in some, that the word of the cross, which can even melt rocks, does not return without leaving some effects on one or another of them. May our Saviour grant that it may soon take deep root in their hearts!"

Notwithstanding the excessive cold in winter, some of the missionaries ventured to go over the ice and snow on a visit, and to preach the gospel to the Esquimaux in their winter houses, which are built of pieces of snow.

The manner of forming these houses is this: they chuse a large drift of snow, dig an oval hole in it as large as they want the house. They then cut out pieces of snow of three feet long, two feet broad, and one foot thick; with these they arch over this hole. Instead of a window, they cut a hole in the arch, and fix in a slab of ice, which gives tolerable light. They dig a long crooked low entry through the snow to the dwelling, and use a slab of frozen snow for the door. They leave an elevation of about twenty inches in the midst of the house, on which they lay skins and sleep.

The missionaries were not only received and lodged in a very friendly manner by the Esquimaux, but they were constantly visited by numbers of them as soon as they could drive from their habitations on the island, to the Brethren's dwelling, over the frozen sea, on sledges drawn by dogs. And as soon as the ice was gone, the visits were still more numerous.

These sledges are sometimes drawn by fourteen, by twenty, yea, they have seen twenty-eight dogs before such a sledge. They run all abreast. Their harness is all bound together in a thick thong, which, passing through a strong ring, is fastened to a sledge. The driver also binds all the reins together; his whip has a handle of about ten inches or a foot long, but the lash is from twenty to twenty-four feet in length, and he can govern his dogs tolerably expertly. These poor dogs are all half starved; they frequently eat their harness, and are then beaten most unmercifully.

The Esquimaux can go much more conveniently from place to place in their kajaks and women's boats, when the water is open, than on their sledges over the ice, and are not so much exposed to the cold. This is the reason of the visits being more numerous in summer than in winter.

The confidence of the savages to the Brethren, had increased in such a manner, that they asked their advice in all their circumstances. A par-

ticular instance of their confidence and attention to the Brethren had occurred this year. There arose such a quarrel between some of the Esquimaux of Nunenguak and Arbartok, that the latter threatened to murder the former. Those of Nunenguak therefore fled to the Brethren, and desired their protection. The Brethren would not disappoint their good confidence, but promised to protect them, upon condition that they would concur with them in endeavouring to make peace between them and their enemies. Not long after, one of their enemies, who was resolved upon murder, came also upon the Brethren's land. By the desire of these Esquimaux, who complained of this man, and who were ten in number, among whom was Tugluina, the husband of the well-known woman Mikak, and his brother Seguliak, a meeting was appointed between him and them, in the presence of the Brethren.

The ten accusers, one after the other, delivered their testimonies against the accused, and he defended himself as well as he could; but they pushed him so hard, that at length he began to weep. Then brother Drachart began to shew unto them, that God would, by this opportunity, convince them of their wretched condition, and bring them into another and happier way of thinking. He asked the accused, whether he was sorry for his wicked murdering thoughts and intentions? whether he would lay them aside, and would for the future love his countrymen as his brethren? and some more such questions. As he answered all these questions in the affirmative, and not without emotion, he then addressed the accusers, and asked them whether they would forgive all that had passed, make peace, and would also for the future love him as their countryman? Nine of them expressed their readiness to forgive him, but one would not give an answer. Brother Drachart took this man aside into his chamber, and asked him why he would not forgive? At first he replied, that he did not believe that the accused meant honestly what he spoke with his lips. Drachart represented unto him, that God could change the hearts; that he himself had such a bad heart that God must change it, why then would he not forgive his countryman? Through this conversation he became so tender, that he declared his willingness to lay aside all enmity. He went back into the assembly with Drachart, and publicly declared his readiness to forgive. Thus peace was not only established among them, but the Esquimaux resolved among themselves, that when any differences should for the future arise, or evil reports be spread of each other, they would go directly to the Brethren, beg to have such another meeting, and make up their differences amicably. Thus the Lord approved his servants to the savages as peace-makers, and thereby strengthened their faith, that he would, in his good time, open their hearts and ears, that they may become obedient to the faith.

With this hope, and with an emboldened mind, they concluded the first year of their abode among these savages; and by the accounts received of their preservation and cheerful perseverance in the work of the Lord, the congrega-

tions



tions of the Brethren were filled with praise and thanksgiving.

We cannot help mentioning that sister Haven was delivered of a son, who was baptised in the Esquimaux language, and called John-Benjamin. The Esquimaux were exceedingly fond of this child. Another sister was delivered but the child was still-born.

But with a view to comemore to the assistance of the mission by council and deed, both in their internal and external affairs, the Brethren to whom the synod has committed the government of the churches, resolved to send one of their members to Labrador in the spring of 1773. For this purpose they pitched upon the Rev. Paul E. Layritz; and notwithstanding his age being then sixty-six, he declared with cheerfulness his readiness to undertake this difficult and dangerous voyage. His wife also determined to go with him, to be a comfort and pleasure to the three sisters at Nain.

They resolved to go on board a ship that was to sail for Newfoundland, and either to stay on board while they were fishing, or to wait at St. John's till the ship should return from the banks, and then embark for Labrador.

The owners of the ship were again losers, and therefore under the necessity of making an addition of fifty pounds to every hundred of the original stock, to enable them to fit out the ship for the next voyage. However, they ventured to resolve upon the purchase of a small vessel, which should carry brother and sister Layritz, and brother Beck to Labrador, as soon as the ice would permit.

Brother Beck was the eldest son of John Beck, the oldest missionary to Greenland, but was educated from his seventh year in Germany, and some years ago was sent back to be thoroughly instructed in the Greenland language by his father; and thus he was properly qualified to be employed among the Esquimaux.

They arrived safe and well in the harbour of St. John's on May 5th, and much kindness was shewn to them by Mr. Burnet, at that time judge of the Vice-admiralty court, to whom the worthy governor Shulldham had recommended Mr. Layritz, as also by several other worthy gentlemen. In all these undertakings they met with great success, and it may be justly said, that the gospel flourished under their preaching.

After Capt. Mugford and brother John Hill had purchased and fitted out a small sloop, brother Layritz and his company embarked, on the 22d of May, on board this little sloop, from twenty-five to thirty tons burthen, called the George, commanded by Mr. Wilson, and sailed for Labrador: but after sailing three days, they were stopt by a field of ice, which extended beyond the bounds of their sight, and were obliged to run with a contrary wind, and in a storm, into the bay Notre-Dame.

Eight days after, they ventured, in company with another sloop from Fogo, to sail through the broken pieces of ice, but were under the necessity of returning to the bay, and got back to their former place with great danger. At length they set forward on their voyage, sailing slowly along the coast; and on the 24th of June

they made the southern coast of Labrador, and the next day got sight of the first Esquimaux in eight kajaks. These, upon being called to, in the manner and words usual in Greenland, soon came on board, behaved friendly, and were very attentive while some Greenland verses were sung, concerning the redemption by our Saviour. They invited the Brethren to visit them on Camp island, where they had pitched their tents. The sloop accordingly sailed thither; and although these Esquimaux, who dwell to the south, and are called Arbartoks, are of the worst kind, yet they received their visit in a very friendly manner, about fifty old and young Indians heard the gospel, which brother Layritz preached to them in their wooden tents, and brother Beck interpreted; they listened with eager attention, and promised to visit the Brethren in Nain, and to hear more of these good words. Some days after, some of their countrymen, about two hundred in number, in six shallops, met the little sloop on the coast, surrounded her, and behaved so peaceably, that they did not look like the former thieving and murdering Esquimaux. They all knew of the Brethren in Nain, and some related that they had slept there last winter, and that they had heard there, from brother Drachart, the very same good words which brother Layritz now told them.

At length they reached the latitude of Nain, after having escaped many dangers, and particularly one on the 15th of July, when they run upon a shoal, and were obliged to unload the vessel upon an island that lay near them; and thus, through the grace of God, they got off without damage. Here they were at a loss, not knowing how to steer safely through the islands and rocks which extend far into the sea before Unity-harbour; but they got sight of an Esquimaux woman's boat, the owner of which offered to pilote them through Byron's-road to Nain.

What they call a woman's boat, is a large boat, the ribs of which are made of wood, but the whole is covered with seal skin. One of these boats will hold a whole family, with their utensils, and a great number of dogs. They are always rowed by the women, and therefore called women's boats.

Thus they arrived safe and well in Unity-harbour on July 25th, and were received with the greater joy, which the Brethren and Sisters expressed by floods of tears, as their visit was quite unexpected, and particularly because a sister was come to them. The very Esquimaux, who to the number of two hundred had pitched twenty-one tents on the strand, were full of joy. Eighteen kajaks came to meet the sloop as she run into the harbour, and were hung to the sloop on the right and on the left, and the Esquimaux came on board to welcome the visitors. When they landed, they were surrounded by two hundred young and old, and escorted by them to the house of the missionaries with every token of joy.

At the numerous visits of the Esquimaux, of whom thirty-six tents full had been there at once in the beginning of July, the missionaries were used to visit them every morning in their tents, and to enquire, whether they had kept what they had heard in an honest and good heart? Towards



evening they had always a meeting with the Esquimaux, to which they were called by the sound of a bell. In these meetings, first a verse out of the Greenland Hymn-Book, was given out and sung, which many of them retain, both as to the words and tune, so that they can join very well in singing them. After this the gospel was preached to them in a concise manner. Sometimes they were asked, whether they understood what they had heard? and upon their desiring it, it was farther explained to them. The Esquimaux themselves often asked for a more particular explanation. In the first meeting, at which brother Layritz was present, he delivered a short discourse which brother Drachart interpreted: Then one of the most distinguished heads of a family, for there are no national chiefs or heads either among the Greenlanders or Esquimaux. They are all equals, though some Angekoks, who are cunning, and have bodily strength, have some influence upon their countrymen, but not as chief or head. The head of a family, who has naturally an authority over his family, stood up, and answered in the name of the rest, that they were not only very thankful to the Brethren that they came unto them, dwelt among them, and told them such good words, but he added, "we will give our hearts to the Saviour," whom they call Anaurisok, "we will believe in, and love him."

They also declared the same, some days after, in the presence of lieutenant Curtis, who had been sent by the governor in a king's schooner, to see how the Brethren went on, and at the same time to survey the coast.

Upon this occasion, about thirty of the heads of families were assembled. Mr. Curtis desired brother Drachart to inform them, that his excellency the governor had given orders to acquaint them, that they must leave off stealing and murdering; for whosoever should be found guilty of these crimes, for the future, must be punished with death. Further, they should go no more to the south under pretence of getting wood for their bows and arrows; but if they were under a necessity to go thither, they should not do it without taking with them a certificate from the Brethren. Hereupon they replied, It is right that a thief and murderer be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since they had heard the gospel of Jesus, they had no more stolen or murdered, and they would, for the future, do so no more. They had not been at the south these three years, since they, the Nunenguaks, had heard the governor's proclamation; and if any of them should be obliged to go to the south, they would bring a letter from their Brethren, meaning the missionaries. Mr. Curtis assured them of the love of the king and of the governor, and they expressed their thankfulness in a very hearty and friendly manner.

This testimony must, agreeable to the truth, be given to them, that they became from time to time more attached to, and more confident towards the Brethren. When they go from Nain to the islands or the sea, they commit the goods they most value to the Brethren to keep for them; yea, they often leave their wives and children under the inspection and care of the Brethren

until they return. On this account the Brethren resolved to build a store-house for them, in which they can lay up such provisions as they can procure and spare in summer, that so they may be able to dwell with the missionaries in winter, and to hear the word of God daily and richly.

It cannot be said as yet with certainty that they are converted, and therefore the missionaries will not baptize any, till they find souls who are truly awakened by the Holy Ghost, and are indeed earnestly concerned and desirous to obtain grace, through the redemption by the blood of Christ. It must however be owned, that the preaching of the gospel unto them has not been in vain. The greatest part of those who dwell around the missionaries, are often much affected at what they hear of the Saviour of sinners, and have a respect and awe for the name of Jesus. But it is very hard to convince them of their sinfulness and corruption; for although they were formerly the most abject slaves of their brutal passions, and committed all manner of fleshly sins, theft and murder, yet they know how to excuse themselves with all kind of subterfuges as well as the Europeans.

The liars comfort themselves and make use of the plea, that they are no thieves; the thieves that they are no murderers; and the murderers that they are not as bad as the Kablunets. And although they have some notion that there is a great Lord, who created heaven and earth, yet they have no kind of Divine worship among them, or any way of paying devotion to this Creator.

They seem to be also without any sense of condemnation, and are always very expert at stifling remorse of conscience. But since they have heard the gospel, they begin to see and acknowledge the heinousness of sin, also to confess that they are sinners, and many feel the necessity of having a Saviour. The Divine efficacy of the gospel has approved itself unto them. The example of the missionaries and their assistants, and their walk conformable to the gospel, is a confirmation of what is preached unto them, and attended with the pleasing effect, that the Esquimaux instead of being as formerly, like a herd of wild boars on the forest, appear now, as brother Drachart expresses it, "like a flock of sheep round about the Brethren."

Formerly, no European would have ventured himself alone with the Esquimaux, or have spent a night with them, on any consideration: but now the missionaries visit them in their winter habitations at a considerable distance from Nain, sleep among them many nights successively, preach there the gospel to them, reprove them on account of their Heathenish customs, and even stop the mouths of their Angekoks, or pretended conjurers, ordering them to be silent, in the midst of their incantations.

Nothing can be said to all this, but, This is the Lord's doing! For the poor Esquimaux are so bewitched with the fable of Tongarsuk, the evil spirit, and their Torngaks, or familiar spirits, that they undertake nothing without consulting them, and are terribly afraid of them. They have among them even women, called Illiseitsoks, who pretend to have such a spirit, that make a kind of rumbling noise in their bodies,



*Engraved for L. Murdo's Ceremonies & Customs of All Nations.*



*Habits of* **ESKIMAUX INDIANS**, natives of Hudson's Bay,  
among whom the  
**UNITED BRETHREN** have sent Missionaries, and formed Settlements.



dies, which noise these women afterwards explain, and that is looked upon as a prediction. They are so attached to these old fables and deceits, that it is very difficult to turn them from them. They would gladly keep their Torngaks, and at the same time believe in our Saviour. The Angekoks observe, that by preaching of the gospel, their craft is in danger of being entirely ruined, and therefore use all their cunning and influence that the poor Esquimaux may not become believers.

All this makes the following example, which occurred in the foregoing year, the more remarkable :

A man, whose name was Annauke, departed this life, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus. The Brethren saw him the first time, four years before, at Chateau-bay, when the peace was made by governor Palliser with the Esquimaux. He then had all the appearance of a thief and murderer; but in the following years, heard the gospel frequently, and experienced the power thereof in a remarkable manner, so that his features were softened, and from a bear he became a lamb. He pitched his tent in Nain, stayed there, in the year 1772, till autumn, and in November removed to his winter-house, which was at a considerable distance from the Brethren. He came sometime after from thence, and that on foot, to Nain, merely to hear the gospel.

Towards the end of the year and the beginning of January it is not possible, either for the Europeans or Esquimaux, to pass or repass, as there are then commonly the greatest falls of snow, the ice first sets in, but is not passable on the sea. Therefore the Brethren heard nothing more of Annauke till brother John Schneider visited the Esquimaux in their winter-houses, and Annauke's wife came herself in February to the Brethren in Nain. Then the Brethren heard that Annauke fell sick in December; and it was soon evident that his end approached. The Esquimaux are so extremely afraid of death, that they are shocked and terrified to hear even the name of a dead person mentioned. But Annauke turned to our Saviour, and declared that he did not chuse to stay any longer in the world, but would go unto him. His wife, Niviarfina, when she observed that his end approached, began, according to the custom of the Esquimaux, to howl and cry, and asked him, "O, my dear husband, wilt thou leave me and thy two children?" The dying Annauke answered, "Weep not, I go to the Saviour, who loves mankind so much."

This was the more striking, as he had no Christian at hand to instruct him, nor none near him whom he might be desirous to please, by speaking of Jesus, and expressing his reliance upon and love to him. And what was still a more clear proof that this was the effect of a real work of the Holy Ghost in his heart, was, that he, as the Angekok, who lived in the same place, related to Brother Drachart with displeasure, would not have an Angekok to come to him in his sickness, although the Esquimaux, as soon as they fall sick, send directly for the Angekok, who acts the physician, making use of certain spells over the sick for their recovery.

Yea, Annauke, since his death, is commonly described by the Esquimaux themselves, as the man whom the Saviour took to himself. The missionaries, therefore, by all what they before had seen and heard of this man, and by the manner of his departure out of this life, can justly look upon him as the firstling in that country, upon whom our Saviour certainly fulfilled his word, "Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out."

The above instance gave the Brethren more courage to form a class of catechumens of some in whose hearts there appeared evident traces of the work of the Holy Ghost. In this class they are to be more particularly instructed in the ways of God.

The Brethren have also resolved to erect a proper church for the Esquimaux, in which the gospel may be preached to some hundreds at once, as the room in which they have preached in their house is much too small.

Certain it is, that the missionaries and their assistants lead a most difficult, inconvenient, and, to flesh and blood, uncomfortable life in this rough and inhospitable climate. The cold is, as has been already mentioned, and as the thermometer proves, much more intense than in Greenland. And although they burn in their large stoves of cast-iron great quantities of wood, by day and night, yet the windows and walls are all the winter covered with ice, and the bed cloaths freeze to the wall. Rum freezes in the air like water; and rectified spirits, in the coldest weather, soon become thick like oil. The thermometer is commonly from December to April seventy degrees below the freezing point. The sea freezes so far out, between the islands, that they cannot get a sight of open water from December to June. Some of the Brethren ventured to go in February to the Esquimaux about forty miles distant from Nain, but they endured the most extreme hardships from the cold.

Though wrapped up in furs, yet their eye lids froze in such a manner together, that they were obliged continually to pull the ice from them, and to keep their eyes open with their fingers. One of them returned with a pain in his side; another with his hand frozen and swelled like a bladder; and it was a mercy of the Lord whom they serve, that they were cured. The Esquimaux, who live chiefly on blubber, and who have probably fatter and more oily blood, can certainly endure the cold better than the Europeans; but there are however instances that the Esquimaux themselves are frozen to death in winter. The few summer months are, on the other hand, so much the hotter, the thermometer rising to the eighty-sixth degree: but then they are plagued with an amazing swarm of malignant musketoos, which sting so violently, that they often return home with swelled faces.

There can be no expectations of any thing like agriculture, so as to produce grain; this is evident from the trials already made. Some small gardens which the Brethren have laid out and cultivated, produce some sallad, turnips, hardy cabbages and radishes, but potatoes freeze when they have shot up no higher than about half a foot.

By



By hunting and fishing they have hitherto been able to procure but very little provision, because their situation upon the continent is not at all favourable thereto. Besides, the great number of Esquimaux dogs, that must seek their own maintenance, prevent the success they might have in catching fish, as these half-starved dogs, at low water, run into the nets, tear out and devour the fish, and moreover tear the nets to pieces.

Thus the Brethren must be supported chiefly by the provision sent to them annually from Europe, such as flour, salt meat, rice, peas and barley, and are heartily thankful, partly, that friends are always found who contribute thereunto, and partly that they can earn something by the work of their hands to lighten in some measure the expence of supporting themselves. They begun last year to build boats for the Esquimaux, and to make sundry implements for their work, and utensils for their houses, and receive in payment whalebone and blubber, which they send hither towards their expences.

By building boats we have reason to hope that one great advantage will be obtained, namely, that the Esquimaux will be delivered from the temptation of going to the south to steal boats. And by the implements and utensils made for them by the Brethren, they will be from time to time more enabled to get and increase what is necessary for their own support.

Though, by these means, the outward situation of these poor savages may be greatly improved and rendered more humane, yet it is certainly of incomparably greater importance, that they be brought to Jesus Christ by the preaching of the gospel; that they be sanctified by the true faith in him; and thereby, with greater certainty, be civilized and made moral human creatures.

It is this consideration that enables the missionaries and their assistants, notwithstanding their most difficult situation outwardly, to hold out with cheerfulness and full of faith, in that call which the Lord has given them, until the Esquimaux, in this remote part of the earth, shall see the salvation of God. Brother Layritz, on his safe arrival here with his wife on the 28th of October, assured us, as an eye witness, that this was the disposition of those Brethren and Sisters.

They had this last year, 1774, by means of a sloop, an opportunity of visiting six habitations of the Esquimaux which lie farther north; they were received in a friendly and confident manner, and most pressingly entreated by the poor savages, many of whom had never seen an European before, to come and dwell among them, and to bring them the good words of their Creator and Saviour.

Is the acquiring wealth and fortunes, which last not for ever, but pass away, allowed, every where, to be a sufficient motive for long voyages and the enduring great hardships? surely it is a more noble motive, yea, it is of infinitely greater use, if considered merely in a rational point of view, to endure hardships, even the greatest, if souls, who are however our fellow creatures, are thereby saved from death, brought into a state of peace and happiness, and obtain

a well grounded hope of a blessed immortality. The love of Christ, who, though he thought it no robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, took upon him the form of a servant, submitted to be despised and rejected, and became obedient unto death, yea, to the death of the shameful cross, to redeem us, must certainly impel the hearts of the missionaries, stimulate their zeal, and make them willing to persevere with patience in the midst of all, even the greatest hardships.

Blessed be the name of the Lord, who has not permitted the labour and trouble of our Brethren among the heathens to be in vain. We have now had many years experience, that our gracious Lord has crowned the simple preaching of the gospel of his incarnation, sufferings and death, with blessing, has owned it in grace, and thereby the eyes of the heathens have been opened, and they have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the living God. What the most just and excellent moral precepts cannot effect, what all the power of philosophy cannot produce, what all the eloquence and arguments of men cannot accomplish, is done by the word of reconciliation through the blood of Christ. Of this the heathens, who have received the faith, are a living and incontestible proof.

To proselyte men from one superstition to another, from one speculative system to another, or from one sect or outward form of worship to another, whether by arguments, or outward pomp, or by any other methods, is indeed no business, for the sake of which our missionaries would give themselves so much trouble and undergo such difficulties. But to be instruments to direct and bring souls to him, in whom the Gentiles shall trust, and to whom every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things on earth, and things under the earth, it is well worth while to venture life and limb to effect this. For it is indubitable, that when men, though ever so wild and savage by nature, are brought to the knowledge of salvation in Christ Jesus, by the Holy Ghost, they will of course become good and useful subjects, and benevolent fellow citizens of the world.

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#### *Rules and Articles for the Government of the Churches of the United Brethren.*

Some of these articles are so plain and inoffensive, that little need be said concerning them.

ART. I. This society is not formed in opposition to any other of the like nature, nor is it to interfere with the charities of any society whatever.

II. This society is to consist of members of the Brethren's Church, and is properly established here in London, where they will regularly meet; yet members may also be chosen, who reside in other places of the British dominions or elsewhere.

III. But besides the aforesaid members of the society, persons who are not of the Brethren's Church,



Church, but are friends and well-wishers of the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathens, may be chosen as honorary members of this society; to whom, from time to time, accounts will be communicated of the work of our Lord among the Heathens through the Brethren's missions; and such honorary members may be admitted occasionally to the meetings of the society.

There is something in this article, at first sight, glaringly engaging. It seems to promise a large share of charity; and yet, if we attend to it strictly, we shall find that it contains both ostentation and meanness. Ostentation, in holding it forth as an honour to be admitted into their society; and meanness, in looking for subscriptions to support their cause.

IV. The design of this society being to assist those missionaries and their helpers, whom the directors of the missions of the Brethren's Church may send to the Heathens in different parts of the world, we will not confine our assistance of those missionaries to gifts and contributions only, but it will be our great pleasure to promote this amiable work with our best services, in all respects, by entertaining them during their abode in England, and also supplying them with all necessaries for their passage to the places of their destination, and during their residence at those places.

V. Although our chief aim is to further the gospel, and assist the missionaries in the British dominions in America, and other parts of the world, yet we are also desirous to give all possible aid to the Brethren's missions among the Heathens in other countries.

VI. And whereas the United Brethren, for many years successively, have appointed deputies, and committed unto them the care of the Heathen missions and the management of the contributions, which, for the unavoidable expences attending this work of God, are given freely, from time to time, by the Brethren's congregations and by others; we will therefore act in connection and fellowship with these deputies; on which account our secretary and other brethren of the committee are to cultivate a constant correspondence with them, that we may be informed of the occasions requiring our assistance, and be ready to assist.

VII. And whereas the aforesaid deputies of the Brethren's Church have always a corresponding agent, who resides in London, to execute their commissions, we will always be ready to give him all the assistance we can therein.

VIII. Every one of us is willing to add his mite to those free gifts made at stated times, in the Brethren's congregations, for the service of the missions among the Heathens. But besides this, a box shall be placed in the room where we meet, into which every member of the society may put at any time what he thinks proper; all which is to be employed for the use of the said missions. The committee is to take an exact account of this money as well as what may come in by way of donation, legacy, or otherwise, and also how it is expended; and this account is to be laid before the society once in three months.

It is remarkable, that the gospel was propagated at first without the assistance of power, money, or, indeed, any encouragement from men. And yet the tender plant grew, and spread far and

wide. Whereas, in modern times, thousands and ten thousands of pounds, are collected to propagate the gospel, and yet few converts are made. For this there must be some reason, but whatever we may imagine it to be, we shall leave the reader to form his own judgement.

IX. If this society, or one or more members thereof, should be appointed trustees of any lands, for a settlement among the Heathens; in that case we engage to be faithful to our trust, and not claim for ourselves, at any time, what shall be settled upon us in trust.

X. The ordinary meeting of the society to be once a month, at a time and place to be determined upon by the society, and as soon as can conveniently be after the day, on which accounts of the progress of the gospel, especially among the Heathens, are usually read in the Brethren's chapel.

XI. The society is to chuse a committee, consisting of six members, a secretary and one or two servants; one of the committee is to be appointed treasurer; and all the ordained ministers of the Brethren's Church present in London, are to be looked upon as members of the committee and each of them to have a vote.

XII. The members of the committee are to act as deputies of the society, and are to meet once a week, or as often as may be thought needful for the dispatch of business, and four of the committee are empowered to do business.

XIII. The committee may call an extraordinary meeting of the society, when business requires.

XIV. The committee is empowered, upon any emergency, to borrow in the name of the society, or contract debts of any sum not exceeding fifty pounds.

We cannot approve of these money affairs in religion. There is some reason to imagine, that the passions of men, influenced by corrupt nature, have too much effect on modern religion. We are convinced, that God once gave his blessing on means of a different nature; and history tells us, that as the same means have not been used since the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, so the same ends have not been found.

XV. At the first meeting of the society in every year, the six members of the committee, the secretary and the servants are either to be continued in their offices, or others elected in their places.

This article has been copied from one of those belonging to a benefit society. There officers are very rich and greatly esteemed, otherwise they would not be eagerly sought after. All officers court pride, and human passions will be as much gratified in a club of common mechanics, as in the first lord of the treasury, or the high chancellor of England. The reason is plain, learning and knowledge, improved by virtue and adorned by piety, lift the character, as it were, above every thing human.

XVI. Upon the decease or removal of any member of the committee, or any other incident requiring a new choice, the committee is to propose such person or persons to the society whom they think proper for the office.

XVII. Such persons ought to be members of the Brethren's congregation, of a good capacity



and a good character among the Brethren as well as among their fellow subjects.

XVIII. Persons proposed by the committee to the Society, for members of the committee, are to be chosen by the majority of the members of the society present.

XIX. Whenever any new member or members are to be proposed to the society, the committee is first to consider whether such person or persons may be of use to the the society in carrying on the above-mentioned purposes: And if the persons proposed by the committee are approved of by the unanimous choice of the society, by ballot, then such person or persons are to be admitted members.

XX. But if, on the ballot, there should be any negative to the choice of the person proposed, the member or members objecting, are to mention his or their objection to some member of the committee, when the case is to be reconsidered; and if the objection can be removed, to the satisfaction of the objector, such person or persons may be proposed a second time to the society; and if no new negative appears upon the ballot, he or they are to be then admitted members.

XXI. No member of the society is to acquaint any one, either of his being proposed or chosen a member of the society, for this is to be done by the secretary, or some other member of the committee appointed for it, as circumstances require.

XXII. No person once admitted into this society is to be removed out of it, but after mature consideration of the committee, and with the consent of the majority of the society; and a person thus removed, not to be re-admitted but by ballot.

XXIII. When any new members are admitted, the rules of the society are to be read to them, and each new member is to subscribe them.

XXIV. The society may form new articles, which are consistent with the tenor of the above articles and the well-being of the society, as circumstances may hereafter require.

XXV. The above rules are not to be altered but on mature deliberation, and in a meeting of the society, and by majority of votes; and previous to any alteration a month's notice shall be given, expressing the nature and design of the alteration proposed to be made.

Upon the whole, these articles are of a very carnal nature. They point out much of worldly wisdom, but little of that which is from above. We could wish there was nothing human in religion but just the common outward means, and we sincerely believe, that the real servants of God are frequently to be among those who are reputed to have no religion at all.

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*Account of all those Societies which the United Brethren have in different parts of the world.*

It is very remarkable, that these people, although not much known in England, yet are extremely numerous: Of this we shall have

occasion to take notice afterwards, so as to endeavour to account for that secrecy, which prevails among them.

The places where the congregations of the Brethren are at present settled, are of different kinds, and many of these congregations are not very numerous. Some have been settled by the Brethren on spots which were not at all inhabited before, merely with this intent, that only members of the congregation should dwell there, and that they might be entirely unmixed with others. These places are called in the strictest sense Congregation-places; for example, Herrnhuth, Gnadenfrey, Fulneck, Bethlehem, Salem, Sa-repta, &c.

Farther, the Brethren have built their place of worship and the dwelling-houses of the members of the congregation, contiguous to some towns and villages inhabited by other people, yet in such a manner, that their buildings stand together on one spot, or in the same street, and are, as much as circumstances will admit, some more and some less separated from the rest of the public or private buildings of the town or village. These are called in a more extensive sense Congregation-places; such as Neusalze, Neu-wied, Ochbrook, &c.

Again, there are other congregations of the Brethren, the members of which do not dwell together, but are scattered in the cities, or towns, or in the country round about; they however assemble in the same place of worship, and their regulations are suited to their circumstances. These are called City and Country Congregations, for instance, London, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, &c.

The same distinction is to be made with regard to the missions of the Brethren among the Heathens. Some of the congregations, gathered together by the gospel from the Heathens, dwell together in one place; for instance, New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels in Greenland, at Langentoutenunk, that is, the city of peace, in North America; also at Sharon on the Samarica in Surinam. These may be properly called Town-Congregations of the converted Heathens. Others of the Heathens, who have been brought to Christ by the ministry of the Brethren, live dispersed, as the negroes in the West-India islands, and the Indians on the Corentyn in Surinam; but they come to the preaching and to partake of the sacraments, to the church or meeting-house, which the missionaries have built near their own dwellings: These may be called in the most proper sense, Mission-Settlements. By this description every reader will be able to determine, to which of these classes each congregation or mission of the Brethren belongs. Now they shall be mentioned according to the countries and governments under which they dwell.

1. In the empire of Germany, and first under the elector of Saxony.

Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia, on the high road between Lebau and Zittau, upon the manor of Berthelsdorf, lately the domain of count Zinzendorf, and now of baroness de Wattewille. This place was begun in the year 1722, and this congregation



gregation received afterwards a confirmation of its orders and regulations from government.

Niesky also in Upper Lusatia, upon the manor of Trebus, twelve miles from Goerlitz. This place was begun in the year 1742, by exiles from Bohemia. Here is at present the Pædagogium of the Unity of the Brethren.

Klein Welke, also in Upper Lusatia, about three miles from Budissin on the road to Berlin, was begun in 1756, and is built very near the old village of the same name. Most of the members of this congregation are of the Vandal nation.

At Barby, in the county of the same name, twenty-four miles from Magdeburg, a congregation of the Brethren has been gathered ever since the year 1748, after the government had given the palace and bailiwick to count Henry the 28th Reufs, and others on a lease, and had granted the chapel of the palace to the congregation of the Brethren for their Divine worship. The theological seminary of the Unity is in this place; in this seminary or college, students are prepared for future service among Christians or Heathens.

Gnadau, on the electoral domain Doebeu, six miles from Barby, and eighteen from Magdeburg. In the year 1765, the government gave the palace of Barby, with its appurtenances, and the domain Doebeu, to count Henry the 25th Reufs, upon a perpetual lease, with a view that a settlement might be made here, after the manner of the Brethren's Congregation-Places; whereupon a beginning was made to build such a place in the year 1767, not far from Doebeu.

## 2. Under the government of the king of Prussia.

Gnadenberg, in the principality of Jauer in Silesia, on the manor called Groß Krausche, three miles from Bunzlau, was begun in the year 1743, after having received a special royal grant for it.

Gnadenfrey, in the principality of Schweidniz in Silesia, about nine miles from Reichenbach, on the manor of Oberpeilau, was also begun in the year 1743. This congregation is at present the largest of the Brethren's congregations in Silesia.

Neusalz, is a new built place which the Brethren began to erect in 1745, near the town of Neusalze on the Oder. This settlement of the Brethren was, by order of the king, laid out in a regular manner in the year 1744, and was in a very flourishing condition before the last war in Silesia. But in the year 1749 it was plundered in a cruel manner and totally reduced to ashes. The loss the Brethren sustained hereby in worldly goods was great, but all the Brethren and sisters, lying-in women, the sick and children, escaped from the flames, and after many and various difficulties, they arrived in the neighbouring congregations, in Silesia and Upper Lusatia, safe and well. In 1763, the rebuilding of this place was taken in hand by the desire of government, and a congregation of the Brethren has been again settled there since that time.

These Silesian congregations have their own bishop, who resides in Silesia.

In Berlin, a Bohemian congregation of the Brethren, adhering to the Augustin confession, has been gathered together ever since the year 1744, and they declared their sentiments before a royal commission in the year 1747. They have a public Congregation-House, in which they have Divine worship agreeable to the constitution of the Brethren's congregation.

Also in Rixdorff, three miles from Berlin, in the year 1737, a congregation of the Brethren of the Bohemian nation were collected, and have built a Congregation-House and place for Divine worship. The congregation here was plundered in a very severe manner in the year 1760, but at the same time experienced from the hands of God a gracious preservation of their persons.

At Norden in East-Friesland is also a congregation of the Brethren. They have a public place of worship, and enjoy undisturbed liberty. This congregation was begun under the government of the last prince of East-Friesland.

## 3. Under the government of the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

Neudietendorff, fifteen miles from Gotha and six from Erfuth. In the year 1742, a considerable number of the Brethren of the Lutheran tropos came together here. After many difficulties they have been in a more prosperous state since the year 1753, and received in 1764 a grant from the government. Since then the congregation has increased considerably in the number of their members and in their buildings.

## 4. Under the government of Count Reufs.

Ebersdorf in Voigtland. There has been in this place since the end of the former century, an Ecclesiola, a pious society, which increased from time to time, and after many vicissitudes, they sought in the year 1745 to establish an entire union with the congregations of the Brethren. Thus it came to pass, that a regular congregation of the Brethren was established there; a piece of land was ceded to them by the reigning count, that they might enlarge their settlement, and an act in favour of the evangelical Brethren's congregation was issued in the year 1761.

## 5. Under the government of the Count of Neuwied.

At Neuwied, a congregation of French reformed Brethren and Sisters, who emigrated from Herrnhag, was begun. The reigning count gave them a grant of the necessary privileges in the year 1751, and renewed the said grant in a more ample manner in the year 1756. The brethren were put in possession of a square of the city, for the use of the congregation, to erect on it their place of worship and Congregation-House, and other necessary buildings for the choirs and families; and since then a pretty numerous congregation is collected here. The greatest part of the congregation-members are French reformed, yet as several Germans moved thither from time to time, Divine worship



ship is performed there in both these languages alternately.

#### 6. In the United Provinces.

In Zeyst, in the Province of Utrecht, a beginning was made in 1748 to build a congregation-place in two squares between the palace and the village. The congregation has built in the year 1768, a new Congregation-house and place of worship, and enjoy compleat church-liberty under the government of the states of Utrecht. The preaching of the gospel here, both in the German and Dutch languages, is attended by many from other places.

In Amsterdam there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1738. They have had a place of worship there these many years past, and live quiet and undisturbed.

In Haerlem is also a small congregation of the Brethren, who have also a public worship.

The United Brethren have also several missions in the province of Surinam in South America, they are the following :

In Paramaribo is a small House-Congregation, who dwell there to receive the missionaries from Europe, to forward them to their posts among the heathens, and to provide them with necessities. They have a house of their own, and maintain themselves, as the Brethren seek to do every where, with the work of their hands.

In Sharon on the Saramica, is a congregation gathered out of the Arrawack nation. It was begun in the year 1757, and consisted of some baptized Indians, who were obliged to fly from the rebellious negroes in Berbice. The same was the case with Hope, on the river Corentyn on the borders of Berbice ; here the Indians, who live scattered on their Cassabi plantations, are ministered unto in the gospel, by some missionaries.

In Quama, not far from the head of the river Saramica, the Brethren have a mission among the free negroes ever since the year 1765. This is, as may be easily conceived, one of the most toilsome and most difficult missions, but has however brought forth joyous fruit, as a negroe captain Arabini is become a believer in the Lord Jesus, is baptized, and walks worthy of the gospel.

7. Under the Government of Great Britain there are, in Europe, in North America, and in the West-India Islands, sundry congregations and missions of the Brethren.

In London there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1742. They have a chapel in Nevil's court, Fetter-lane, and another in Chelsea; near the last is their burying-ground. There is divine service in both of these chapels every Sunday.

At Bedford is likewise a congregation of the Brethren; they have built at one end of the town, since the year 1741, a chapel, a congregation-house, and houses for the single brethren and single sisters. The congregation itself was settled here according to the constitution of the Brethren in the year 1744. To this congrega-

tion belong the Brethren's chapels and societies at Northampton, Rislely, &c. where the gospel is preached by the Brethren.

At Ockbrook, five miles from Derby, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1750. Since then they have erected on a small estate, bought for that purpose near the village, a chapel, a single brethren's and a single sisters' house, and some other dwelling-houses.

Fulneck near Pudsey, and six miles from Leeds in Yorkshire, is a congregation-places, built particularly for that purpose. The beginning of the buildings was made in the year 1744, and in the following years the congregation-house, in which is the chapel, called Grace-hall, as also houses for the single brethren, single sisters, and widows, were built. Here are also the economies or schools, in which the children of labourers, who cannot take care of their children on account of the duties of their offices, are educated.

The four following congregations are under the inspection and direction of the elder's conference of Fulneck, viz.

Pudsey, to which the members of the congregation and societies in the neighbourhood of Leeds and Bradford belong.

Wyke, to which those who dwell in the places near Hallifax belong.

Mirfield, to which those in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Wakefield belong.

Little Gummerfal; but these four congregations have their own labours and chapels, in which meetings are kept on Sundays and in the week days.

At Duckenfield, a village in Cheshire, about eight miles from Manchester, is also a congregation of the Brethren : they have a new chapel and two choir-houses, one for the single brethren and one for the single sisters.

At Leominster in Herefordshire, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1759; they have their own chapel.

At Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, a congregation of the Brethren was also collected in the same year.

At Bristol, in the year 1755, a number of the members of the society was formed in a congregation. They have a new built chapel in the parish of St. James. To this congregation belongs the congregations in Kingwood, which lies about four miles from Bristol, and has a chapel; and in Bath, a city well known on account of its waters, there is a new built chapel and a congregation ever since the year 1765.

At Tetherton in Wiltshire there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1748. But as some members of the congregation came to live near the chapel, they called their proper premises Lamb's-acre. The Brethren's chapel in Malmesbury belongs to this congregation.

Besides these congregations the Unity Brethren have chapels in several parts of England, where their ministers preach the gospel with blessing, for instance, at Apperly in Gloucestershire, Frome in Somersetshire, Plymouth in Devonshire, as also at Air and Irwin in Scotland.

In



In Ireland are the following congregations of the Brethren.

In Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, since the year 1750, they have two chapels at each side of the river Liffy, which runs through the city, one in Great Booter-lane, the other in Stafford-street.

Upon the townland Ballikennedy in the county of Antrim, the brethren have begun to build a new congregation-place, which is called Grace-hill. Beside the congregation-house, in which is the chapel and two choir-houses, several other private houses are built and inhabited.

Ballymaguigan, in the county of Derry, on the west side of the famous Lough-neagh, is also a new built congregation-place, to which belongs a chapel of the society at Lisnamara, where a congregation of the Brethren, was settled in the year 1759.

Ballonderry, on the east side of the aforesaid Lough-neagh: here has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1755. To this congregation belongs the little congregation at Kilwarlin; the latter has also its own chapel.

At Drumargan, about four miles from Armagh, has been a Brethren's congregation ever since the year 1759. And finally,

At Coothill, twenty-six miles from Armagh, a congregation of the Brethren was collected in the year 1765.

In America, and first, in the province of Pennsylvania, are the following congregations of the Brethren.

Bethlehem, the chief congregation-place of the Brethren in North America, in the county of Northampton, fifty miles from Philadelphia, on a branch of the river Delaware, which has retained the Indian name Lechai, or Lechi. The latitude of this place has been taken at sundry times and found to be 40 deg. 37. min. N. L. This place was begun in the year 1741, at a time when few Europeans were in this district: a considerable number of missionaries have been sent from this congregation among the heathens.

At Nazareth, nine miles north of Bethlehem; a large building called Nazareth-hall has been erected, in which is the chapel, where the congregation of the Brethren dwelling in their several habitations about Christiansbrun and Gnadenhal, meet and have divine service on Sundays and holidays. In Nazareth-hall is also the Pædagogium of the Unity in America. In the year 1771 the Brethren began to build a new congregation-place near the hall.

Litiz, a new congregation-place in the county of Lancaster, seventy miles from Philadelphia. The building of this place was begun in the year 1757, and there are now, besides the chapel and congregation-house, choir-houses for the single brethren, and single sisters, and a good many houses for families.

At Lancaster, the county town of that name, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1746. The congregation here has a church, a congregation-house, and a burying-ground in the town.

In York-town, or, as it is sometimes called, York on the Cadoras, twenty-four miles from Litiz, there has been a congregation of the Bre-

thren ever since the year 1755, who have built a congregation-house, as also in

Mount-joy, formerly called Donnegal, sixteen miles from Litiz. In the township of Bethel, twelve miles from Mount joy, near the blue mountains, a congregation of the brethren was settled in the year 1755, but in the last war they were obliged to fly from the cruelties of the savage Indians, but after the conclusion of the peace they gathered again together around their congregation-house.

At Hebron in the township of Libanon, sixteen miles from Litiz, formerly called Quittope-hill, a beginning has been made of a congregation-place ever since the year 1757, near the congregation house, as also,

At Emmaus in the township of Salisbury, formerly called Maguntiky, eight miles from Bethlehem. The Indian war proved an occasion, that those who had belonged to this congregation since the year 1742, and who lived scattered up and down, drew together, and erected habitations near their congregation-house.

In Heidelberg in the county of Berks, twenty-four miles from Litiz, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1743.

Shoenek not far from Nazareth was erected as a congregation-place in the year 1757. The members of the congregation who live on their plantations beyond the limits of the land belonging to Nazareth attend divine service there.

In Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoni, there was formerly a considerable settlement of the Brethren, but it was destroyed by the Indians in the year 1755, but a congregation of the Brethren now gathers again together there.

In the city of Philadelphia there has been a congregation of the Brethren, ever since the year 1741, of the English, and another of the German nation; but in time they united, and became one congregation. However divine service is performed in both languages alternately. They have a church, a congregation-house, and burying ground.

In the province of New Jersey at Oldman's Creek, thirty miles below Philadelphia, there has been a congregation ever since the year 1765. And in Greenland, thirty miles from Bethlehem, is a new settlement of the Brethren, which was laid out in the year 1771.

In the province of New York, and in the capital of the province, there has been a congregation of the Brethren, ever since the year 1741, which has a church, a congregation-house and also a burying ground in the city.

In Dutchess county, an hundred miles from New York, upon the borders of New England is Sicheu, a small Brethren's congregation ever since the year 1758.

In the province of Rhode Island at Newport, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1758, which has anew chapel and burying ground in the town.

In the province of Maryland, six miles from Fredrick's town and one mile from the river Manakosy, there has been a congregation of the Brethren ever since the year 1757. They have also a chapel at Carol's manor, twelve English miles



miles from thence, in which the gospel is preached by the Brethren to a company of English people.

In the province of North Carolina, on the lands of Wachovia, are three congregations of the Brethren.

Salem, the chief place in the centre of the land: the Brethren began to build this place in the year 1766.

Bethabara, the first place which the Brethren began to build in Wachovia, in the year 1753: it lies six miles north of Salem.

Bethany, nine miles north of Salem; the building of this place was begun in 1760.

Besides these, there are two places in Wachovia, Friedland, five miles south-east of Salem, and Friedberg, eight miles south of Salem, where the gospel is also preached by the Brethren.

The United Brethren have also established, in the English dominions, several missions among the Heathens with blessed effects. From these missions has arisen,

An Indian congregation in North America, which was gathered in Chekomekok, and was composed of Mahikanders and Wampanos. As this congregation was situated at different places from time to time, it is necessary to prevent a misunderstanding, as if different congregations were at those different places, to describe their removals somewhat more particularly. When the above-mentioned Indian congregation were driven from Chekomekok in 1746, the greatest part of them went to Bethlehem, where many new converts from the Delaware nation joined them. From thence they went, in 1748, to the Mahoni, and built Gnadenhutten, twenty-five miles to the north of Bethlehem; and in 1754 they built a new place on the Lecha, a mile from Old Gnadenhutten, and called it New Gnadenhutten: but as this place was destroyed by the savage Indians in 1755, they fled to Bethlehem. Part of them built in 1757, a new place called Nain: another part removed behind the Blue Mountains, and built habitations upon a spot purchased by the Brethren, on the rivulet Weckquetank, twenty miles from Nazareth. But upon the breaking out of a new Indian war, in the year 1763, they were, though entirely innocent, suspected by some white people of being secretly connected with their savage countrymen.

By these suspicions they were brought into the greatest danger, so that their lives were not secure, but were taken under the protection of government, and brought to Philadelphia, and first placed on Province Island, and then lodged in the barracks of the city. After the conclusion of the peace, they were sent by the governor and assembly up into the Indian country upon the Susquehannah, at the mouth of the creek Wikilusing. Here they built a village, and called it Friedenshuetten. This proved a means that many Indians believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and part of them settled at this place, and part of them settled at a place thirty miles farther up the Susquehannah, called Tschechschequanik. But when, in the year 1768, the six nations sold a large district to the English, in which lay also Friedenshuetten, the Indian congregation could stay there no longer. They accordingly forsook their new and fine built vil-

lage, which consisted of thirty-nine good houses, and ten huts, and departed from thence in the month of June 1772, being upwards of two hundred, to settle beyond the Ohio on the Muskingum river, between Lake Erie and the Ohio. According to the last accounts, they arrived there safe, and have laid out a new place, called Welkikutpek, that is, Schoenbrunn, a beautiful spring.

Another Indian congregation of the Brethren had collected themselves through the ministry of the missionary David Zeisberger, in the Indian town Gosgoshing, not far from Venango, two days journey above Pittsburg. These removed, in 1771, to the Beaver Creek, which falls into the Ohio, a days journey below Pittsburg, and built for themselves a village, called Langentou-tenunk, or city of peace.

On the island of Jamaica, belonging to Great Britain, a mission was begun in the year 1754, and soon was branched out into several missions, on account of the distance of the places from one to another; in each of these places the gospel is preached to the poor negro slaves in the English language, and they are embodied into the Christian church by holy baptism. The places where these missions are settled are, at present, six in number, viz. Carmel, Bogue, Mesopotamia, Elim, Eden, and Island.

On the island of Antigua the Brethren began a mission among the negroes in the town of St. John, in the year 1756. They have not only a church for the negroes in the town, but they preach with blessing on sundry plantations out of the city.

On the island of Barbadoes the Brethren have a negro church a few miles from Bridge-town, but preach as in Antigua, upon several plantations. This mission was begun in the year 1767.

Lastly, the Brethren made a mission-settlement under the British government in Esquimaux bay, on the coast of Labrador, in the year 1771, with a view to bring the glad tidings of the incarnation of God, and of his meritorious life and sufferings, to the Esquimaux. The place where they have settled and built a house is called Nain, and lies in the 57 deg. N. lat.

## VII. Under the Danish Government.

By royal rescript dated December the 10th, 1771, leave was granted to the evangelical Brethren, adhering to the unaltered Augustin confession, to establish a congregation-place of the Brethren in the duchy of Sleswick, and at the same time was granted to the missions of the Brethren in the Danish dominions out of Europe, all necessary church liberty, and other immunities. According to this grant, a new place of the Brethren is laid out and begun on the late royal domain Tystruphoff, in the bailiwick of Hadersleben, and this place is called Christian's Field.

New Herrnhuth, upon the West-Indian island of St. Thomas, is the oldest mission of the Brethren among the Heathens. The first missionaries went thither so early as in the year 1732. The number of the negroes who are ministered unto by the Brethren with the word and sacrament, is so greatly increased, and their dwellings



so distant from the negro church in New Herrnhuth, that the Brethren have built,

In Niesky, formerly called Crumbay, a new negro church, as also dwellings for the missionaries. The baptized negroes and catechumens are divided, as the nature of their situation required, into these two congregations, and each negro belongs to that congregation which is nearest to his habitation.

Friedensthal in St. Croix near to Bassin, or the town and haven. At this mission-establishment the brethren built a spacious negro church and dwelling-house in 1753. But there were missionaries of the brethren on this island twenty years before the church was built. Here also, as in St. Thomas, the negro congregation increased so much, that it was needful to divide it into two congregations:

Therefore a new negro church and dwelling for the missionaries was built in 1771; on the west end of the island near Christianstadt and called Friedensberg. This gave occasion to a new awakening among the negroes.

In St. Jan the mission-settlement of the brethren is called Bethany. As St. Thomas and St. Jan lie but a league distant from each other, the mission in St. Jan was taken care of by the brethren in St. Thomas. But as the negroes earnestly requested, that a missionary might reside there constantly, a proper negro church and a dwelling-house were built there in the year 1753. Since then the number of the baptized is greatly increased.

New Herrnhuth in Greenland on Baal's River, in the sixty-fourth degree north latitude, is the first congregation of the Brethren in Greenland. This mission of the Brethren was begun as early as the year 1733.

Lichtenfels, one hundred miles south of New-Herrnhuth on the Fisher Fiorte, is the other congregation of the Brethren in Greenland, and was begun in the year 1758. A full account of these two congregations of the Brethren in Greenland is to be found in Crantz's Hist of Greenland, Octavo, published in German in 1765.

In the Brethren's Garden near Tranquebar in the East Indies is a settlement of the Brethren since the year 1760, from whence they take care of the mission among the heathens upon the Nicobar Islands.

The mission at Nancaweri, one of the Nicobar islands, was begun in the year 1768. The missionaries wait there with great patience till our Saviour shall open the ears and hearts of the heathen for the gospel.

#### 9. In the Russian Empire.

A congregation of the brethren was established at Sarepta in the kingdom of Astrachan in the year 1765. The most gracious permission was given by an Imperial Ukase to the United Brethren to come into the empire and to enjoy a complete liberty of conscience, and of exercising their religion agreeable to their own church-constitution and discipline. They chose for their settlement a piece of land twenty-four miles below Czarizin on the rivulet Sarpa, which

runs into the Wolga, and since then have erected not only dwelling-houses for families, but also a single brethren's and single sister's house, and in the year 1772 a congregation house and a chapel.

In St. Petersburg also the empress of Russia, in the year 1766, made a present of a large house to the Brethren to perform divine service in according to their rites. Since then the Brethren preach in it every Sunday.

X. Lastly, it is not to be passed over in silence, that there are also five Brethren in Africa, at Grand Cairo in Egypt, with a view to serve the Copts with the gospel, and if our Lord pleases, to go in time to Abyssinia.

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#### *The Present State of the United Brethren.*

The whole of those congregations whom we have now mentioned, call themselves United Brethren, or Associated Brethren, and protestants adhering to the Augustin confession. They are however, distinguished by different appellations, and are classed in different ranks. All those who are of the Bohemian church, are called the ancient Brethren, and take place of the others. Profelytes or converts are generally admitted into this society after they have been in the others; for there are some mysteries in this, concealed from the other societies.

It is probable that they borrow this practice from the Christians who lived about the latter end of the fourth century. For at that time the heathens who were candidates to be admitted into the church, stood at the door till all those called Believers, passed by; then the heathens were admitted to hear the sermon, and were examined as to their knowledge; but were obliged to retire, before the Believers went to the communion. This practice did great hurt to the cause of Christianity; for the heathens said that they the Christians met to commit unnatural practices. This will be always the case, where there are secrets, while the different sexes meet together. Let us only consider the ridiculous stories that have been told concerning the Free-masons, and perhaps all of them are false. It has also happened that the nocturnal meetings of the Methodists have induced people to accuse them of what perhaps they never were guilty; but then there ought to be no secrets in religion. Am I to answer at the judgment-seat of Christ for all my actions, before angels and men; and shall I be ashamed or afraid to be seen in my religious duties here below; we should not only avoid doing evil, but we should avoid seeming to do so.

It is certain that although these United Brethren pretend to follow the confessions set forth by Luther, yet they have embraced a variety of other sentiments. As the Arians spend most of their time in the pulpit, in degrading the glories of the Lord Jesus Christ, so these people called United Brethren forget all that honour due to God the Father and the Holy Ghost, under pretence of extolling the Saviour. All extremes are connected with insanity; and therefore those who



who would understand true religion, so as to reap any benefit by it, must learn that God is not to be found in the tormenting fire, or the raging whirlwind, but in the still small voice of a holy life.

Every congregation among the United Brethren has its peculiar pastors; they are, in some measure distinct, from each other, and yet they are at the same time united. And thus to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, they have synods, which meet at different times to regulate all their external affairs. The members of these synods have free liberty to declare their sentiments with freedom, upon whatever subject comes before them. Those who do not chuse to speak, may deliver their opinions in writing; but the votes are always ballotted with the greatest care.

As this is a religion that admits both sexes into offices, so a great number of females generally attend. There may be many reasons for this besides natural inclinations, but we shall take no notice of them. Perhaps they are as innocent as the quakers are reputed to be, and we hope they are so.

When any thing of a dubious nature is proposed concerning a disputed point in scripture, and the members of the synod cannot agree concerning the discussion of it, then they cast lots. The casting of lots is of great antiquity; but how far such a practice can be justified according to the Christian institution, the reader may judge.

In the rest of their discipline they have something like the Sandemanians, for as there is a great deal of washing of feet, so their conduct is very severe to those whom they excommunicate. They resemble the Methodists in singing a number of hymns, and they are so much attached to this practice, that their children are asked questions in verse sung by the elders, and answered by the young ones in the same manner.

As for their keeping many things secret, we shall not judge them strictly, being willing to think charitably of all men; but this much is certain, that it cannot be done in conformity with the primitive church. The primitive Christians were obliged to meet in private in the night, to avoid the fury of the Heathens, but here these people called Brethren enjoy a free toleration. Whether they lock the doors of their meetings during any part of their worship, we know not; but if they do, they are guilty of a breach of the toleration act.

We could wish that all things were free and open, that there might be no concealment; for wherever things of a religious nature are con-

cealed in private, suspicions arise, and scandal is thrown upon men, who, perhaps, may be totally innocent.

From the whole account we have given of them, we have learned but little concerning the method of treating their poor members. We have already seen, that there are several societies of Christians in the Protestant world, who take no care of their poor; and where popery is established, all charitable donations are given to the monks. The Sandemanians pretend to take great care of their poor; but when they think it too troublesome to support them, they have an easy method of parting.

The Friends really take care of their poor, whether old or young; and although these people are often treated with much contempt, yet they are, in the great article of unaffected charity, the most respectable in the world.

"True religion and undefiled before God, is this, to visit the fatherless children and widows, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world."

No man will believe that person's religion to be genuine, whose heart is not open to the wants of his fellow creatures, as well as to his brethren in his own profession. The primitive Christians were charitable to their persecutors, which was copying, in all respects, the character of their divine redeemer; who created bread to feed the hungry; who went about doing good.

As for the United Brethren, called Moravians, it appears they collect great sums of money, but we believe the greatest part of it, according to their own accounts, is expended in missions among the Heathens. The Jesuits have done the same, and little success has attended either. Perhaps the Divine Providence frowns upon those practices, which are not undertaken in his way, and refuses to confer such upon them, because they look for the praise of men. But we will not dwell upon these things. God Almighty suffers many transactions to take place in this lower world, which our bewildered and circumscribed understandings cannot account for. Perhaps there are many things in the works of Providence, which we look on as evil, but which in the end may be attended with the most beneficial consequences. It is likewise not improbable, (nay, we believe it to be true) that many persons in their religious characters have been grossly misrepresented, by those who know little or nothing concerning them. It was so with the primitive Christians, it is certainly so with some of the modern sects. We shall therefore take leave of the Moravian Brethren, and proceed to another sect.



## ACCOUNT of the MUGGLETONIANS.

**I**N that fertile age for the propagation of new religions, 1657, the people of this country, especially the lower ranks of them, not only turned preachers, but likewise prophets. Some pretended to foretel future events; others said they were apostles risen from the dead; while a third sort had the assurance to assert, that they were some of those persons who had been prophesied of in the book of Revelation.

Among these were Lodovicus Muggleton, a journeyman taylor, in Rosemary-lane, and William Reeves, a cobbler, in the same place. These two men meeting together, at a public-house in the minories, projected a new scheme of religion, in order to impose on the people.

They knew that the religionists who had gone before them, had not carried their pretensions high enough, and therefore they gave out that they were the two witnesses prophesied of in the book of Revelation, who were to appear before the end of the world. They held forth to the misguided multitude on Tower-hill, and on all the places of eminence near the city. They were followed by a vast number of people, which gave so much offence to the Presbyterians and Independents, that they procured an order from Oliver Cromwell to have them punished.

Oliver, it is well known, was never an enemy to toleration, and therefore, all that he would grant was, that these madmen should be whipped through the principal streets of the city. The culprits bore their punishment with that stubborn fortitude which ever distinguishes enthusiastic and ignorant characters.

As persecution is the life of religion, so these men were more followed by mad people than ever. It was found in vain to persecute them any longer; and it may be justly said of them, that they turned the brains of one quarter of the vulgar people in London. They published four volumes in 4to, which the author of this work has perused.

When we consider the nature of these compositions, and the characters of the men to whom they are ascribed, we are led to believe, that like Mahomet of old, they had some assistance. Probably some of the other sectarists drew them up, with the sole view of having it in their power to wreak their vengeance on these men; for among all interested preachers, there is the same antipathy as between cats and mice.

When the restoration took place, the Muggletonians were frequently dispersed by the guards, and many of them put into prison. It was the great misfortune of these people, that although they pretended to the spirit of prophecy, yet they could not foretel what was to happen to themselves. Just like the fortune-tellers of the present age, who, although they pretend to help people to stolen goods, and tell a girl who is to be her husband, yet they cannot foresee when a constable will come to take them into custody.

However, they went on with their fanaticism and continued making proselytes till after the revolution took place, and then they sheltered themselves under the toleration act. But they had powerful enemies to contend with. The Presbyterians hated them, because they treated their poor mean clerical characters with contempt; and the Independents did all they could to injure them and traduce their characters, because they led away many silly old women, whose credulity and pockets often furnished them with a dinner.

And yet these people grew the more; and their leaders, in order to keep them to themselves, declaimed against the vices of the Presbyterians, and the pretensions of the Independents. They told them, that they were all impostors, and wretches who lived on the fruits of the people's honest industry. There might have been some truth in this, but we have some reason to believe, that the Muggletonian teachers were as meacenary as those whom they opposed. Opposition in disputes concerning religion, may shift the outward character of the man, but it cannot change his nature. We may add further, that in all polemical disputes concerning the exteriors of religion, the means are changed; but the end held in view is the same.

And that end is neither less nor more, than to triumph over the credulity of the people; to procure emoluments at their expence; to triumph over their ignorance, and to represent themselves under the characters of saints, while, in reality, they are like devils. This was the case with the Pharisees of old, and it will remain to the end of the world, as long as false religion is known, and while there is an hypocrite on earth.

At present we must compare the Muggletonians to those passionate lovers, who, after being cloyed with enjoyment, become as cold as the aged and infirm. At first they were fired with unbridled zeal of religion, inflamed with superstition; but they gradually cooled, and are now a set of jolly fellows; who drink their pot and smoke their tobacco.

There is one thing, however, relating to them that must not be forgotten.

When their first apostles found themselves drawing towards their end, they did the very same almost that Mahomet had done before. They called their people together, and told them, they would come again on earth to visit them; but they did not, like the Arabian impostor, fix the time, which undoubtedly was a master stroke of policy.

Their followers, in the present age, still retain that notion; and they believe, that these two apostles, or witnesses, will meet them when they are assembled together. They meet in the evenings of Sundays, at obscure public-houses in the out-parts of London, and converse about those of their sect who have gone before them. They have very little serious discourse, but are extremely free, sometimes going home drunk.



It does not appear that ever they had any public places of worship, for their first founders preached any where. Those Muggletonians of the present age make no account of either faith or duty; unless it can be called faith to believe in the coming of their founders. It is a sort of faith indeed, but it is not that which Christians are taught to believe. Their conduct in treating religion in such an irreverent manner, has had very pernicious effects on the morals of the people. It has induced many of them to become Deists and practical Atheists; and we have known several persons, who, from Methodists commenced Muggletonians, and at last reposed themselves quietly in the bosom of the church of Rome. These converted Muggletonians are employed by the priests to pervert as many Protestants as they can, and they generally have but too abundant success.

The origin of the Muggletonians exhibits to us a melancholy picture of those times, when England was without government either in church or state. The people were not content with hearing the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, &c. &c. who shared the church livings among themselves, but they even encouraged taylor, cobblers, tinkers, and all sorts of low vulgar mechanics to mount their stools and chairs in the streets and on dunghills. Nay, they collected money for the preachers, which answered their end much better than their trades. As the conduct of the

ministers in the churches had induced them to lend a helping hand to carry on the work of reformation, so when the restoration took place, both the established clergy and the court, let loose their fury upon all sects indiscriminately.

Some of the Muggletonians were thrown into prison, and others were put in the stocks, where they continued preaching to the people. Some of them were transported to the colonies in America; but as the Presbyterians had great power there, they harassed them from one province to another, till death relieved them from their hardships.

The intelligent reader will be able to assign a reason for their continuance in this age, when all religions are taught, but very few duties performed.

The last thing we shall take notice of concerning these people, is, that it is a melancholy consideration that men should live in the world without enjoying the smallest share of sense arising from religion: That instead of looking forward to the blessed hope of immortality, they believe in nothing but the resurrection of two impostors. To this we may add, that there must still be a considerable number of these people in different parts of England; for only a few years ago a new edition in three volumes quarto was printed, of the rhapsodies of Muggleton and Reeves, and had there not been people to purchase them, they would not have been printed.

## A C C O U N T of the M Y S T I C S.

**W**E have left our account of these smaller sects, till the concluding part of this work, because they were never (to use a military phrase) properly embodied.

So far as we know, the first mystic writer was St. Austin, bishop of Hippo, in Africa; but this celebrated father did not dissent from the religion as established in the empire. It is true, he collected together a considerable number of young men, who lived with him in cloisters adjoining to his church, and he taught them those notions that are to be found in his confessions.

Soon after his death, we hear of nothing but ignorance, occasioned by the inundations of the barbarians; and the first mystic writer that lived after him, seems to have been Bede, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who lived in the abbey of Tinmouth in Northumberland.

The next mystic writer we meet with is St. Bernard, who flourished about the eleventh century, and was employed by the pope to preach up the crusades. In latter times, we meet with Kempis, Bona, and Drexilius, in all of whose writings there are many fine things. But we must now consider them as a general sect; and strange as it may appear, a woman was chiefly concerned in the institution of them.

Madam Bourignon, a French lady, and a Roman Catholic, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, (1685) published several pieces on Divine love, spiritual mindedness, the elevation of the soul to Christ; the looking above all earthly things; to reject, or at least consider, the externals of religion as mere trifles, and to retire within themselves for the purposes of contemplation.

As the popish religion consists chiefly in ceremonies, so the French clergy were greatly alarmed, and Madam Bourignon, not knowing what mischief they might do her, left her native country, and retired to Holland.

In the mean time, the sect had spread far and wide, and the great Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, wrote a book, entitled, the maxims of the Saints, in which he attempted to vindicate many of those sentiments professed by Madam Bourignon. The Catholic clergy were alarmed, and notice was sent to the pope.

After two years consultation, the pope with his cardinals, condemned the book, and the archbishop acquiesced in the censure. It does not seem, however, that he relinquished his opinions; for in his posthumous works, he left a vindication of what he had written before.

The



The profelytes to Madam Bourignon's opinions encreased daily, and some of them came over to England. They did not set up separate congregations, but they published a considerable number of books, by which they disseminated their sentiments all over the kingdom. They ran into wild extravagancies, and although at first they were very inoffensive, yet in the end they became most mysterious indeed.

As all violent disorders in the human body either kill or cure, so violences in religion have the same tendency. This was the case with the Mystics, who, by their violent attachment things above reason, lost what reason they had. Their successors, however, have become more sober, and several great men both in the church of England and among the Dissenters, have embraced their opinions.

Among these were the late pious Mr. Law, and the amiable Mrs. Rowe. The writings, however, of these celebrated persons, are far from being contemptible. They contain the most elevated flights of fancy and exalted thoughts of the Divine goodness.

We shall conclude this article with observing, that whoever would devote themselves to the study of religion, should take a little practical religion along with them. We are such a composition of flesh and spirit, that nothing less than human means can promote Divine institutions.

If men would think soberly and look into their own hearts, they would not be led into such extravagancies, as they generally are. In the present age, mistakes are to be found in many of our sects, and the greatest part of them have been owing to the multiplicity of hymns. Of these we shall just give a specimen, and leave the reader to judge for himself. We could give stronger specimens, but think the following will be sufficient.

Jesus, God of our salvation,  
Give us eyes thyself to see,  
Waiting for the consolation,  
Longing to believe on thee:  
Now vouchsafe the sacred power,  
Now the faith divine impart;  
Meet us in this solemn hour,  
Shine in every drooping heart.

Anna-like within the temple,  
Simeon-like we meekly stay,  
Daily with thy saints assemble,  
Nightly for thy coming pray:  
While our souls are bow'd before thee,  
While we humbly sue for grace,  
Come, thy people's light and glory,  
Shew to all thy heavenly face.

If to us thy sacred spirit  
Hath the future grace reveal'd,  
Let us by thy righteous merit  
Now receive our pardon seal'd:  
To eternal life appointed,  
Let us thy salvation see,  
Now behold the Lord's anointed,  
Now obtain our heaven in thee.

Upon the whole, the Mystics, who at present seem to have hearts inclining towards piety, but very confused heads, with minds susceptible of serious impressions of religion, by neglecting the use of reason they run into a vast number of absurdities. By imagining themselves to be wrought upon by superior and supernatural influences, they neglect the use of Divine revelation. They embrace the shadow for the substance, and although we would not call them criminal, yet we are certain that they are mistaken.

## A C C O U N T of the F R E N C H P R O P H E T S.

**A**LTHOUGH, so far as we able to learn, there are none of these people now in London, nor in any part of Britain, yet they made no small figure about the beginning of the present century. Their origin was as follows.

After the revocation of the edict of Nantz, 1685, not less than fifteen hundred thousand Protestants left France, and settled in Protestant countries. These men, who were for the most part very ingenious artists, carried the manufactures of France along with them. Many of these Protestants brought the silk trade along with them to England, and they received all that encouragement which is due to persecuted merit. The elector of Brandenburg, grandfather to the present king of Prussia, invited some thousands of them to settle in his dominions; and

the kings of Denmark and Sweden, who had their own interest in a better light, than the Gallic monarch, assigned them places to reside in.

This therefore weakened the trade of France, by lessening her power, in depriving the country of its most useful inhabitants. Here was a noble opportunity for the French ministry to revive the interest and honour of their country by putting an end to the iron hand of oppressive power, by restoring the subjects to their natural rights and privileges. Here however bigotry got the better of self-interest, and the love of superstition triumphed over all those duties which men owe to their fellow subjects.

An edict passed, that every man who should be found making his escape out of France, should be condemned to the galleys for life, and some thousands of these people were apprehended and



and suffered the prescribed punishment. The violence of the persecution raged with the greatest severity in the South of France; which induced the people who had no opportunity of making their escape, to take shelter in those barren mountains called the Cevennes. There they suffered many hardships, which naturally filled their minds with notions altogether superstitious. Fixing carnal senses on the most reputable providential passages in the old testament, they began to imagine they were divinely inspired, and assumed the name of Prophets: Pretending, at the same time, to that sacred character which ought always to be treated with respect.

Necessity furnished these people with an opportunity of making their escape to Geneva, where they were kindly received, and furnished with money to carry them to Holland, by the way of the Rhine.

From Holland, a whole cargo of these enthusiasts came over to London, and they began to shew their importance in a very remarkable manner indeed. They laboured at the ends of the most remarkable and most conspicuous streets in London, declaiming against popery, and condemning with the bitterest violence, the whole frame of the church of England. They denounced the severest judgments on queen Anne for not extirpating all the papists in Europe; and they prophesied that within a few months England would be destroyed.

On this subject of religious madness, Voltaire contrary to his usual way of writing, has a very just remark. "Queen Anne, says this author, was well known to have a strong attachment to the church of England; and although a little superstition might be found in her conduct, yet she did not chuse to have her favourite church ridiculed. She therefore ordered her attorney general, sir Thomas Parker, to proceed against these enthusiasts in a summary manner. Accordingly they were ordered to be whipped round St. Paul's church yard; and at every lash they received, they prophesied a curse against her majesty, and against the nation. But this conduct had not the desired effect, for they had daily great numbers of converts, so that for some time London was little better than in a state of confusion.

It was not, however, sufficient for them to make converts in London, they sent missionaries as far as Scotland. Here one Cunningham, a common mechanic, preached in the streets of Edinburgh, to a tumultuous mob; and the Presbyterian ministers began to imagine, that the French Prophets were devils indeed. They were afraid they should lead away their people from their churches, and bring their ministry into contempt.

The magistrates of Edinburgh acted more prudently, for they caused Cunningham, and about a dozen of his followers to be apprehended and committed to prison, and like the Muggletonians, they were so ignorant of future events, that they did not know what was to happen to themselves. During his confinement, Cunningham wrote a book full of rhapsodies, bordering on blasphemy, pronouncing a thousand curses on Scotland; but the magistracy took no further

notice of it, then to order him to be whipped through the city.

For some time after Cunningham had been released from his imprisonment, his followers attempted to disseminate their sentiments in the different towns in Scotland, but the Presbyterian ministers, formed a plan to have them all knocked on the head. It is certain, that enthusiasm will carry men to great lengths, even in a bad cause; but the French Prophets in Scotland had not fortitude sufficient to submit with patience to be massacred, according to the plan laid down by some zealous Presbyterian ministers. They had less zeal and more prudence than one would have expected from men, who, in all other respects, were darkened in their understandings.

Stimulated by motives of self-preservation from the fury of the enraged Presbyterians in Scotland, they wisely crossed the Tweed, and joined their friends in London. It does not appear that, properly speaking, they had any meetings; for in their opinion, temples built with hands were places too profane for them to exhibit in. They had tents erected in the fields leading towards Islington, where they harangued every day to a promiscuous multitude. This created many disturbances, and frequently led the Middlesex justices from their bottle to see them set it the stocks. Sympathy for the sufferers operated on the minds of the vulgar, and their bold pretensions to the spirit of prophecy, induced the ignorant to consider them as divinely inspired. In proof of this, we shall mention the following fact, related to the author by an eminent surgeon now alive, and who enjoys two considerable places in public hospitals.

One of these madmen having asserted, that in proof of his Divine mission, he would die on a particular day, and on the third day he would rise from the dead; a wag present, laid him a wager on the strength of his prophecy. The Prophet, who knew not in what manner the materia medica operated, resolved to try the experiment, and the day was fixed. In the mean time the enthusiast went to the father of the gentleman already mentioned, who kept an apothecary's shop in Old-street. He asked for as much opium as would make him sleep one night. Having obtained that, he bought twice as much, vainly imagining that if one third part of the quantity would make him sleep one night, consequently the remainder would make him sleep two nights more, after which he would arise from the dead, and give a convincing proof of his mission.

Accordingly he swallowed the three doses of opium, and his friends, who had been let into the secret of his design, and who were as ignorant as himself; had him interred in the burying ground belonging to the parish church of Cripplegate, situated in White-Cross-Street. The fraternity of Prophets continued singing hymns round the grave till the expiration of the three days, and the people in the neighbourhood were driven to such a state of expectation, that they neglected their lawful employments to behold this miraculous event.

At last the appointed time arrived; thousands and ten thousands of fools attended, and the grave



grave was opened; but alas! instead of the Prophet's making his appearance in the land of the living, the coroner issued his warrant for a jury to be summoned, to enquire in what manner he came by his death. The verdict was found self-murder, and he was buried with a stake drove through his body in the cross-way near Dog-house bar.

This was a most fatal stroke to the French Prophets; their credit sunk into contempt, and they soon after dwindled away. Indeed, for some time, the London prisons were filled with them; and the pillories exhibited scenes of amazement

for the idle and the profligate. Some of them were transported to America, but they were soon driven out of that country, because both the Presbyterians and Independents threatened to have them brought to punishment. It is very probable this would have taken place, had not the civil governors taken part with these unhappy enthusiasts, and sent them again to England.

It seems that about this time, they began to cool in their zeal, and they dwindled away in such a gradual manner, that no remains of them are left.

## ACCOUNT of the FIFTH MONARCHY MEN, *commonly called* MILLENARIANS.

It is probable that many of our readers never heard of this sect, and therefore it is proper we should say something concerning them, especially as they are not only of great antiquity, but are likewise numerous in the present age. It is true, they are not considered as one body of people, because they are scattered through the different denominations of Protestants, and some of the same sentiments have often been found among the Roman Catholics.

It is not our business here to enter into that sort of controversy which might distract the minds of our readers; but we could say a thousand things concerning the conduct of the council of Nice, which, in the year 325, settled the canon of the sacred scripture. Mr. Toland has asserted, that if the council of Nice had a right to determine what was the canon of the sacred scripture, they must have been divinely inspired; for all the living witnesses and writers had been dead many years before the oldest member of that assembly was born.

Now it is well known, that even the council of Nice rejected some of those books which we now consider as canonical. And this has given rise to a question, viz. whether if the scriptures acknowledged to be canonical by the council of Nice, were written by Divine inspiration? And, secondly, whether Divine inspiration should guide the hand of every transcriber?

We shall not enter into the nature of this controversy; the learned are well acquainted with it, and we know the weak cannot bear it. There are subjects which particular persons may discourse on, but we must not make them known indiscriminately.

This leads us to consider the origin and progress of these people called Millenarians. The Apocalypse, or the book which we now call the Revelation of St. John the Divine, was not re-

cognized in the church as canonical, till the end of the fifth century. It is certain, there are some expressions in that book which bear strong marks of a Divine original; but it is upon a particular expression that the doctrine of the Millenarians has been founded.

The passage alluded to is in Revelation xx. "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand,

And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan, and bound him a thousand years,

And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that, he must be loosed a little season.

And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgement was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, nor his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,

And shall go out to deceive the nations, which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.



And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city : and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them.

And the devil that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophets are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

Now it is very probable, that these expressions are rather figurative than otherwise; for days are often mentioned as years in scripture; and it is said, that a thousand years are in the sight of God but as one day. However, it will appear that some of the antient Christians, who never saw the book called the Apocalypse, or Revelation, believed the same sentiment contained in the above passage. The first of these was Ireneus, an author whose goodness of heart was far superior to the clearness of his head. The notion itself was carnal, but it was easily embraced and greedily swallowed by the weak Christians in those early ages.

But with respect to what had been advanced by Ireneus, it was trifling to the notions broached by Origin. That father, celebrated for his learning, became equally celebrated, or rather despised, for his preaching doctrines unknown to the Christian church before his time. Origin had learning without knowledge, and piety without prudence. He was acquainted with human wisdom; he loved that which was divine; but his passions were too strong to be brought under proper restraints.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,  
Drink deep, or taste not the pierian spring;  
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,  
But drinking largely sobers us again.

However, it became an established notion among the primitive churches, that Christ, at his second coming, was to reign with his saints on earth a thousand years; and then the whole plan of redemption was to be completed. We are not certain how far this sentiment operated in the middle ages of Christianity; but we are certain that it was received soon after the reformation from popery. We shall therefore proceed to consider in what manner these sentiments were propagated, who the persons were who embraced them, and by whom they are countenanced in the present age. This leads us into the history of the civil wars, an age when new religions grew up as fast as mushrooms do from their beds, and who vanish away like Jonah's gourd.

When the civil wars broke out, the views and designs of the Puritans were discovered both by the churchmen, whom they opposed, and by the Republican party, who countenanced them. They had before that time been considered under the general name of Puritans, as men who sought for a purer reformation than had taken place in the reign of queen Elizabeth. To promote the destruction of church and state, they concealed their real sentiments; but no sooner had they got into the possession of the church livings, than they pulled off the mask, and, like Pandora's box, as many religions flew out as were sufficient to have darkened the air.

Among some of these Pseudo reformers were a great number of Fifth Monarchy Men, or Millenarians; and so fond were they of this notion, that they excommunicated their hearers who refused to be of the same sentiment with themselves. Many books were written on the belief of Christ's coming to reign with his saints a thousand years on earth, and it was considered as much an article of religion as the existence of God, or the incarnation of Christ.

Some of those men who taught this notion were, in other respects, considerable in the literary world; but whenever new religions are broached by men of learning, they must not expect to find it wholly engrossed by themselves.

They will find competitors to enter the lists with them, and it will frequently happen, as it too often does in the physical world, that the quacks will have more followers and greater fees, than those who have been regularly bred to the profession.

This was the very case with the Fifth Monarchy Men in England; for no sooner had they published their sentiments and procured a considerable number of followers, whose imaginations they wrought up into a state of confusion, than many of their hearers turned preachers, and taught for themselves. It might have been supposed, that a person of such a cool disposition as Oliver Cromwell certainly was, would have done something towards suppressing these people; but then it must be considered that the Independents, whom he always esteemed, supported his government. Now he could not, with propriety, have attacked the spawn of his own party, without giving them offence; and as mere nominal preachers have no mercy, consequently he might have been, for such an action, deprived of his life and his dignity.

The more sober part of the Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy Men, only believed that Christ would reign a thousand years before the general resurrection; but the madmen, who sprung up under them, carried the notion much higher. They were not content to wait till Christ's second coming; they had fixed a time for setting the crown on his head. Of this the following is a remarkable instance.

In 1660, and on the very day on which king Charles II. was crowned, a considerable number of these madmen met in Coleman-street in London, where they were headed by one Venner, a fiery ignorant preacher. In the morning, he delivered a discourse to them, in which he told them, that the day was come when Christ was to ascend his throne. Having fired their imaginations with the highest raptures of enthusiasm, and finding them ready to obey him in every thing, he ordered them to fall forth into the streets, and kill every person who refused to join with them.

This was readily complied with, and these infuriated men made a more than dreadful havock the streets. The guards were brought to disperse them, and several of them were killed. A considerable number were taken into custody, among whom was Venner, the ringleader, who with nine of his deluded followers, were executed in different parts of the city.

This instance of madness afforded a pretence for



for the corrupted court to wreak its vengeance upon the whole body of Nonconformists, although it is certain, that they had no concern in it. Whatever might have been the sentiments of many of the Dissenters at that time, this much is certain, that they never intended to act in the same manner as Venner. They kept their opinions to themselves; but Venner reduced them to practice. This was a dreadful stroke to the Fifth Monarchy Men, and from that time they have made no great figure in England.

At present they are confined to writers, and there is now in the church of England a learned bishop who has embraced the sentiment concerning the Millenarians. We acknowledge the sentiment to be of a disputable nature, but still we think it too carnal to make a part of the Christian religion. However, we shall leave every one to his own opinion, without pretending to judge of things above our comprehension.

## A C C O U N T of the H U T C H I N S O N I A N S.

**T**H E further we proceed in our accounts of sects and parties in religion, the more the curiosity of our readers must be stimulated, because we are of opinion, that many of them were seldom heard of before. However, that they either exist, or did exist, we can make appear.

To understand the nature of this sect, we must consider, that about the time of the reformation, or at least soon after it, there were some feint attempts made to improve the study of the Hebrew language. Laudable as a proposal of this nature might have been, yet it might have been entangled with a variety of difficulties, had not the attempts made to suppress the enquiry defeated its own intention.

All the Hebrew manuscripts were written without the points, or vowels, and these points or vowels were, at the same time, used by the Jews. The grand question was, whether the Hebrew language was to be read with the Masoretic points, or whether the letters *Aleph, He, Vau, Jod,* and *Gnain*, should be substituted in place of the common vowels. These different methods of reading created much confusion; and the Jews, by the use of the points, had fixed a sense upon the scripture, which had never been known before.

Our first reformers had learned the Hebrew according to the Jewish method, by the use of the Masoretic points; and as these points put a wrong construction on the sense of the scripture, consequently the Deists took the advantage, while the Jews triumphed over the weakness of the Christians. In particular it was objected by the Deists, that the Mosaic account of the creation was, in all respects, inconsistent with the principles of natural philosophy, according to the experiments that had been made in latter ages. Here the interests of Divine revelation were concerned, and therefore it was either necessary, that we should acknowledge that Moses never taught a system of philosophy, or that he was not divinely inspired; because he concealed from us those things which can be easily known

by common experience, at least by the use of modern philosophy, which has been for some time reduced to a system.

This naturally leads us to the investigation of the sect of whom we are now treating.

John Hutchinson was the son of a farmer in Yorkshire, and as his father's sole design was to bring him up to be a land-steward to some nobleman, he sent him to school to be educated in those rules of mechanical science which naturally lead thereto. When he had completed himself in mensuration, and the other practical parts of the sciences, he returned from school to his father, and at that time the following circumstance took place.

In the village where Mr. Hutchinson's father lived, a stranger unknown to any person in the country, came to ask for lodgings, and old Mr. Hutchinson took him into his house. It was never known who this stranger was, but after he had been about three weeks in his new lodgings, he told Mr. Hutchinson, he would for his board and lodging teach his son the languages.

The father embraced the proposal, and in the compass of four years our young student was enabled to go through not only the Roman and Greek classics, but likewise to make a considerable figure in the Hebrew. The education of the young man being completed, the stranger left the place, and never was heard of afterwards. There are circumstances of this nature to be found in history, and reasons may be assigned for them, which none but the intelligent can answer.

Furnished with all the learning of the schools, though disseminated thro' the channel of a private education, Mr. Hutchinson made an amazing progress in the study of the antient writers, and between all of them he run such a parallel, as to point out the difference between the Mosaic œconomy, and the mythology of the Greeks. To the knowledge of languages he added that of philosophy, and by comparing the antient with the modern systems, he formed those notions which have made no inconsiderable figure



in this nation. By inconsiderable, we mean, that some celebrated persons, who shall be mentioned afterwards, have embraced them.

Mr. Hutchinson, being as it were at leisure in the enjoyment of a sinecure place, under the duke of Somerset, master of the horse, began to compare the antient and modern philosophy, and found that he could not find the truth in either. He examined the Hebrew Language with great care, and from his enquiry, published a book under the title of *Moses Principia*, which he laid down as the ground work of all his other compositions.

The design of this work is to prove that Moses laid down a perfect system of philosophy; that the sacred scriptures of the Old Testament had never been rightly translated; that Moses never taught any thing contrary to the planetary system, but really established it; and whereas Sir Isaac Newton instituted the notion of there being a vacuum in nature, he opposed it by asserting there was a plenum. That all heavenly bodies went round the sun by a sort of compression.

With respect to the terms of acceptance with God, he asserted, that they were clearly revealed by Moses and the prophets; but he strongly opposed the imputation of Christ's righteousness. He leaned more to the Arminian than the Calvinistical side of the Question; but his notions were a mixture of both.

From these sentiments a new sect was formed, which has continued ever since. There are many learned men of this opinion, and three Hebrew Lexicons have been published to support all his sentiments. The Hutchinsonian writers are more severe against their antagonists, than the Papists are against the Protestants. There is a certain harshness of expression used by them, that does not become the mild doctrines of the gospel. We know but of one single exception to this general charge, and that is, in the lord president Forbes. That learned gentleman has dressed the Hutchinsonians in the most amiable characters indeed. While he illustrates the principles laid down by Hutchinson, he vindicates, at the same time, all the great truths of the Christian religion, and supports divine revelation upon principles little attended to by Christian divines and utterly unanswerable by the Deists. It is certain, that his works have been of more service in promoting the cause of religion and virtue, than one half of the books in the present age.

At present, the Hutchinsonians are rather a sentimental than collective body of people; they are to be found among almost all denominations of Protestants, and the notion itself has been the means of reviving the study of the Hebrew language. It has stimulated many persons to enquire into the sacred oracles, and notwithstanding the levity of the present age, yet we are certain, that there are more persons in Britain at present acquainted with the oriental languages than ever were known at one time, since the reformation.

As for places of worship, properly speaking, they have none; for those of the lower sort who reside in London, meet, like the Muggletoni-

ans, in public houses. We have been present at one of these meetings, in a club-room up stairs, at a noted public house in the Strand. The members consisted, for the most part, of discarded Methodists, Independents, and Sandemanians; but we could not find one person that had made choice of this scheme till he had been expelled out of another. And this leads us to consider the vast impropriety in the conduct of our modern Calvinistical Dissenters, in excommunicating their members.

The action is weak, foolish, and wicked. It is weak, because they turn out from among them those who have it in their power to expose some things that will not bear a proper scrutiny. It is foolish, because they turn away those who contributed towards supporting their ministers in a state of idleness. And, lastly, it is wicked, because no sooner have they discarded one of their members, than they do all in their power to promote his ruin. Here is a complication of guilt, attended with many aggravating circumstances. Some of them know themselves to be very irregular, and why then should they hunt down those who only go halves with them in a course of practical impiety?

This conduct of some Dissenters has been attended with two consequences: First, it has made the discarded members form schemes of new religions; and then finding nothing but knavery wherever they joined themselves, they have commenced either papists or deists.

At present, when the Hutchinsonians meet in their public assemblies, one of them reads, and another explains a passage of scripture as well as he can; then a third prays; and when they have drank a little porter they are dismissed.

Having already taken notice that most of our new religions are formed of the excommunicated members of other societies; we must now declare these members were once celebrated for their high attainments in piety and divine experience. They were celebrated for traducing the words morality, or good works. Grace, experience, the state of their souls, and such like expressions, made the whole of their conversation; but let them be once discarded, they treat with contempt all their boasted experiences, and when they are tired with dabbling in religion, they give themselves up to all manner of profaneness. There are but few instances where it is otherwise, and where that does happen, it should be ascribed more to a gracious Providence, than to any thing else. This should caution young people to be upon their guard against the force of temptation, which will be sure to assault them if they are not serious in the matter of religion. If they can overcome the temptation, it will be to their everlasting honour; of which we shall give a single instance, wishing we had it in our power to produce many more.

About sixteen years ago, a person of an extraordinary turn, had read almost every book that he could lay hold of; and what was still more remarkable, he remembered almost every thing he read. Instructed in his early youth in the principles of Christianity, he had always the highest value for every thing of a serious nature. Brought up a Dissenter, and, in sentiment,



sentiment a Calvinist; he entered into communion with the Independents. He had not been long among them when he began to point out to their leaders the necessity they were under of reforming many abuses; and, among other things, that of providing for the poor. This was strongly opposed, and one of their ministers observed, that as they paid the poor's rates, so the parishes ought to take care of those who were in want.

Another proposal was made by this person in the meeting, which met with the same fate as the former. It was, that the ministers should keep a list of the names of his people, their places of abode, and their circumstances; and that they should intimate upon their removal, what places they went to. That the minister should visit every person, at least four times in the year, to enquire into his circumstances, and to invite such as were poor, to come to the meeting, and in a tender and an affectionate manner, be relieved by their brethren.

This was a dreadful proposal, and every means were thought of, to get rid of this troublesome guest. The worst of all was, he had done rather more good than any of them, so that it was difficult to fix the charge, so as to get him excommunicated. They had frequent consultations concerning these matters during the compass of six months; and at last, two favourable opportunities presented themselves.

London was at this time in an uproar, concerning the playing at blindman's-buff, and this obnoxious Independent went frequently to see their madness. As he was always free in his conversation, and sometimes imprudently satirical, he

frequently ridiculed his brethren; so that he was reputed to be a Sandimanian. The next plea against him was, that in consequence of having a large family, most of whom had been long confined to sick beds, he had been under the necessity of contracting some debts. A peremptory demand of payment was made upon him, at a time when it was well known it was not in his power to comply; and thus the affair was brought to a conclusion. The offender was ordered to make his appearance before the congregation; but as he made it a fixed rule never to go where his temper might be ruffled, and well knowing what was plotting against him, he was immediately excommunicated.

As for this mean exercise of clerical power, the man would have made no account of it, but no sooner were they got quit of him, than they went about wherever he was known, and traduced his character in such a manner, that he was left with his family in distress. But notwithstanding that more than heathenish cruelty, yet this man never despised true religion. He gave up all connection with religious societies, and minded only religion itself. He considered religion as a living principle, which must be reduced to actions, and, traduced as a heathen, he went on in an uniform course of duty.

As what has been here advanced is the most solemn matter of fact, so it is hoped it will have a proper effect, and teach people, in the words of the apostle, to be well grounded in their own minds, before they change their religious sentiments.

## A C C O U N T of the Q U I E T I S T S.

**O**F all the sects we have hitherto treated of, this bears the nearest resemblance to that of the Mystics, only that this sect has been long confined to the Roman Catholic church, whereas the Mystics joined the Protestants.

The founder of this sect was one Michael de Molinos, a Romish priest, and a man of some learning, who lived in France, and afterwards in Italy, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

The name is taken from an absolute state of rest and inaction, which the soul is supposed to be in, when arrived at the state of perfection. This state of perfection is called by them the *inactive* life.

To arrive at this, a man is first to pass through the progressive way, that is, through a long course of uniform obedience, imposed by the fear of hell. Hence he is to proceed into the illuminative way before he arrives at perfection. He must go through combats and violent pains, that is, not only the usual business of the soul, and the common privations of grace, but also infernal pains.

He must believe himself to be damned, and the persuasion that he is so, must, if he lives, be upon him several years.

St. Francis de Salis, a Jesuit, says, the Quietists are so fully persuaded of this, that they will not suffer any body to convince them to the contrary. And indeed it is needless to make the experiment, for enthusiasts are seldom convinced, even by the most rational arguments that can be made use of, but remain obstinate to the last. They shut their eyes against the truth.

These men believe that they shall be amply repaid for all their sufferings, by the embraces of God, which they imagine will raise them to a state equal to their maker.

Their sentiments concerning God, are wonderfully pure and disinterested. They say they love him for himself, on account of his own perfection, independently of any rewards or punishments. The soul, says he, acquiesces in the will of God, even at the time when he precipitates it into hell. Nay, instead of begging mercy on this occasion;



one of them, whose name was B. Angelo de Fogligny, cried out, "Haste Lord to cast me into hell, do not delay if thou hast abandoned me; but haste my destruction and cast me into the abyss".

At length the soul, after long enduring many sufferings, enters into rest or quietude. Here it is wholly employed in contemplating its God. It acts no more, thinks no more, desires no more but lies perfectly open and at large, to receive the grace of God, who, by means thereof, draws it where it will and as it will.

In this state it has no occasion for prayers, or hymns, or vows: because, where the spirit labours, and the mouth is open, the soul is the weak and impotent. The soul of the spirit is as it were laid in the bosom, and between the arms of God; where, without the making motion or exerting any action, it waits and receives the Divine grace. It then becomes happy, quitting the existence it had before. It is now changed, it is transformed, and, as it were, sunk and swallowed up in the Divine being, in so much, as not to know its being distinguished from God himself.

Bishop Burnet gives the following account of the Quietists, or Molinists, in one of his letters from Rome.

"The new method of Molinos doth so much prevail in Naples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in this city; and since this hath made some noise in the world, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a Spanish priest that seems to be but an ordinary divine, and is certainly a very ill reasoner when he undertakes to prove his opinion: He hath writ a book, which is entitled *il Guida Spirituale*, or, *The Spiritual Guide*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our prayers and other devotions, the best methods are to retire the mind from all gross images, and so to form an act of faith, and thereby to present ourselves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of religion to this simplicity of mind.

He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in religious houses, but even to secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great reformation of mens minds and manners: he hath many priests in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his methods. The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the empire that superstition hath over the minds of the people, that it may make religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to enthusiasms: they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a schism in the church. And because he saith, in some places of his book, that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its devo-

tions to God immediately, without contemplating the humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the doctrine of Christ's humanity, though it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts: Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against Molinos; and they have also pretended that some of his disciples, have infused it into their penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed without going first to confession, which they thought weakened much the yoke, by which the priests subdue the consciences of the people to their conduct: yet he was much supported both in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; he hath also many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jesuits, as a provincial of the order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great king that is now extremely in the interests of their order to interpose, and to represent to the pope the danger of such innovations.

It is certain the pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of Molino's sanctity; yet upon the complaints of some cardinals, that seconded the zeal of that king, he and some of his followers were put in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the pope hath on him, who saith still, that though he may err, yet he is certainly a good man: Upon this imprisonment Pasquin said a pleasant thing in one week, one man had been condemned to the gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and Molinos was put in prison, whose doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness, from which the name of Quietists was given to all his followers: The Pasquinade upon all this, was, If we speak we are sent to the gallies, if we write we are hanged, if we stand quiet we are put up in the Inquisition, what must we do then? Yet his followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this trial victorious."

Some years after the cardinals had condemned the opinions of Molinos, most of them were driven out of Italy; but this persecution caused them to encrease rather than decrease. Some of the popish clergy became converts to their opinions, which induced the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, to write against them. They might, indeed, have suffered much in France, but the clergy were too much engaged in persecuting the Protestants. However, no sooner was that persecution over, than the priests, who are seldom found idle while any one opposes them, let loose all their fury upon their own brethren the Molinists; for however mad these Molinists might have been in their speculative notions, yet they never denied the papal supremacy, nor did they refrain from any of the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome. They set up no separate form of worship; they made no schism in that church; but the Roman Catholics punish people as well for their thoughts, as for their words or actions.

Some of these Quietists fled into Holland, where



where they published several books, but they still attended the Romish chapels in that country; for we do not find that any of them ever embraced the Protestant religion.

But notwithstanding all this, the Romanists never considered them as sound in the faith, nor did they always agree among themselves, so that it would be impossible to form a system of their speculative notions, without running into a variety of wild, absurd contradictions.

Many of these Quietists went up into Germany, where they were persecuted with as much violence by the Lutheran clergy as they had been formerly by the Romish priests. The pulpits thundered out against them; the learned wrote books and drew up long lists of their heresies; and then gave them by derision the name of Pietists, and their religion Pietism.

These people are taxed in general as being indifferent to all the exterior of religion, and in Germany despising the symbolical books of the Lutherans. Their notions concerning the trinity\* are said not to be orthodox, and they look upon creation and providence as an inundation from the Deity. They are accused of being Millenarians; of pretending that all religion consists in the contemplation of God; that in this state the soul is no ways guilty of the offences committed by the body; and that all actions are necessary, good or bad.

Jacob Bohem, a native of Poland, having read some of the books written by the Quietists, resolved to turn author himself. He was by trade a shoemaker, but he had acquired some knowledge in reading cabbalistical and chymical books. His mind was well turned for enthusiasm and fanaticism; he bragged of visions and dreams, which he displayed in matters of divinity and philosophy; all which he pretended to clear up in a book intitled, "The Grand Mystery," which is a theological, chemical comment on Genesis, wrote in the German language. This being printed, made a vast number of enthusiasts.

It is likely that this shoemaker, notwithstanding the superior genius he pretended to, did not well understand his own meaning. For he is always absurd and often ambiguous, like one who has but confused notions of the subject. His

followers endeavoured to clear up his notions, by substituting some of their own. Thus, for instance, they owned a perfect unity in the Divine essence; and yet they imagined, it contained a three-fold principle of all things. Thus fire was God; the light of the fire, the knowledge and wisdom of God, the son of God; and the Holy Ghost, is the unity by which the light enlightens. This opinion was embraced by many of the antient Heretics, as well as by some of the Heathen philosophers; for according to this system, God and the whole world is but one complete being: They have many other wild notions, and there are many persons in the world who read their raptures of enthusiasm.

It does not appear, that there are any of them among the Roman Catholics in the present age; but vast numbers of sects have sprung from them in Germany; for almost every town or city has its meeting for them. They have no forms of worship; but in that particular pretty much resemble the Quakers. Indeed, it would be unnecessary for them to have forms of worship, seeing they never pray but when they imagine themselves to be divinely inspired. It is the same in their sermons, which are always rhapsodies of wild nonsense communicated as it were by madmen.

Although in some things they bear a near resemblance to the Mystics, yet those of the latter persuasion whom we have now in England, are far from being so extravagant as these. It is certain, however, that the English Mystics have given encouragement to the printing of some of Jacob Bohem's books, but what success they have had we know not.

Thus we have given the best account we could procure of the Quietists, which is extracted from impartial histories written of them; and here it appears, that a system of enthusiasm, consisting of dreams and visions, has been embraced by a great number of Protestants, even after the Roman Catholics, who broached it, had returned back to the bosom of their holy mother church. Enthusiasm will be always sure to gain a great number of followers, but reason and good sense, we are sorry to say, seldom make many converts.

\* It is with peculiar satisfaction we here observe, that in *Middleton's New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, the doctrine of the *Trinity* is defined in the most clear, orthodox and scriptural manner we ever remember seeing it in any work of the kind. On which account we most cordially recommend this New Publication, as well to the mechanic and scholar, as to studious christians of every class. It is also calculated to convey a variety of useful knowledge, as it comprizes, in two large volumes only, a great number of interesting articles and necessary improvements on former performances of the nature.

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## ACCOUNT of the PRE-ADAMITES.

**W**E have already taken notice of some antient Heretics who were called Adamites, and who were such abominable wretches, that they met naked in their assemblies, and committed the most indecent lascivious actions. This brought much trouble to the Christians, who because they also met in the nights, were all included under the general censure. But the sect we are now going to treat of, were very different; for their notions were purely of a speculative nature.

About the middle of the last century, one Pyrerius, a foreign Protestant, wrote a book in which he attempted to prove, that there were men in the world long before Adam; that when he was created, there were many thousands of people on this habitable world, and that God's making the world at that time was merely an allegory. He said, that Eve's being called the mother of all living, implied no more than that the whole race of the elect should descend from her. That as Seth was but the third son of Adam, it could not with propriety be said, that men should call upon the name of the Lord when he was born. These words, "Calling on the name of the Lord," mean no more than that men began at that time to call upon God by another name than that by which he was known before. To this he adds, the account of Cain's marrying a wife in the land of Nod, and this he advances as a proof, that there were many families at that time in the world.

To these arguments, which have been made use of by many Deistical writers, it may be reasonably supposed, that as the birth of Seth was not till many years after the fall, so there can remain little doubt but Adam had many children in that time. But of these things we shall take particular notice afterwards, when we have stated more at large the history and the sentiments of these people.

In the meantime, as the Pre-Adamites made some noise in Germany, the people of England sent for copies of the book written by Pyrerius; and as they were daily broaching new religions in this country, so they made one of this. It might be said of the sects in this country at that time, that, like Noah's dove, they could find no rest for the soles of their feet; that is, their various changes from one form of religion to another, had gradually disordered their minds, and the frame of moral duty was every day sinking into a state of weakness. This made them lay hold of every new scheme of religion that presented itself; but the more they sought to enjoy rest, the less they could find. They were, in some sense, like the antient Athenians, who, having set up altars to all the gods they could hear of, and not being able to find a new one, erected an altar in one of their public places, with this inscription, "To the unknown God."

Several books were written, to prove the doctrines advanced by Pyrerius, and many converts were made to his opinions. Some of these English Pre-Adamites had been Presbyterians, others Anabaptists, but all of them belonged to the sects.

They continued to increase till the restoration, but wonderful as it may seem, it does not appear, that even in those unsettled times, when every blockhead mounted the pulpit, that any of them obtained church livings. Perhaps there were none vacant; or, which is more probable, Oliver Cromwell did not chuse to give encouragement to any new sects who would oppose the Independents.

At the restoration they were included under the general name of Dissenters, and some of them suffered the same hardships with all the other religious sectaries.

Having said thus much concerning their origin and progress, we shall now proceed to consider the remainder of their sects at large; and here we are sorry to say, that it most commonly happens, that those who undertake explaining the sacred scriptures, without understanding them, generally run into errors. There are two things to be attended to in reading the sacred scriptures, which must not be forgotten by those who would reap any advantage from them.

First, that there are many things in them above human comprehension, which so far from weakening their authority, serves only to confirm it. For if men cannot always understand the secret things of nature, how shall they comprehend the hidden mysteries of God.

Secondly, there is sufficiency in them to make us wise unto salvation, and this is what we should give proper attention to.

Sin and death according to this system, was long before Adam; but they did not live and reign over all mankind. Sin and death were dead, they had no sting. This is, say they, expressed by St. Paul in these words, "Until the law, sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed where there is no law." And by consequence, death had no power over mankind. But the same apostle says, "By one man, sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men." However, to maintain this very strange and unaccountable system, they are obliged to admit, that before Adam, men lived like beasts.

The election of the Jews is a consequence of the same system, for it began at Adam who is their father, God is also the father of the Jews, having espoused their church to himself. He is likewise their mother; for the Gentiles are only adopted children, as being Pre-Adamites. The scripture calls them only men or children of men; and sometimes they are compared to unclean beasts; whereas the Jews are said to be the children of God, as having been made of a more perfect nature,



*Engraved for D'HURD'S Religious Rites & Ceremonies of All Nations.*



*The ADAMITES seized  
and taken into Custody by the Guards, at Amsterdam.*